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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES



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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
Rules of the Society . . . . .	xiii
List of Officers and Members . . . . .	xix
Proceedings of the Society, 1915-1916 . . . . .	xiv
Financial Statement . . . . .	lii
The Future of Hellenic Studies . . . . .	lviii
Memorandum on the Place of Greek in Education . . . . .	lxix
Cromer Greek Prize . . . . .	lxxiii
Additions to the Library . . . . .	lxxiv
Accessions to the Catalogue of Slides . . . . .	lxxviii
Notice to Contributors . . . . .	lxxxv
ALRIZZATI (C.) . . . . Two Ivory Fragments of a Statue of Athena (Plates VIII., IX.) . . . .	373
ASHBURNER (W.) . . . . Studies in the Text of the <i>Nicomachean</i> <i>Ethics</i> .—I . . . . .	45
BEAZLEY (J. D.) . . . . Two Vases in Harrow (Plates VI., VII.) . . . .	123
CASPARI (M. O. B.) . . . The Ionian Confederacy—Addendum . . . .	102
FARNELL (L. R.) . . . . Ino-Leukothea . . . . .	36
HILL (G. F.) . . . . . Apollo and St. Michael: some Analogies . . . .	134
LEAF (W.) . . . . . The Commerce of Sinope . . . . .	1
LETHBRY (W. R.) . . . . Another Note on the Sculpture of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus . . . .	25
MILNE (J. G.) . . . . . Ptolemaic Seal Impressions (Plates IV., V.) . . . .	87



	PAGE
SMITH (A. H.)... .. Some Recently acquired Reliefs in the British Museum (Plate III) ... ..	65
SMITH (A. H.)... .. Lord Elgin and his Collection ... ..	163
WATTS (H. G. EVANS) ... Two Athletic Bronzes at Athens (Plates I, II) ... ..	16
Notices of Books ... ..	163, 403
Index of Subjects ... ..	415
List of Books Noticed .. ..	418

## LIST OF PLATES

- I., II. Two Athletic Boyzes at Athens.  
III. Reliefs of Aristels and Archagora.  
IV., V. Ptolemaic Seal Impressions.  
VI. Neck amphora at Harrow.  
VII. Oinochoai at New York and Harrow.  
VIII., IX. Ivory Head in the Vatican Museum.





# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

## The Commerce of Sinope.

	PAGE
Fig. 1. Map of Asia Minor . . . . .	2
" 2. Greek Colonies on the Euxine . . . . .	4
" 3. Sinope (after the Admiralty Chart) . . . . .	5

## Two Athletic Bronzes at Athens.

Fig. 1. Fifth-Century Bronze (after B.F.A.C., 1903, Plate I.) . . . .	17
" 2. B.F. Kelebe. B.M. E 364 . . . . .	22
" 3. Metope from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (from Gardner, <i>Six Greek Sculptors</i> ) . . . . .	23

## Sculpture of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

Fig. 1. Herakles and Antaios, fragment . . . . .	23
" 2. The same restored . . . . .	26
" 3. Hand holding up festoon . . . . .	27
" 4. Herakles and Omphale, restored . . . . .	28
" 5. Herakles and Kyknos, restored . . . . .	28
" 6. The Muses, restored . . . . .	30
" 7. Part of cymatium . . . . .	32

## Some recently acquired Reliefs in the British Museum.

Fig. 1. Votive Relief of Zeus Stratios . . . . .	65
" 2. Zeus Stratios on Coins . . . . .	66
" 3. Grave Relief of Melantes and Menalkes . . . . .	70

	Page
Fig. 1. Group of Sepulchral Vases . . . . .	72
" 5. Relief of Straton. Boy with Bird . . . . .	73
" 6. " " a Girl with a Mirror . . . . .	74
" 7. " " Hierekleia . . . . .	75
" 8. " " Klearete . . . . .	76
" 9. " " Melitta . . . . .	77
" 10. Fragment of Relief . . . . .	79
" 11. Relief of Metagenes and Philumene . . . . .	80
" 12. Warrior and Sepulchral Serpent . . . . .	81
" 13. Libation Scene. Warrior and Sepulchral Serpent . . . . .	82
" 14. Diagram of block, Fig. 13 . . . . .	83
" 15. Panel of a Sarcophagus. Marriage Scene . . . . .	85

### Two Vases in Harrow.

Fig. 1. Harrow 55: Neck-Amphora, from photograph . . . . .	123
" 2. " " from drawing . . . . .	124
" 3. New York 13, 232: Neck-Amphora . . . . .	125
" 4a. Petrograd 612: Neck-Amphora A . . . . .	126
" 4b. " " " " B . . . . .	127
" 5a. Boston 10, 178: Panathenaic Amphora B . . . . .	130
" 5b. " " " " A . . . . .	131
" 6. Harrow 55 . . . . .	133

### Apollo and St. Michael.

Fig. 1. Coins of Alexandria Troas . . . . .	134
" 2. " " Gargira . . . . .	137
" 3. " " Solima . . . . .	143
" 4. Mater Misericordiae . . . . .	149
" 5. Pest-Blatt (from Heitz u. Schreiber) . . . . .	151
" 6. From the <i>Heures d'Anne de Bretagne</i> . . . . .	151
" 7. From the Doors of Mte. S. Angelo . . . . .	158
" 8. From an Anglo-Saxon <i>Herbarium</i> . . . . .	160

## Lord Elgin and his Collection.

	PAGE
Fig. 1. Lord Elgin (circa 1795). By G. P. Harding, after Anton Graff	165
" 2. Part of the Frieze of the Temple of Wingless Victory. From a drawing by Fessler ... ..	173
" 3. Working drawings from the Monument of Lysicrates by Sebastian Ittar... ..	175
" 4. Plan of Athens, about 1798 A.D. After Fauvel... ..	178
" 5. Marble Chair at Biel ... ..	187
" 6. Sketch-Plan of S. Nikolo Bay. By W. R. Hamilton, 1802 ...	242
" 7. S. Nikolo Bay. From the Admiralty Chart ... ..	243
" 8. The Monument of Philopappos at Athens. From the drawing by G. B. Lusieri ... ..	263
" 9. The Wreck of the 'Cambrian' ... ..	291
" 10. The Elgin Museum at Park Lane, 1810. From a sketch by C. R. Cockerell ... ..	299
" 11. Study of Sculpture, in the Park Lane Museum. By B. R. Haydon	303
" 12. Cast of Parthenon Frieze, West Side, Slab XIII., in 1801 ... ..	349
" 13. Cast of same Slab in 1872 ... ..	349
" 14. View of the Temporary Elgin Room. By W. H. Prior ... ..	350
" 15. View of the same Room. By Mackenzie ... ..	351
" 16. The Temporary Elgin Room. By A. Archer ... ..	352
" 17. Key to Fig. 16 ... ..	353
" 18. The Count de Choiseul-Gouffier. By L. L. Boilly ... ..	355
" 19. William Richard Hamilton. From the picture by H. W. Phillips	367

## Two Ivory Fragments of a Statue of Athena.

Fig. 1. The Vatican Ivory, from above ... ..	374
" 2. " " " , right profile ... ..	375
" 3, 4. " " " , interior views ... ..	378
" 5, 6. Ivory Arm in the Vatican ... ..	378
" 7. Ebony Foot and Child's Hand from Villa Patrizi ... ..	379



									Page
Fig. 8.	1.	The Vatican Ivory, front view	...	...	...	...	...	...	382
	2.	Apollo from the Tiber	...	...	...	...	...	...	382
	3.	Suppliant of the Pal. Barberini	...	...	...	...	...	...	383
	4.	Barraccò Herms	...	...	...	...	...	...	383
"	9.	1. The Vatican Ivory, right profile	...	...	...	...	...	...	385
	2.	Apollo from the Tiber	...	...	...	...	...	...	385
	3.	Athena at Vienna	...	...	...	...	...	...	385
"	10.	'Pheidias' Heads of Athena and Apollo	...	...	...	...	...	...	387
"	11.	Apollo from Pompeii; Apollo of Mantua	...	...	...	...	...	...	392
"	12.	Achilles from Vase in Vatican; Devonshire Apollo	...	...	...	...	...	...	394
"	13.	Barraccò Apollo (by permission of Messrs. Heinemann)	...	...	...	...	...	...	395

# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

---

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied, by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.



18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year: this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 : otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bona fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.



## REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation for August and the first week of September.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three; but Members belonging both to this Society and to the Roman Society may borrow *six* volumes at one time.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books, except under special circumstances, be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.



(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

(6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances:—

(1) Unbound books.

(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.

(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

(4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries:—

a. Libraries of Public and Educational Institutions desiring to subscribe to the *Journal* are entitled to receive the *Journal* for an annual subscription of One Guinea, without Entrance Fee, payable in January of each year, provided that official application for the privilege is made by the Librarian to the Secretary of the Society.

b. Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians, are permitted to purchase photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.

c. Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to hire lantern slides.

d. A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.

e. A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.

f. A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books, either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

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 Allen, T. W., *Queen's College, Oxford.*  
 Alleyne, Miss Stella M., 16, *Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, S.W.*  
 Alton, Ernest Henry, *Trinity College, Dublin.*  
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 †Anderson, J. G. C., *Christ Church, Oxford.*  
 Anderson, R. H., *Kinders, 95, Alexandra Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.*  
 Anderson, Prof. W. C. F. (Council), *Hermit's Hill, Boreghfield, Morrimar, R.S.O.*  
 Anderson, Yarborough, *The Belvedere, 57, Esplanade, Scarborough.*  
 Anderson, Basil, *Public Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*  
 Andrews, Prof. Newton Lloyd, *Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y., U.S.A.*  
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 Appleton, R. B., *Lyndwood House, Lyndwood Road, Cambridge.*  
 †Arkwright, W., *Great Gravel, Newbury.*  
 Ashburner, W., 6, *Piazza San Lorenzo, Florence.*  
 Awdry, Miss F., *Church Gate, Lacock, near Chippenham, Wilts.*  
 Bagge, Miss L., *Stradsett Hall, Dronham Market, Norfolk.*  
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 †Balfour, Right Hon. A. J., M.P., D.M., 4, *Carlton Gardens, S.W.*  
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 Baring, Thos., *Sunninghill Park, Acton.*  
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 Barlow, Lady, 10, *Wimpole Street, W.*  
 Barnsley, Sidney H., *Pinhury, near Cirencester.*  
 Barran, Sir J. N., Bart., *Sawley Hall, Ripon, Yorkshire.*  
 Bates, Eric, *Ed Brown, Shipley & Co., 123, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
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 Bell, H. I. (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*  
 †Bell, Harold Wilmerding, 1757, *Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 Bell, Miss Gertrude, 95, *Slaine Street, S.W.*  
 †Benecke, P. V. M., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*  
 Bennett, S. A., *Warrleigh, Budding Salterton.*  
 Bent, Mrs. Theodore, 45, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*



- Heresford, George Charles, 30, *Yeoman's Row*, S.W.  
 Beiger-Lescault, Théodore, 22, *Rue de Matzeville*, Nancy, France.  
 † Bernays, A. E., 3, *Priory Road*, New, Surrey.  
 Berry, James, 21, *Wimpole Street*, W.  
 Devan, E. R. (Council), *Sun House*, 6, *Chalson Embankment*, S.W.  
 Bielskowskl, Prof. P. von, *Basztowa Strasse*, 5, Krakau.  
 Billson, Charles J., *The Priory, Martyr Worlay*, near Winchester.  
 † Bissang, Dr. von, *Leopoldstrasse*, 54, München.  
 Blackett, J. P. N., 22, *South Street*, Durham.  
 Bölling, George M., *Ohio State University*, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.  
 Bosanquet, Lieut. R. Carr, *Institute of Archaeology*, 40, *Bedford St.*, Liverpool.  
 Boulby, Rev. Henry, *Lancing College*, *Shawham-by-Sea*, Sussex.  
 Boyd, Rev. Henry, D.D., *Principal of Hartford College*, Oxford.  
 Boyle, Lady Constance, 63, *Queen's Gate*, S.W.  
 Boys, Rev. H. A., *North Cuddesly Rectory*, Bath.  
 Braunwell, Miss, 73, *Chester Square*, S.W.  
 Brice-Smith, R., *Cathedral School*, Llandaff.  
 Brightman, Rev. F. E., *Magdalen College*, Oxford.  
 Brooke, Rev. A. E., *King's College*, Cambridge.  
 Brooke-Taylor, B., *The Hall*, *Bakewell*, Derbyshire.  
 Brooker, E. W., 28, *Great Ormond Street*, W.C.  
 Brooks, G. D. Forsythe, *Bromyard*, *Pentworth*, nr. *Cavdill*.  
 Brookshank, Mrs., *Leigh Place*, *Godstone*.  
 Brown, Adam, *Netherby, Galashiels*.  
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 † Brown, James, *Netherby, Galashiels*, N.B.  
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 Browne, Mrs. Gore, *Oakley House*, Abingdon.  
 Brown, Rev. Henry, *St. Ignatius*, 55, *Lower Leeson Street*, Dublin.  
 Bruce, Hon. W. Napier, 14, *Granville Gardens*, S.W.  
 Brudenell-Bruce, Lord Frederick, 11, *Glenaville Gate*, *Regent's Park*, N.W.  
 \* Bryce, Viscount, O.M., D.C.L., Litt.D., *Hindcliff, Forest Hill, Sussex*.  
 Buckler, W. H. (Council), *American Embassy*, 18, *Belgrave Square*, S.W.  
 Buckler, Mrs. W. H., *Wellbank, Taplow*.  
 Buckler, Miss L. R., *Wellbank, Taplow*.  
 Bull, Rev. Herbert, *Wellington House*, *Westgate-on-Sea*.  
 Burdon, Rev. Rowland John, *St. Peter's Vicarage*, Chichester.  
 Buren, Mrs. Van, *Via Palestro*, 56, Rome.  
 † Burnaby, R. B., *High Street*, Uppingham.  
 Burnet, Prof. J., 19, *Queen's Terrace*, *St. Andrews*, N.B.  
 Burrows, Principal Ronald (Council), *King's College*, Strand, W.C.  
 Burton-Brown, Mrs., *Priory Field*, *Godalming*.  
 Buty, Prof. J. B., Litt.D., Litt.D., D.Litt., *King's College*, Cambridge.  
 Butler, Prof. H. C., *Princeton University*, *Princeton*, *New Jersey*, U.S.A.  
 Butler, Prof. H. E., 14, *Northam Gardens*, Oxford.  
 \* Butler, The Very Rev. H. M., D.D., D.C.L., *Master of Trinity College*, Cambridge.  
 Butler, Leonard, *St. John's College*, Oxford.  
 Buxton, Mrs. A. F., *Fairhill*, *Tonbridge*.  
 Callender, Prof. T., *Queen's University*, *Kingston*, Ontario.  
 † Calvocoressi, L. M., *Junior Athenaeum Club*, 116, *Piccadilly*, W.  
 Calvocoressi, Pandia, J., *Helmer Hey*, *Croxteth Drive*, Liverpool.  
 Cambridge, A. W. Pickard, *Ralliol College*, Oxford.



- Cameron, Major J. S., *Low Wood, Bithamden, Ashford, Kent.*  
 Campbell, Mrs. Lewis, 92, *Isorna Court, Kensington, W.*  
 Capps, Prof. Edward, *Princeton University, New Jersey, U.S.A.*  
 Carey, Miss, 13, *Eldon Road, Kensington.*  
 \*Cardale, A. D., *Northacre, Godalming.*  
 Cardale, Miss Helen, *Upper Brook House, Uxbridge.*  
 †Carmichael of Skirling, Right Hon. Baron, c/o Mr. L. A. Morrison, *Murrayfield, Glasgow.*  
 Carpenter, Miss Agnes Miles, 54, *East 57th Street, New York, U.S.A.*  
 Carpenter, Rev. J. Estlin, 11, *Murston Ferry Road, Oxford.*  
 †Carr, Rev. A., *Meadhurst, Crowthorne, Berks.*  
 †Carr, H. Wilton, D.Lit., *Moir's Garden, Cheyne Walk, S.W.*  
 Carter, Frank, *Ashdean, Winchester.*  
 Carter, Reginald, *Grammar School, Bedford.*  
 †Cartlew, Miss, 6, *Albert Place, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.*  
 Case, Miss Janet, 5, *Windmill Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Case, Prof. T., *President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*  
 †Caspari, M. O. B. (Council), *University College, London.*  
 Cassavetti, D. J., *Saville Club, 107, Piccadilly, W.*  
 Casson, Lieut. Stanley, 54, *Oakley Crescent, Chelsea.*  
 Caton, Richard, M.D., *Holly Lea, Livingston Drive South, Liverpool.*  
 Catley, T. F., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 Chambers, Edmund Kirchner, *Board of Education, Whitehall, S.W.*  
 Chance, Frederick, 30, *Lennax Gardens, S.W.*  
 Chapman, Miss D., *University Hall, Fairfield, Liverpool.*  
 Chapman, R. W., 5, *Polstead Road, Oxford.*  
 Chase, George H., 12, *Shady Hill Square, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 Chavasse, A. S., *Lynch Rectory, near Mithurst, Sussex.*  
 Cheetham, J. M. C., *Exford Park, Bourton-on-the-Water, R.S.O., Gloucestershire.*  
 Chitty, Rev. George J., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 Churchill, E. L., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 Churchill, Rev. W. H., *Stone House, Broadstairs.*  
 Clark, Charles R. R., 12, *Victoria Grove, Kensington, W.*  
 Clark, Rev. R. M., *Dezton College, Staffordshire.*  
 †Clark-Maxwell, Rev. W., *Gilchrist, St. Leonard's Rectory, Bridgnorth.*  
 Clarke-Smith, Miss L., *Hotel Royal, Rome.*  
 Clarke, Somers, F.S.A., 35, *St. James Place, S.W.*  
 Clatworthy, Mrs. K., 12, *New Road, Reading.*  
 †Claxson, A. C., *Howsham House, Hatfield, Herts.*  
 Clay, C. F., 41, *Kensington Park Gardens, W.*  
 Clements, E. (J.C.S.), *Dhulia, W. Khandesh, India.*  
 Cohen, Captain Donald H., 3, *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*  
 Coie, A. C., 62, *Portland Place, W.*  
 Collingwood, Robin George, *Pembroke College, Oxford.*  
 \*Colvin, Sir Sidney, D.Lit. (V.P.), 35, *Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W.*  
 Compton, Miss A. C., *Minstons Parsonage, Lyndhurst.*  
 Compton, Rev. W. C., *Samhurst Rectory, Kent.*  
 Comyn, Heaton, *Hill Cottage, Orpington, Kent.*  
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 Conway, Prof. R. S., Litt.D., *Drathen, Didsbury, Manchester.*  
 Conway, Sir W. M., *Allington Castle, Maidstone.*  
 Conybeare, F. C., 64, *Bancary Road, Oxford.*  
 Cook, Arthur Bernard, 19, *Crammer Road, Cambridge.*  
 Cook, Sir T. A., *Brackenhurst, Tadworth, Surrey.*

- Cooke, Rev. A. H., *Addenham School, Hatfield, Herts.*  
 Cooke, Richard, *The Croft, Dötting, Maidstone.*  
 Cookson, C., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*  
 Corbet, Eustace K., C.M.G., *Rock House, Boughdon Marshes, near Maidstone.*  
 Cotley, Ferrand E., *Torfala, Nungunghakham, Madras.*  
 Cornford, Lieut. F. M. (Council), *Trinity College, Cambridge.*  
 Corning, Prof. H. K., *Bunderstrasse 17, Basel, Switzerland.*  
 Coupland, Reginald, *Trinity College, Oxford.*  
 Courtauld, Miss Catherine, *Becken, Great Missenden.*  
 Cowie, George S., c/o The London and Provincial Bank, 127, *Edgware Road, N.W.*  
 Cowper, H. Swainson, *Toddenden Manor, Staplehurst, Kent.*  
 Cozens-Hardy, The Hon. Mrs., 1, *Halkin Place, S.W.*  
 Crace, J. F., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 †Crawford, G. R., 119, *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*  
 Creadson, Wilson, *Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*  
 Cromer, The Right Hon. the Earl of, O. M., 36, *Wimpole Street, W.*  
 Cronin, Rev. H. S., *Trinity Hall, Cambridge.*  
 Crooke, W., *Langton House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.*  
 †Crossman, C. Stafford, *Buckhurst Hill House, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.*  
 Crowfoot, J. W., *Khartum, Sudan.*  
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 Cust, Lionel, *Datchet House, Datchet, Windsor.*  
 Dakyns, G. D., *Grammar School, Morpeth.*  
 D'Alton, Rev. Prof. J. F., *St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.*  
 Daniel, A. M. (Council), 14, *Royal Crescent, Scarborough.*  
 Daniel, Rev. C. H., *Provost of Worcester College, Oxford.*  
 Danson, F. C., 74, *Bidston Road, Birkenhead.*  
 David, Rev. A. A., *The School, Rugby.*  
 Davies, Miss F., 27, *Little Gaddesden, Berkhamsted.*  
 †Davies, Prof. G. A., *The University, Glasgow.*  
 Davies, L., *St. Edward's School, Oxford.*  
 Davis, Miss Gladys M. N., D.Litt., M.A., c/o Prioress, *St. Catherine's Dominican Convent, Blackrock, co. Dublin.*  
 Dawes, Rev. J. S., D.D., *Chapelville, Grove Road, Surbiton, S.W.*  
 †Dawes, Miss E. A. S., M.A., D.Litt., *Weybridge, Surrey.*  
 Dawkins, R. M. (Council), *Plus Dulas, Llundulan, N. Wales.*  
 De Billy, Madame Edouard, 4, *Rue de Talleyrand, Paris, VII<sup>me</sup>.*  
 De Burgh, W. G., *University College, Reading.*  
 †De Gex, R. O., *Clifton College, Bristol.*  
 Demetriadi, A. C., *Houthlands, Prestwich, Lancashire.*  
 Demetriadi, G. C., *The Holme, Sedgley Park, Prestwich.*  
 †De Rothschild, Anthony, 3, *Hamilton Place, W.*  
 De Snamarez, Lord, *Shrubland Park, Coddesham, Suffolk.*  
 Desborough, Right Hon. Baron, *Taplow Court, Taplow, Bucks.*  
 Denbner, Frau Dr., 7, *Ermit Wickers Strasse, Mariannenhof, Königsberg (Pr.).*  
 Dickson, Miss Isabel A., 17, *Polkain Crescent, S.W.*  
 Dill, Sir S., *Montpelier, Malone Road, Belfast.*  
 Dobie, Marryat R., *British Museum, W.C.*  
 Dobson, Miss, *Afou, Battledown, Cheltenham.*  
 Dobson, Prof. J. F., 64, *Coldharbour Road, Radland, Bristol.*  
 Dodd, Rev. C. H., *Manstfield College, Oxford.*  
 Doff, Christian, 3, *Southampton Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.*  
 Douglas-Pennant, The Hon. Alice, *Penshyn Castle, Bangor, N. Wales.*  
 Downing, William H., *Medecroft, Olton, Birmingham.*



- Drage, Mrs. Gilbert, *The Rhodd, near Præstegne, Radnorshire*.  
 Drake H. L., *Pembroke College, Oxford*.  
 †Droop, J. P. (Council), 11, *Cleveland Gardens, Hyde Park*.  
 Dryhurst, A. R., 11, *Downshire Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*  
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 Duhm, Prof. von, *University, Heidelberg*.  
 Duke, Roger, 9, *Palham Crescent, S.W.*  
 Dundas, K. H., *Phantassie, Prestonbirk, East Lothian*.  
 Dunham, Miss A. G., 15, *Oxford Road, Worthing*.  
 Dunlop, Miss M., 23, *St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.*  
 Dyde, W. Farrell, 4, *Upper Bedford Place, W.C.*  
 Eagleston, Arthur J., 27, *Hampstead Way, N.W.*  
 Earp, F. R., 15, *Shree Park, Richmond, Surrey*.  
 Eaton, Alexander C. (8th Battn. Bedfordshire Regt.), 205, *Neville Road, Forest Gate London, E.*  
 †Edgar, C. C. (Council), *Antiquities Dept. Mansourah, Egypt*.  
 Edgar, C. S., *Kya Lami, Stellenbosch, South Africa*.  
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 †Elliott, Sir Francis E. H., K.C.M.G., *H.B.M. Minister, British Legation, Athens*.  
 Elwell, Levi H., *Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 Ely, Talboud, D.Litt. (Council), 92, *Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Esdaile, Mrs. Arundell, *Keynet, Ainstenny, Germania Cross, Bucks.*  
 †Eumorfopoulos, George, *Clendon Regis, West Clendon, near Guildford, Surrey*.  
 Eumorfopoulos, N., 24, *Pembroke Gardens, W.*  
 Evans, Sir A. J., LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S. (V.P.), *Yonbury, Bucks, near Oxford*.  
 Evans, F., Gwynne, *Over Butterton, Sudborough, Stead*.  
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 Evans, Miss Joan, *St. Hugh's College, Oxford*.  
 Evans, Richardson, *The Kfir, Wimbledon*.  
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 Fairclough, Prof. H. R., *Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.*  
 Fanshawe, Reginald.  
 Farie, Miss K. M., *Fornie Cottage, Grayshott, Hants*.  
 Farnell, L. R., D.Litt. (V.P.), *Rector of Exeter College, Oxford*.  
 Farrell, Lieut. Jerome, *Brookside, Newland Park, Hull, Yorks.*  
 Farside, William, 39, *Sloane Gardens, S.W.*  
 Fegan, Miss E. S., *The Larches College, Cheltenham*.  
 Felkin, F. W., *Sherswood, Heronsgate, near Richmond-on-Thames*.  
 Ferguson, Prof. W. S., 17, *Chaucery Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 Field, Rev. T., D.D., *St. Mary's Vicarage, Nottingham*.  
 Finlay of Nairn, The Right Hon. Baron, 31, *Phyllisara Gardens, Kensington, W.*  
 †Flen, Rev. D. J., *Sillgasse 2, Innsbruck, Tirol*.  
 Fisher, C. D., 6, *Phone Street, Chelsea, S.W.*  
 Fisher, The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. M.P., *The Grange, Ecteshall, Sheffield*.  
 Fitzgerald, Augustine, *c/o Messrs. Hottinguer (Gangnery), 38, Rue de Provence, Paris*.  
 Flather, J. H., *Larches Cottage, Newton Road, Cambridge*.  
 Fleeming-Jenkin, Mrs., 12, *Camden Hill Square, W.*  
 Fleming, Rev. H., *Chaplain's Quarters, Royal Military Academy, Woolwich*.  
 Fletcher, Basilster F., 29, *New Bridge Street, Ludgate Circus, E.C.*  
 Fletcher, F., *Charterhouse School, Godalming*.  
 Fletcher, H. M., 2, *Grays Inn Square, W.C.*  
 Floyd, G. A., *Knave's Cottage, Tonbridge*.  
 Foar, F. W. G., D.Litt., *City of London School, Victoria Embankment, E.C.*



- †Fond, P. J., *S. Moray Place, Edinburgh.*  
 Forsdyke, Captain E. J. (Council), 1, *Green Way, Weald Village, Harrow.*  
 Forster, Lieut. E. S., *The University, Sheffield.*  
 Forsyth, J. D., 51, *Broadhurst Gardens, S. Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Fotheringham, J. K., 6, *Blackhall Road, Oxford.*  
 Fowler, Prof. Harold N., Ph.D., *Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.*  
 Fowler, Prof. the Rev. J. R., *Carriepa Camp, Carriepa, Mauritius.*  
 Fowler, W. Waite, *Lincoln College, Oxford.*  
 Frangopoulos, Geo. S., *The Limes, Upper Park Road, Broughton Park, Kersey, near Manchester.*  
 Frazer, Prof., Sir J. G., LL.D., D.C.L. (V.P.), 1, *Brick Court, Middle Temple, E.C.*  
 \*Freshfield, Douglas W., D.C.L. (Hon. Treasurer), *Wyck Cross Place, Forest Row, Sussex.*  
 †Freshfield, Edwin, LL.D., 31, *Old Jewry, E.C.*  
 Fry, Right Hon. Sir Edward, D.C.L., *Failand House, Failand, near Bristol.*  
 Fry, F. J., *Crichton St. Thomas, Chard.*  
 Fuller, B. Aphorip Gould, *Sherborn, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 †Furley, J. S., *Cherpoche House, Winchester.*  
 Furneaux, L. R., *Rossall School, Fleetwood.*  
 Fyfe, Theodore (Council), 34, *King Street, Chetler.*  
 Gardiner, E. Norman (Council), *Epsom College, Surrey.*  
 Gardner, Miss Alice, *The Old Hall, Neunham College, Cambridge.*  
 †Gardner, Lieut.-Comm. Ernest A. (V.P.), *Tadworth, Surrey.*  
 †\*Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D. (V.P.), 12, *Canterbury Road, Oxford.*  
 Gardner, Samuel, *Oakhurst, Harrow-on-the-Hill.*  
 Gardner, W. Amory, *Groton, Massachusetts, U.S.A.*  
 †Garstang, Prof. J., D.Sc., *Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool.*  
 †Gaselee, S., 75, *Linden Gardens, Bayswater, W.*  
 Gates, Miss S. M., 15, *York Road, Exeter.*  
 Getkile, Sir Archibald, O.M., F.R.S., Sc.D., D.C.L., *Shepherd's Down, Haulmore, Surrey.*  
 †Gerner, E., *Jesus College, Oxford.*  
 †George, W. S., *Archivist's Office, Raksina, Delhi, India.*  
 †Gerrans, H. T., 20, *St. John's Street, Oxford.*  
 Gibson, Mrs. Margaret D., D.D., LL.D., *Castle-brar, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.*  
 Giles, Dr., P., *Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.*  
 Gilkes, Rev. A. H., *St. James, Bermundsey, S.E.*  
 Gillespie, C. M., 6, *Hollin Lane, Fur Haddingley, Leeds.*  
 Given, R. L., *Collet Court, Hammersmith Road, W.*  
 Glover, Miss Helen, 9, *St. George's Square, S.W.*  
 Godley, A. D., 27, *Northam Road, Oxford.*  
 Golligher, Prof. W. A., Litt.D., *Trinity College, Dublin.*  
 Gomme, A. W., *The University, Glasgow.*  
 Goodhart, A. M., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 Goodford, The Countess of, 24, *Hyde Park Gardens, W.*  
 Gow, A., 17a, *High Street, Eton.*  
 Gow, Rev. James, Litt.D., 19, *Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*  
 Green, G. Buckland, 21, *Loan Terrace, Edinburgh.*  
 Green, Mrs. J. S., 36, *Grypsenor Road, S.W.*  
 Greene, C. H., *The School, Great Bickhamstead.*  
 Greene, Herbert W., 4, *Stons Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*  
 Greenwell, Rev. W., F.R.S., *Durham.*  
 Greenwood, L. H. G., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge.*  
 Griffith, J., *Grammar School, Dolgelly.*

- Gulbenkian, C. S., 38, *Hyde Park Gardens, W.*  
 Gurney, Miss Amelia, 69, *Ennismore Gardens, S.W.*  
 Hackforth, R., *Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.*  
 Hadow, W. H., Mus. Doc., *Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*  
 Haigh, Mrs. E. A. R., *Thurleby Cottage, 11, King Street, Kensington Square, W.*  
 Haines, C. K., *Meadowleigh, Petersfield.*  
 Hall, Lieut. H. R. (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*  
 Hallam, G. H., *Ortygia, Harrow-on-the-Hill.*  
 Halliday, Lieut. W. K., B.Litt., *The University, Liverpool.*  
 Habbury, The Right Hon. the Earl of, 4, *Ennismore Gardens, S.W.*  
 † Hammond, B. E., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*  
 Harding, G. V., *The Firs, Upper Basildon, Pungbourne.*  
 † Harrison, Ernest, *Trinity College, Cambridge.*  
 † Harrison, Miss J. E., LL.D., D.Litt. (Council), *Newnham College, Cambridge.*  
 Harrower, Prof. John, *The University, Aberdeen.*  
 Hart, Frank, 15, *Winchester Road, Hampstead.*  
 Hart, Percival, *Grove Lodge, Highgate, N.*  
 Hasluck, F. W., *The Wilderness, Southgate, N.*  
 Hauser, Dr. Friedrich, *Piazza Sforza-Cesarini 21, Rome, Italy.*  
 Haussoullier, B., 8, *Rue Sainte-Cécile, Paris.*  
 † Haverfield, Prof. F. J., LL.D., *Winchfields, Headington Hill, Oxford.*  
 Haversham, Right Hon. Lord, *South Hill Park, Bracknell.*  
 Hawes, Charles H., *Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A.*  
 Hayter, Angelo G. K., 39, *Netherhall Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Headlam, Rev. A. C., D.D., *Whorlton Hall, Burnard Castle, Durham.*  
 Headlam, J. W., c/o Mrs. Headlam, 1, *St. Mary's Road, Wimbledon.*  
 Heard, Rev. W. A., *Fettes College, Edinburgh.*  
 Heath, Charles H., 224, *Hagley Road, Birmingham.*  
 † Heathcote, W. E., *Chingford Lodge, N. Wulsh Terrace, York.*  
 Heberden, C. B., *Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.*  
 Helbert, Lionel H., *West Downs, Winchester.*  
 Henderson, A. E., *Westwood Park House, Westwood Park, Forest Hill, S.E.*  
 Henn, The Hon. Mrs., *Kendley Lodge, Bursley.*  
 Henry, Prof. R. M., *Queen's University, Belfast.*  
 Henty, Mrs. Douglas, *Westgate, Chichester.*  
 Bett, W. S., *Durnford House, Eastern Road, Brighton.*  
 Heywood, Mrs. C. J., *Chauley, Pendleton, Manchester.*  
 Hicks, F. M., *Brackley Lodge, Weybridge.*  
 Hill, George F. (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C.*  
 Hill, Miss R. M., 26, *St. George's Square, S.W.*  
 Hillard, Rev. A. E., *St. Paul's School, West Kensington, W.*  
 Hiller von Gaertringen, Prof. Friedrich Freiherr, *Eberischen Allee 11, Westend, Berlin.*  
 Hirschberg, Dr. Julius, 26, *Schiffbauerdamm, Berlin, Germany.*  
 Hirst, Miss Gertrude, 3, *High Street, Safton Walden.*  
 Hodge, A. H., 30, *Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, Kensington, W.*  
 Hodges, Harold W., *Royal Naval College, Dartmouth.*  
 Hodgson, F. C., *Abholisford Villa, Tractonham.*  
 Hogarth, David G. (V.P.), *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*  
 Hogarth, Miss M. L., *The Red House, Westleton, Suffolk.*  
 † Holborn, J. B. S., 1, *Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.*  
 Holding, Miss Grace E., 21, *Penn Road Villas, Camden Road, N.W.*  
 † Holtroyd, Lieut. Michael, *Sturdlie House, Beckwood Avenue, Weybridge.*  
 Hopkins, R. V. Nihil, 107, *Hampstead Way, N.W.*  
 Hopkinson, Rev. J. H., 33, *Penrith Road, Colne, Lancs.*



- Hoppin, J. C., *Courthands, Pomfret Centre, Conn., U.S.A.*  
 †Hors, Sir Arthur F., Bart., *Newlands, Harrow-on-the-Hill.*  
 Hose, H. F., *Dulwich College, Dulwich, S.E.*  
 Hotson, J. E. B., I.C.S., *60 Messrs. Grindlay & Co., P.O. Box 98, Bombay.*  
 House, R. H., *The College, Malvern.*  
 How, W. W., *Merton College, Oxford.*  
 Howard de Walden, The Right Hon. Lord, *Seaford House, Belgrave Square, S.W.*  
 Howorth, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.E., F.R.S., 45, *Lexham Gardens, S.W.*  
 Hughes, Reginald, D.C.L., 40, *Compayne Gardens, South Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Hunt, A. S., D.Litt., *Queen's College, Oxford.*  
 Hunter, L. W., *New College, Oxford.*  
 Hutchinson, Sir J. T., *Lorton Hall, Cumberland.*  
 Hutchinson, Miss Doris, *St. Peter's Hill, Grantham.*  
 Hutton, Miss C. A. (Council), 49, *Drayton Gardens, S.W.*  
 †Hyde, James H., 12, *Rue Adolphe-Yvon, Paris.*  
 Image, Prof. Selwyn, 20, *Fitzroy Street, W.*  
 Jackson, Prof. Henry, O.M., Litt.D. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Cambridge.*  
 †James, A. G., 58, *Rutland Gate, S.W.*  
 James, Mrs. F. H., 74, *Rutland Gate, S.W.*  
 \*James, The Rev. H. A., D.D., *President of St. John's College, Oxford.*  
 James, H. R., *Cameron House, Walmer, Kent.*  
 James, Miss L., *Wynt Wood, Kenley, Surrey.*  
 James, Lionel, *School House, Menmouth.*  
 James, Montague Rhodes, Litt.D., *Provost of King's College, Cambridge.*  
 Jameson, Monsieur R., 4, *Avenue Velasquez, Paris.*  
 Janvier, Mrs. Thomas A., 8, *Hurlbut Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 †Jex-Blake, Miss, *Girton College, Cambridge.*  
 Johnson, Rev. Gifford H., *Feltham, 97, Park Lane, Croydon.*  
 Johnson, Miss Lorna A., *Woodleigh, Alltrincham.*  
 Jonas, Maurice, 47, *Exeter Road, Brondesbury, N.W.*  
 Jones, Henry L., *Willaston School, Nantwich.*  
 †Jones, H. Stuart (V.P.), *Glan-y-Mor, Saundersfoot, Pembrokeshire.*  
 †Jones, Ronald P., 208, *Colchérne Court, South Kensington.*  
 Joseph, H. W. B., *New College, Oxford.*  
 Kahnweiler, Miss Bettina, 120, *West 57th Street, New York, U.S.A.*  
 Karo, George, 1, *Rue Phidias, Athens, Greece.*  
 Keith, Prof. A. Bertiedale, D.Litt., D.C.L., 122, *Polwarth Terrace, Edinburgh.*  
 Kennedy, J., 51, *Palace Gardens Terrace, Campden Hill, W.*  
 Kensington, Miss Frances, 145, *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*  
 Kenyon, Sir Frederic, K.C.B., D.Litt. (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C.*  
 Ker, Prof. W. P., 95, *Gower Street, W.C.*  
 Koser, Dr. J., *Grande Boissière, 62, Route de Chêne, Gendry.*  
 King, J. E., *Clifton College, Bristol.*  
 †King, Mrs. Wilson, 19, *Highfield Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.*  
 Kipling, Mrs., *Mickleton, Queens Drive, Moasley Hill, Liverpool.*  
 Knight, Miss C. M., 9, *Navington Road, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Laistner, M. L. W., 62, *Dennington Park Road, W. Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Lamb, Miss D., 3, *Vale Studios, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Lamb, Miss W., *Holly Lodge, Campden Hill, W.*  
 †Lamb, W. R. M., 5, *Cambridge Terrace, Kew.*  
 Lane, Mrs. Charles T., *Dangstam, Petersfield.*  
 †Landowne, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.M.G.,  
*Bowood, Calne, Wilts.*  
 La Touche, Sir James Digges, K.C.S.I., 55, *Ruglan Road, Dublin.*



- Laurie, George E., *Royal Academical Institute, Belfast.*  
 Lautour, Miss de, *Swifts, Buxted, Sussex.*  
 Lawson, The Hon. Mrs., 78, *South Audley Street, S.W.*  
 Lawson, J. C., *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*  
 Leaf, Herbert, *The Green, Marlborough.*  
 †Leaf, Walter, Litt.D., D.Litt. (President), 6, *Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.*  
 Leeds, Her Grace, the Duchess of, 11,  *Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.*  
 Leeper, Alexander, LL.D., *Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne.*  
 Leeper, A. W. A., *British Museum, W.C.*  
 Legge, F., 6, *Gray's Inn Square, W.C.*  
 Lehmann-Haupt, Prof. C. F.  
 Leigh, W. Austen, *Hartfield, Rothampton, S.W.*  
 Lemon, Miss E., 35, *Lauriston Place, Edinburgh.*  
 Leishby, Prof. W. R., 111, *Imwiness Terrace, W.*  
 Letts, Malcolm, 8, *Barcliff's Buildings, Holborn Circus, E.C.*  
 Lewis, Harry K., 11, *Upper Phillimore Gardens, W.*  
 Lewis, Prof. G. R., c/o *Admiral of J. A. Green, Rhodes Buildings, St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 Lewis, L. W. P., 3, *Fiskell Avenue, Guiseley, near Leeds.*  
 †Lewis, Mrs. Agnes S., Phil. D., D.D., LL.D., *Castle-brae, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.*  
 Lincoln, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, *Old Palace, Lincoln.*  
 Lincoln, Very Rev. Dean of, *The Deanery, Lincoln.*  
 Lindley, Miss Julia, 74, *Skooter's Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.*  
 Lindwell, Miss Alice, *Newnham College, Cambridge.*  
 Livingstone, R. W., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*  
 Llewellyn, Raymond.  
 Lloyd, Miss A. M., *Caythorpe Hall, Grantham.*  
 †Lork, Rev. W., D.D., *Warden of Keble College, Oxford.*  
 †Loch, James, *Könradstrasse 14, Munich, Germany.*  
 †Longman, Miss Mary, 61, *Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W.*  
 Lomax, Miss H. L., *Somer villa College, Oxford.*  
 Lowe, Miss D., *Hinton St. George, Crumkerne, Somerset.*  
 Lowry, C., *The School House, Tonbridge.*  
 Lumsden, Miss, *Warren Cottage, Cranleigh, Surrey.*  
 Lum, Sir Henry S., M.D., 3, *Upper Woburn Place, W.C.*  
 Lunn, W. Holdsworth, *Allan Water Hotel, Bridge of Allan, N.B.*  
 Lynton, Hon. and Rev. E.  
 \*Mucan, R. W., *Master of University College, Oxford.*  
 McCann, Rev. Justin, O.S.B., *Ampleforth Abbey, Oxwaldbirk, York.*  
 McCutcheon, Miss K. H., *Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.*  
 Macdonald, George, C.B., LL.D., 17, *Leamouth Gardens, Edinburgh.*  
 Macdonald, Miss Louisa, *Women's College, Sydney University, Sydney, N.S.W.*  
 McDonell, H. C., *Twyford School, Twyford, near Winchester.*  
 Macdonell, P. J., *Office of Public Prosecutor, Livingstone, N.W. Rhodesia.*  
 McDougall, Miss Eleanor, *Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 McDowall, Rev. C. R. L., 60, *Waldon Road, Croydon.*  
 Macduff, Mrs. E. A., *Seaside Club, 27, Dover Street, W.*  
 MacEwen, Rev. Prof. Alex. Robertson, 5, *Doune Terrace, Edinburgh.*  
 Macgregor, J. M., *Bulford College, Regent's Park, N.W.*  
 McIntyre, Rev. P. S., 63, *Kirkstall Avenue, Kirkstall, Leeds.*  
 MacIver, D. Randall, 137, *East 66th Street, New York, U.S.A.*  
 Mackenzie, Duncan.  
 Macmillan, Mrs. Alexander, 32, *Grosvenor Road, S.W.*  
 †Macmillan, George A., D.Litt. (Hon. Sec.), *St. Martin's Street, W.C.*

- Macmillan, Mrs. George A., 27, *Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.*  
 Macmillan, Maurice, 52, *Cadogan Place, S.W.*  
 †Macmillan, Captain W. E. F., 47, *Onslow Square, S.W.*  
 †Macnaghten, Hugh, *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 †Magrath, Rev. J. R., *Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.*  
 \*Mahaffy, Rev. J. P., D.D., D.C.L., C.V.O., *Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.*  
 Mair, Prof. A. W., *The University, Edinburgh.*  
 †Mallin, P. B., *The School, Halesbury.*  
 Marchant, E. C., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*  
 †Marindin, G. E., *Hammondswood, Frensham, Farnham.*  
 †Marquand, Prof. Allan, *Princeton College, New Jersey, U.S.A.*  
 Marriage, Miss E. M., *Longfold House, near Farnham, Surrey.*  
 Marsh, E.  
 Marshall, Miss, *Oakhill, Stoke-on-Trent.*  
 Marshall, Frederick H., 144, *Abbey Road, N.W.*  
 Marshall, Sir J. H., C.I.E., L.D.S., *Director General of Archaeology, Simla, India.*  
 Marshall, Prof. J. W., *University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.*  
 Marshall, R., 31, *The Woldrons, Croydon.*  
 Martin, Charles B., Box 42, *Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.*  
 Martindale, Rev. C., 114, *Mount Street, W.*  
 †Martyn, Edward, *Tillyra Castle, Ardrahan, County Galway.*  
 Massey, Lieut.-Colonel P. H. H., *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 Matheson, P. E., 1, *Savile Road, Oxford.*  
 Maughan, A. W., *The Wick, Brighton.*  
 Mavrogordato, J., 5, *Linnell Close, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W.*  
 Mavrogordato, J. J., 6, *Palmeria Court, Hove, Sussex.*  
 Mavrogordato, T. M., 62, *Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*  
 Mayor, H. B., *Clifton College, Bristol.*  
 Mayor, R. J. G., *Board of Education, Whitehall, S.W.*  
 Measures, A. E., *King Edward VI. School, Birmingham.*  
 Medley, R.P., *Felsted School, Essex.*  
 Megaw, M. G., *The Welkin, Eastbourne.*  
 Meiklejohn, Lady, 20, *Eaton Terrace, S.W.*  
 Merk, F. H., *Christ's Hospital, West Hove.*  
 Merry, Rev. W. W., D.D., *Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.*  
 Metaxas, Spiro, 98, *Westbourne Terrace, W.*  
 †Miers, Sir H. A., F.R.S., *Birch Hey, Cromwell Range, Fallowfield, Manchester.*  
 Michel, Prof. Ch., 42, *Avenue Moulon, Lidje, Belgium.*  
 Miller, J. H., 10, *Abercromby Place, Edinburgh.*  
 Miller, William, 36, *Via Palestro, Rome, Italy.*  
 Millier, P., 95, *Boulevard St. Michel, Paris.*  
 Millington, Miss M. V., 47, *Peak Hill, Sydenham, S.E.*  
 Millne, J. Graham, *Banholde, Goldhill, Farnham, Surrey.*  
 Milner, Viscount, G.C.B., *Brooke's Club, St. James Street, S.W.*  
 Miner, Miss Julia, 18, *Sussex Square, Hyde Park, W.*  
 Minns, Ellis H. (Council), *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*  
 Mitchell, J. Malcolm, *East London College, Mile End Road, E.*  
 Mitchell, Mrs. C. W., *Jermond Towers, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*  
 Mond, Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred, Bart., M.P., 35, *Leicester Square, S.W.*  
 Mond, Mrs. E., 22, *Hyde Park Square, W.*  
 †Mond, Mrs. Frida, *The Peplars, 20, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.*  
 †Mond, Robert, *Gamble Bank, near Sevenoaks.*  
 Monfrice, C. B. S.



- Monfrics, J. Drummond C., 313, *Upper Richmond Road, S.W.*  
 Morrison, Walter, 77, *Cromwell Road, S.W.*  
 Moss, The Rev. Prebendary H. W., *Highfield Park, near Oxford.*  
 Mosley, H. W., *The White House, Haslemere.*  
 Mudie-Cooke, Miss P. H., 3, *Porchester Terrace, W.*  
 Muirhead, L., *Hamley Court, Wallingford.*  
 †Munro, J. A. R., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*  
 †Murphy, Rev. J. M., *Milltown Park, Dublin.*  
 Murray, Prof. G. G. A. (V.P.), 82, *Woodstock Road, Oxford.*  
 Mutton, Miss Caroline, *Mount Pleasant, Magdalen Hill, Winchester.*  
 †Myers, Ernest (Council), *Brinkside, Chislehurst, Kent.*  
 †Myers, Prof. J. Linton, 101, *Banbury Road, Oxford.*  
 †Nairn, Rev. J. Arbuthnot, *Merchant Taylors' School, E.C.*  
 Needham, Miss Helen R., *Exville House, Green Walk, Bowdon, Cheshire.*  
 Negroponte, J. A., *Finville Cottage, Howden, Cheshire.*  
 Newman, W. L., Litt.D., D.Litt., *Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham.*  
 Newton, The Lord, 6, *Belgrave Square, S.W.*  
 Newton, Miss Charlotte M., 18, *Priory Road, Bedford Park, W.*  
 Noack, Prof. Ferdinand, *Archaeolog. Institut, Wilhelmstrasse, No. 9, Tübingen.*  
 Nomico, C. G., *60 Messrs. Ralli Bros., Peter Street, Manchester.*  
 Norman-Roth, Mrs., 1, *Warwick House, Warwick Road, S.W.*  
 Norwood, Prof. G., 65, *Ninian Road, Roath Park, Cardiff.*  
 Oakesmith, John, D.Litt., 21, *Probert Gardens, Chiswick, S.W.*  
 Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, D.D., 9, *Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.*  
 Ogler, Miss Elisabeth, 51, *Marlborough Mansions, Cannon Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Ogden, Mrs. Percy, *Fragnal End, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Oliphant, Prof. Samuel Grant, *Grove City College, Grove City, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*  
 Oppé, A. P., 18, *Cheyne Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*  
 Oppenheimer, H., 9, *Kensington Palace Gardens, W.*  
 Ormerod, H. A., *The University, Liverpool.*  
 Orpen, Rev. T. H., *Mark Ash, Abinger, Dorking.*  
 Owen, A. S., *Keele College, Oxford.*  
 Owen-Mackenzie, Lady, 6, *Chesham Street, S.W.*  
 Page, T. E., *Woodcote, Godalming.*  
 Pallas, Alexander, *Tutor, Aighurth Drive, Liverpool.*  
 Parker, Miss M. E., *Primrose Helena College, Ealing, W.*  
 Parmiter, Rev. S. C., *West Bank, Uppingham.*  
 †Parry, Rev. O. H., *All Hallows' Clergy House, East India Docks, E.*  
 Parry, Rev. R. St. J., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*  
 Partington, John R., 43, *Gloucester Terrace, W.*  
 Paterson, Dr. W. H., 1, *Aighurth Hall Road, Aighurth, Liverpool.*  
 †Paton, James Morton, 302, *Strathcona Hall, Charles River Road, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 Paton, W. R., *Pathy, Sams.*  
 Pears, Sir Edwin.  
 Peckover of Wisbech, Baron, *Wisbech, Cambs.*  
 †Peckover, The Hon. Alexandrina, *Bank House, Wisbech.*  
 Pember, F. W., *Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford.*  
 Pennoyre, J. H. B. (Secretary & Librarian), 8, *King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple, E.C.*  
 †Penrose, Miss Emily, *Somerby College, Oxford.*  
 †Percival, F. W., 1, *Chesham Street, S.W.*  
 Perry, Prof. Edward Delavan, *Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.*  
 Pesel, Miss Laura, *Oak House, Bradford.*  
 Petrocochino, D. P., 25, *Odes Tivoli-entree, Athens.*



- Petrocokino, Ambrose, *Thomas Cottage, Pangbourne.*  
 Phillips, Mrs. Herbert, *Sutton Oaks, Macclesfield.*  
 Phillimore, Prof. J. S., *The University, Glasgow.*  
 Phillips, J. G., *de Meers, Arthur Hunt & Money, 24, The Haymarket, S.W.*  
 Picard, George, 244, *Rue Bonaparte, Paris.*  
 Pickering, T. E., *The Schools, Shrewsbury.*  
 Plater, Rev. Charles, S.J., *St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, Blackburn.*  
 †Platt, Prof. Arthur, 5, *Clatter Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.*  
 †Podmore, G. C., *Charnoy Hall, Grange-over-Sands.*  
 Pollock, The Right Hon. Sir Frederick, Bart., 21, *Hyde Park Place, W.*  
 †Pope, Mrs. G. H., 60, *Banbury Road, Oxford.*  
 Pope, Rev. J. O'Fallon, S.J., *Pope's Hall, Oxford.*  
 †Postgate, Prof. J. P., Litt.D., 15, *King's Lane, Liverpool.*  
 Powell, John U., *St. John's College, Oxford.*  
 Poynter, Sir Edward J., Bart., Litt.D., D.C.L., P.R.A., 70, *Adams Road, S.W.*  
 Preedy, J. B. K., 31, *Southwood Avenue, Highgate, N.*  
 Price, Miss Mabel, *The Judge's Lodgings, Oxford.*  
 Prickard, A. O., *Skotover, Fleet R.S.O., Hants.*  
 Pryce, Lieut. F. N., *British Museum, W.C.*  
 †Pryor, Francis R., *Woodfield, Hatfield, Herts.*  
 Purser, Miss Olive, 12, *Palmerston Road, Dublin.*  
 Pyddoke, Miss Mary, 21, *Grange Park, Ealing, W.*  
 Quibell, Mrs. Annie A., *Gizeh Museum, Egypt.*  
 †Rackham, H., *Christ's College, Cambridge.*  
 Radcliffe, W. W., *Fonthill, East Grinstead, Sussex.*  
 Radford, Miss, *Belgian Colony, The Grange, Littleport Road, Ely.*  
 †Ralegh, Miss Katherine A., 8, *Park Road, Cambridge.*  
 \*Ralli, Pandeli, 17, *Belgrave Square, S.W.*  
 †Ralli, Mrs. Stephen A., *St. Catherine's Lodge, Hove, Sussex.*  
 Ramsay, A. B., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 Ramsay, Prof. G. G., Litt.D., 19, *Onslow Gardens, S.W.*  
 †Ramsay, Prof. Sir W. M., D.C.L., Litt.D. (V.P.), 11, *Braid Avenue, Edinburgh.*  
 Raven, H. M., M.R.C.S., *Barnfield House, Broadstairs.*  
 Rawlins, F. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 Reeves, Hon. William Pember, 43, *Cornwall Gardens, S.W.*  
 Reichel, Sir Harry R., *Gartherwen, Bangor, North Wales.*  
 Reid, Prof. J. S., Litt.D., *Cambridge College, Cambridge.*  
 †Rendall, Rev. G. H., Litt.D., *Dodham House, Dodham, Colchester.*  
 †Rendall Montague, *The College, Winchester.*  
 Rennie, W., *The University, Glasgow.*  
 Richards, Rev. G. C., *Oriel College, Oxford.*  
 Richards, F., *Kingwood School, Bath.*  
 Richardson, Miss A. W., *Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Richmond, Prof. O. L., 25, *Cardiff Road, Llandaff.*  
 Richmond, Sir W. B., K.C.B., D.C.L., R.A., *Beaver Lodge, West End, Hammersmith, W.*  
 Richter, Miss Gisela, Litt.D., *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.*  
 Ridgeway, Prof. W. (V.P.), *Fen Ditton, Cambridge.*  
 Ridley, Miss E. E. A., 24, *Bartholomew Road, N.W.*  
 Ridley, Sir Edward, 48, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*  
 Riggs, Herbert A., *Wulthurst Manor, Crayford, Harsham.*  
 Riley, W. E., *County Hall, Spring Gardens, S.W.*  
 Roberts, J. Slingsby, 3, *Pineis Villas, Brighton.*  
 Roberts, Principal T. F., *Sherborne House, Aberystwyth.*  
 Roberts, Professor W. Rhys, Litt.D., *The University, Leeds.*

- Robertson, The Right Rev. Bishop A., 7, *Canterbury Road, Oxford*.
- Robertson, D. S. (Council), *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
- Robinson, C. E., *Catores Close, Winchester*.
- Robinson, Edward, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.*
- Robinson, Lieut. E. S. G., *British Museum, W.C.*
- Robinson, W. S., *Courtfield, West Hill, Putney Heath*.
- Rodd, H. E. Sir Kennell, G.C.M.G., *British Embassy, Rome*.
- Romanns, H. E. Athos, *Greek Legation, Paris*.
- Ross, H. J., 840, *Lorne Crescent, Montreal, Canada*.
- †Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., 38, *Berkeley Square, W.*
- Rotton, Sir J. F., *Lockwood, Frith Hill, Godalming, Surrey*.
- \*Rouse, W. H. D., Litt.D., *Elebe Road, Cambridge*.
- Ruben, Paul, 34, *Alte Rothenstrasse, Hamburg, Germany*.
- †Ryle, The Right Rev. Bishop, C.V.O., *The Deanery, Westminster, S.W.*
- Sachs, Mrs. Gustave, 26, *Marlborough Hill, N.W.*
- St. Lawrence, T. J. E. Gairford, *Howath Castle, Dublin*.
- Saltz, Mrs., 2, *Campden Hill Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- Salterhwaite, Colonel, *Pasture House, Northallerton, Yorkshire*.
- Sanday, Rev. Canon Prof. W., D.D., *Christ Church, Oxford*.
- Sanders, Miss A. E. E., *The High School, Camden Park, Cambridge Wells*.
- Sanderson, F. W., *The School, Oundle, Northamptonshire*.
- Sands, P. C., *Pocklington School, East Yorks.*
- †Sandys, Sir John, Litt.D. (V.P.), *St. John's House, Grange Road, Cambridge*.
- †Sandys, Lady, *St. John's House, Grange Road, Cambridge*.
- Sawyer, Rev. H. A. P., *School House, St. Bees, Cumberland*.
- †Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H., Litt.D. (V.P.), 8, *Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh*.
- †Scaramanga, A. P.
- †Scarth, Miss E. M., *Turlough Mill, Bradford-on-Avon*.
- Scheurleer, C. W. Lunningh, *Vinkenpark 16, The Hague*.
- Schliiss, Miss, 57, *Upper Brook Street, W.*
- Schneider, Prof. H., *Allgemeine 39, Wien IV.*
- Schuster, Ernest, 12, *Harrington Gardens, S.W.*
- Sconlond, Stephanos, *Athens, Greece*.
- Sciutt, Lieut. C. A.
- Seager, Richard B., *110 Baring Brov. and Co., 8, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.*
- Seale, Rev. E. G., *Kilkenny College, Kilkenny*.
- Seebahn, Hugh, *Poynder's End, near Hitchin*.
- Seltnan, E. J., *Kinghoe, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.*
- †Selwyn, Rev. E. C., D.D., *Udlesham, Lindhead, Surrey*.
- Selwyn, Rev. E. G., *Warden of Radley, Berks.*
- †Sharpe, Miss Catharine, *Stoneycroft, Elstree, Herts.*
- Shear, Mrs., 468, *Riverside Drive, New York, U.S.A.*
- Shearme, J. S., *Repton, Burton-on-Trent*.
- Sheepshanks, A. C., *Eton College, Windsor*.
- Sheppard, J. T., *King's College, Cambridge*.
- Shewan, Alexander, *Seehof, St. Andrews, Fife*.
- Shields, Mrs., *American Art Students' Club, 4, Rue de Chevreuse, Paris*.
- Shipley, H. S., C.M.G., H.B.M. Consulate, *Tadriz, Persia*.
- Shoobridge, Leonard, *Propriété St. François, Gaitaut, Nice*.
- Shove, Miss E., 30, *York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, W.*
- Sidgwick, Arthur, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford*.
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 †Waldstein, Sir Charles, Ph.D., Litt.D., L.H.D. [V.P.], *Newton Hall, near Cambridge*  
 Walford, L., *Borough of Holborn Council Offices, 197, High Holborn, W.C.*  
 Walker, Miss D. L., *Regent Lodge, Headingley, Leeds*  
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 Webb, C. C. J., *Magdalen College, Oxford*  
 Webb, P. G. L., 12, *Lancaster Gate Terrace, W.*  
 †Weber, F. P., M.D., 13, *Hurley Street, W.*

- Weber, Sir Hermann, M.D., 10, Grosvenor Street, W.  
 Webster, Erwin Wentworth, Wadham College, Oxford.  
 Weidd, N., King's College, Cambridge.  
 Weech, W. N., School House, Sedburgh, Yorkshire.  
 Weir, Robert Weir Schultz, 14, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.  
 Weld-Blundell, Herbert, Brook's Club, St. James Street, S.W.  
 †Weldon, The Right Rev. Bishop, The Deanery, Manchester.  
 Wells, C. M., Eton College, Windsor.  
 Wells, J., Wadham College, Oxford.  
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 Wheeler, Prof. James R., Ph.D., Columbia College, New York City, U.S.A.  
 Whibley, Leonard, Pembroke College, Cambridge.  
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 Whitworth, A. W., Eton College, Windsor.  
 Wilford, Miss D., 23, Knighton Church Road, Leicester.  
 Wilkins, Rev. George, 36, Trinity College, Dublin.  
 Wilkinson, Herbert, 10, Orme Square, W.  
 Williams, Prof. T. Hudson, University College, Bangor.  
 Willis, J. Arming, c/o R. C. B. Willis, Esq., 4, Grange Park, Ealing, W.  
 Willis, Miss L. M., 76, Addison Gardens, W.  
 Wilson, Major H. C. B., Crofton Hall, Crofton, near Wakefield.  
 Wilson, Miss, Laleham, Eastbourne.  
 Wilson, T. I. W., Repton, Burton-on-Trent.  
 Wood, R. Stanford, 56, St. John's Park, Upper Holloway, N.  
 Wood, Rev. W. S., Ufford Rectory, Stamford.  
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 Woodward, Prof. W. H., Crookbury Hurst, Farnham, Surrey.  
 Woolley, Capt. C. L., Old Riffham, Danbury, Essex.  
 Wright, F. A., LL.D., Moss Hall Lodge, Nether Street, North Finchley, N.  
 †Wyndham, Rev. Francis M., St. Mary of the Angels, Westmoreland Road, Bayswater, W.  
 Wyndham, Hon. Margaret, 12, Great Stanhope Street, W.  
 Wynne-Finch, Miss Helen, Chapel House, Crathorne, Yarm, Yorkshire.  
 †Wyse, W., Hatford, Shipston-on-Stour.  
 Yeames, A. H. S., United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.  
 York, V. W., Pontifex House, Shoe Lane, E.C.  
 Young, George M., 39, St. George's Square, S.W.  
 †Yule, Miss Amy F., Tarradale House, Ross-shire, Scotland.  
 Zimmer, A. E. (Council), 14, Great Russell Mansions, Great Russell Street, W.C.  
 †Zochonis, G. B., Mountlands, Enville Road, Bowdon, Cheshire.  
 Zochonis, P. B., Fairlawn, Winton Road, Bowdon, Cheshire.

### STUDENT ASSOCIATES

- Astley, Miss M., 9, Wilton Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.  
 Here, R. de, Sutton, Surrey.  
 Child, V. Gordon, Queen's College, Oxford.



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### RUSSIA.

- Petrograd.** La Bibliothèque Impériale Publique, *Petrograd, Russia*.

### SWEDEN.

- Stockholm.** Kongl. Biblioteket, *Stockholm, Sweden*.  
**Uppsala.** Kongl. Universitets Bibliotek, *Uppsala, Sweden*.

### SWITZERLAND.

- Geneva.** La Bibliothèque Publique, *Genève, Switzerland*.  
**Lausanne.** L'Association de Leçons Philologiques, *Avenue Duport 5, Lausanne*  
 [Dr. H. Meylan-Faure].  
**Zürich.** Zentral-Bibliothek, *Zürich, Switzerland*.

### SYRIA.

- Jerusalem.** École Biblique de St. Étienne, *Jerusalem*.

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE  
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES:

- American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96, *Chestnut Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*).
- American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).
- Annalecta Bollandiana. Société des Hollandistes, 27, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles*.
- Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France*.
- Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Bedford Street, Liverpool*).
- Annual of the British School at Athens.
- Annuario della Regia Scuola di Atene, *Athens, Greece*.
- Archäologikon Deltion, *Athens*.
- Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (H. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).
- Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reischand, *Carlstrasse 20, Leipzig, Germany*).
- Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at Athens).
- Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russe, Constantinople*).
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Alexandria*.
- Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).
- Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
- Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo*.
- Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*
- Ephemeris Archaeologica, *Athens*.
- Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kriechbaum, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna*).
- Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedrich-Weg, Göttingen, Germany*).
- Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, *Corneliusstrasse No. 20, Berlin*.
- Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, *Turkenstrasse 4, Vienna*.
- Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and Man, 30, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*
- Journal of Philology and Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
- Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
- Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).
- Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. E. Kornemann, *Neckarhalde 53, Tübingen*).
- Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale d'Université S. Joseph, *Beirut, Syria*.
- Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie. École française, *Palazzo Farnese, Rome*.
- Memoen (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin-Südende, Germany*).
- Memorie dell' Istituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (R. Accademia di Bologna, *Italy*).
- Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens*.
- Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Rome*.
- Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.
- Neapolis. Signor Prof. V. Marchiolo, *Via Civiltà 8, Naples*.
- Neue Jahrbücher. Herr Dr. Rektor Ilberg, Kgl. Gymnasium, *Würzen, Saxony*.
- Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, *Rome*.
- Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.
- Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (c/o Dietrich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, *Göttingen*).



- Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, *Athens*.  
 Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.  
 Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.  
 Revue Archéologique, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, Rue Bonaparte, *Paris*.  
 Revue des Études Grecques, 44, Rue de Lille, *Paris*.  
 Revue Épigraphique.  
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brückmann, Schumannstrasse 56,  
*Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).  
 Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Diez, Kaiser-Strasse  
 33, *Munich, Germany*).  
 Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin*.

## PROCEEDINGS

## SESSION 1915-16

During the past Session the following Papers were read at General Meetings of the Society:—

November 16th, 1915. Professor Percy Gardner: '*A new Statue of Alexander the Great from Cyrene*' (see below, p. xlvii).

February 8th, 1916. Mr. A. Hamilton Smith: '*Some Greek and other Reliefs recently acquired by the British Museum*' (see J.H.S. xxxvi. p. 65).

May 9th, 1916. Mr. G. F. Hill: '*Apollo and St. Michael: some Analogies*' (see J.H.S. xxxvi. p. 134).

June 27th, 1916. Dr. Walter Leaf: '*Many-fountained Ida*.' Mr. A. Hamilton Smith: '*An Archaic Statue recently acquired by the Berlin Museum*.'

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THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on June 27th, 1916.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Secretary, presented the following Annual Report of the Council:—

The Council beg leave to submit the following Report for the Session 1915-16.

The work of the Society has gone on steadily during the past Session though necessarily it has been much restricted.

The *Journal* has been duly published, the usual meetings have been held, the number of visitors to the Library has been about the same as last year, and there has been a fair demand for slides and photographs.

More than a year ago the Council agreed to place the services of the Society's Secretary and Librarian, Mr. Penoyre, at the disposal of the National Service League, as Manager of Lord Roberts's Field Glass Fund, and since then the management of the office work has been mainly in the hands of the Assistant-Librarian, F. Wise, who has performed his duties in a very satisfactory manner. With the approbation of the Council he has now enlisted. Arrangements have been made by which members will still enjoy full postal facilities for



borrowing books and slides, etc., and will also have daily access to the Library, though for shorter hours.

**Changes on the Council, etc.**—The Council record with regret the death in February last of their valued sometime colleague, Mr. F. E. Thompson, one of the earliest members of the Society. From 1902-1914 he served on the Council, and to the last retained his interest in the work of the Society, especially on its literary side. He was a fine scholar of the old school, while his personal qualities endeared him to his colleagues who could always count on his help in any emergency.

In the Rev. H. F. Tozer, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, the Society has lost one of its few remaining original members, who served the office of Vice-President for many years. Mr. Tozer had as a young man travelled extensively in Greece and in European and Asiatic Turkey, and among his many contributions to topography may be mentioned "The Highlands of Turkey," "Lectures on the Geography of Greece," "The Islands of the *Ægean*," and "The History of Ancient Geography." He also edited "Finlay's History of Greece" for the Clarendon Press.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Alfred Biliotti, K.C.B., well known to archaeologists from his excavations at Kamiros, in the 'sixties, died at Rhodes in 1915, at an advanced age. He was one of the first four British Honorary Members of the Society, and was elected in 1882 when H.B.M. Consul at Trebizond. The other three consuls elected at the same time were Mr. Wood of Patras, Mr. George Dennis of Smyrna, and Mr. Merlin of the Peiræus.

Mr. William Loring, in civil life Warden of the Goldsmiths' College in the University of London, Captain in the 2nd Scottish Horse, who died of wounds on October 24th, 1915, was a much valued member of the Council from 1895-1907, when the pressure of his educational work compelled him to resign. Mr. C. F. Balleine, Mr. D. R. Brandt, and Mr. G. L. Cheesman have also died on active service.<sup>2</sup>

Among other members whom the Society has lost by death are Sir James Donaldson, Principal of the University, St. Andrews; Dr. Strachan-Davidson, Master of Balliol; Dr. Alexander van Millingen, Professor of History in the Robert College, Constantinople; and Professor W. Ross Hardie, of Edinburgh.

The following Members of the Council retire by rotation and are nominated for re-election: Mr. A. M. Daniel, Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. J. P. Droop, Mr. Edgar, Mr. Talfourd Ely, Mr. Theodore Fyfe, Miss J. E. Harrison, Mrs. Arthur Strong, and Mr. P. N. Ure.

<sup>1</sup> The Council have recently been informed that Mr. Tozer bequeathed £200 to the Society. (*Ed. Aug. 1916.*)

<sup>2</sup> To these names must now be added that of

another member of the Council, Captain Guy Dickins, K.R.R., and that of Mr. R. M. Heath. (*Ed.*)

**Bywater and Sotheby Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature.**—The Statute establishing this Professorship provides that the election shall be in the hands of a Board of seven Electors, one of whom shall be nominated by this Society to hold office



STATUE OF ALEXANDER FROM CYRENE.

for five years. The Council have appointed Professor J. B. Bury as the Society's Elector.

**General Meetings.**—At the first General Meeting, held November  
d 2



16th, 1915, Professor Percy Gardner read an illustrated paper on "A new Statue of Alexander the Great from Cyrene."

He said that in June, 1914, there came to light on the site of Cyrene, in baths of the Ptolemaic age, which were restored under Hadrian, a colossal statue of Alexander, nearly eight feet (mètres 2.30) in height (see figure). The figure is erect, the weight resting on the left leg; the left hand held a lance, of which some part remains; on the right side is a puntello, which seems to mark the place where a sword, held in the right hand, rested. Over the left shoulder is the end of a chlamys; by the side of the statue emerges the head of a horse.

Professor Mariani has published a preliminary account of the statue in the *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, 1915. He promises a fuller account hereafter. But the members of the Hellenic Society may be glad to have in the meantime a brief exposition of the value of the new discovery.

That the new statue is in some sense a portrait of Alexander seems to be clear: the head is quite near to a recognised type. But the horse's head emerging from the ground shows that Alexander appears in the guise of one of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, by whose effigies in reliefs in the museum at Sparta the horse's head sometimes appears.

It must be confessed that the statue, apart from the head, is not interesting. It is of poor work and conventional type. If the head had been lost it would scarcely have occurred to us that it might represent Alexander. But the head deserves closer consideration. It is turned slightly towards the right shoulder and upwards; the expression is lofty and enthusiastic; and the hair, as in most portraits of Alexander, stands up from the head in two masses, of which one falls towards either temple. The attitude is exactly that described by Plutarch in the most noted of the portraits by Lysippus, the head turned up to the sky, the neck slightly twisted, with a manly and leonine aspect.

The actual forms of the features certainly resemble those of the Azara head, which is, however, in so poor a condition and so much restored that it has no great value. The attitude of the head, however, differs from the Azara example, and is more like that of the head of the bronze statuette in the Louvre, which was regarded by Professor Wolters (*Arch. Anz.* 1895, p. 163) as a reduction of the 'Alexander with the lance' by Lysippus. The body of this statuette, however, does not resemble that of the new statue, which is squarer, more upright, and differently ponderated.

It is probable that Prof. Mariani will have some difficulty in determining the relation of the new discovery to existing portraits. As regards attitude of head, hair, and general type, nothing comes much nearer to it than the beautiful bronze statuette from Paránythia in the British Museum (*Cat. Bronzes*, 277), which is shown by the conical felt cap to represent one of the Dioscuri. It is not improbable, therefore, that the statue really represents a Dioscurus with the traditional features of Alexander. From the photograph one cannot determine whether the horse's head is horned or not: if it is horned, this would show a close relation to Alexander. It

will be wiser to postpone one's final opinion, on this and other points, until Prof. Mariani publishes his more mature views.

A discussion followed in which Mrs. Esdaile, Mr. Arthur Smith, and Mrs. Strong took part.

On February 8th, 1916, Mr. A. Hamilton Smith read a paper, illustrated with lantern slides, on "Some Greek and other Reliefs recently acquired by the British Museum." The paper dealt generally with the votive and sepulchral Greek reliefs which have been acquired by the British Museum during the last twenty-five years.

Most of the reliefs shown and discussed are published by Mr. Smith in the *Journal*, Vol. XXXVI., Part I. Among those not there published the principal subjects are the votive relief of Pan and the Nymphs; the relief of Artemis Bendis and the Torch-racers; and the relief published *J.H.S.* XXII., Pl. I. The addition of the central acroterial ornament since that publication has established that the proportions are those of a votive and not of a sepulchral relief.

Among the grave-reliefs, besides those discussed in the paper referred to, the relief of a Slave Boy, given by the Duke of Northumberland in 1852, and only lately brought into the galleries, was shown. This relief, long suspect, and condemned in *B.M. Cat. of Sculpture* (No. 2,661), but defended by Cozza (No. 1,266), appears to be authentic and interesting.

A trapezophoron from the Temple Collection (Eros with a cock), and the lately acquired Altar of Hercules Augustus (*C.I.L.* VI., 301), were also exhibited.

At the third General Meeting, held on May 9th, Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on "Apollo and St. Michael: some Analogies." The coins of Alexandria Troas illustrate a peculiar version of the myth of the foundation of the Smintheion; the herdsman (Ordes) of the priest (Krinis) is guided by a bull to the grotto where the statue of Apollo is found. The Troad Apollo is a sender of and preserver of plague (with which his sacred rats or mice are associated) and also a god of herds. The use of cattle as guides to sites of sacred places is common in various mythologies; and the legend of the shrine of St. Michael on Monte Gargano (on which in antiquity there was a shrine of Calchas) offers a parallel to the Smintheion legend. The legend of Mont St. Michel also recalls the theft of the cattle of Apollo by Hermes; there also the site was indicated by a bull. There is a general resemblance between the activities of Apollo, the god of light, slayer of the Python, and the bright angel Michael, queller of the serpent of Evil. There are also close analogies between the two as healers, and in connexion with plague. But while Michael's weapon is sword or lance, that of Apollo is bow and arrows. The arrow is the symbol of pestilence during antiquity and the middle ages, as is proved by literary references from St. Gregory onwards, and by the Italian plague-pictures and German Pest-Blätter. The association of Michael with plague is illustrated by the Vision of Castel Sant' Angelo and various incidents and usages down to the seventeenth century. As healer he supersedes Apollo and other



healing deities in Phrygia (especially at Chonae) and near Constantinople (the Michaelion). The art-conception of Michael as a dragon-queller, in accordance with the passage of *Revelation*, first develops importance in the eleventh century; but though the idea may have been helped by the adoption of Michael as patron-saint by the Lombards, the development of the art-type is not due to Germanic influence.

An interesting discussion followed in which the President, Dr. Crawford, Mr. P. Droop, Dr. Sambon, and Mr. P. N. Ure took part.

**Library, Photographic and Lantern Slide Collections.**—The subjoined table shows the number of books added to the Joint Library during the past three years, the number of visitors to it, and of books borrowed; also the number of slides lent out on hire, and of slides and photographs sold each session.

As will be seen very few additions have been made during the past two years; but the Council felt it would not be proper to spend on the collections, and such additions as have been made are by gift, not by purchase.

SESSION.	A. LIBRARY.				B. SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.			
	ACCESSIONS.		Visitors to Library.	Books taken out.	Slides added to Collection.	Slides hired.	Slides Sold to Members.	Photos Sold to Members.
	Books.	Vols.						
1913-14	442	484	1,072	1,087	Catalogue of 4,509 Slides	3,746	1,681	439
1914-15	142	174	659	678	473	2,376	2,268	214
1915-16	97	109	960	673	268	1,854	851	327

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from the following bodies: The Trustees of the British Museum, The Trustees of the Rylands Library, The Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Paris; The Metropolitan Museum of New York, The Egypt Exploration Fund, The Society of Dilettanti.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works: Messrs. Geo. Allen & Unwin, Batsford, G. Bell & Son, Blackwell, Fratelli Bocca, Constable & Co., Chatto & Windus, Dent & Son, Hachette & Co., Hartap & Co., Heinemann, Maison Leroux, Macmillan & Co., Grant Richards, Williams & Norgate, and the University Presses of the

following Universities: Cambridge, Oxford, California, Princeton, and Virginia.

The following authors have presented copies of their works: Sir Arthur Evans, Prof. W. Ridgeway, S. A. Xanthoudides, J. D. Rolleston, Col. Sir M. Sykes, G. Oeconomos, A. Theander, Mrs. Arthur Strong, Miss G. A. M. Richter, E. Bell, J. W. Cohoon, G. F. Hill, C. Lundberg, J. P. Droop, P. Waldhauer, L. O. Th. Tudeer, Miss A. G. Dunham, and the Hon. Margaret Wyndham.

Miscellaneous donations of books have also been given by Mr. W. H. Buckler, Mr. C. R. Haines and Miss C. Sharpe.

The Council beg to thank the following donors of slides, negatives and photographs: Sir Hercules Read, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, Mrs. Esdaile, Mr. F. W. Hasluck and Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

**Finance.**—The Income of the Society for the year shows a further falling off when compared with last year, and is considerably lower than it was two or three years ago. This, however, was only to be expected in view of the many other pressing claims of the present time, but by severely restricting expenditure wherever possible the year's outlay has not exceeded the income. The fall in receipts for Members' Subscriptions and Entrance Fees is £70, which has been more than offset by a reduction in the amount spent on the Journal. The amount received from Subscribing Libraries is not lower than last year, and leaving out enemy countries, the list does not appear likely to fall off in numbers. As a result of the reduced outlay on the Journal, and some further economies under the various headings of general expenditure, the Income and Expenditure Account would have shown a balance on the right side of just over £100, but for the fact that it has been decided to carry to Reserve Account, against the fall in the market value of the Society's Investments, the sum of £100, and this has reduced the balance to a few pounds.

The Cash balance stands at £439, as against £472 last year, and the Debts Receivable are £35 higher—practically an even position. Against this the Debts Payable stand at £288, or £50 less than last year, an improvement by that amount. The amount of arrears of Members' Subscriptions outstanding when the books closed was £168, but this amount is omitted in making up the accounts.

The total of the names on the ordinary membership roll has dropped from 901 to 864. The total for the Libraries, including those in the enemy countries whose subscriptions it is anticipated will be renewed after the war, stands at 218, as against 217 last year.

It is almost inevitable that the membership roll should suffer heavily again in the coming year. Several members are known to be abroad on active service, and these, at any rate for a time, are out of touch with the Society. More urgent claims must interfere in other cases, and the only way in which the Society's work can be kept going is by the practical help of all its Members.



By the introduction of new Members most valuable assistance can be rendered, and it is only in this way that the membership roll can be maintained. On this the strength of the Society's finances depend, and so far as it does not interfere with their public obligations the Council invites the active co-operation of all of the Members to this end.

The Chairman announced that the Officers and retiring Members of Council, of whose names a printed list had been circulated, were duly re-elected.

He then moved the adoption of the Report of the Council, which having been seconded by Mr. Percival, was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr. A. Hamilton Smith described an archaic seated female statue recently added to the Museum of Berlin.

The President gave an illustrated address on 'Many-fountained Ida.' The proceedings closed with votes of thanks to the Auditors moved by Mr. Penoyre, and to the lecturers, moved by Mr. Macmillan and seconded by Sir Henry Howarth.

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

## ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.	31 May, 1913.	31 May, 1914.	31 May, 1915.	31 May, 1916.
Subscriptions, Current.....	£ 753	£ 759	£ 773	£ 771	£ 760	£ 747	£ 772	£ 795	£ 742	£ 685
Arrears .....	72	70	82	82	84	78	87	60	61	59
Life Compositions .....	47	47	15	31	91	15	110	55	20	47
Libraries .....	173	188	190	197	196	196	201	214	189	192
Entrance Fees .....	75	78	94	107	65	50	134	54	31	19
Dividends .....	64	62	62	62	62	62	62	65	68	71
Rent: (B.S.A., B.S.R., and Archæological Institute) ..	10	10	10	13	22	22	22	20	20	30
Endowment Fund .....	17	25	2	4	1	1	16	3	1	1
"Excursions at Phylakopi," sales .....	21*	18*	12*	7*	10*	4*	4*	5*	4*	1*
"Psephro Codex Venetus," sales .....	17*	5*	..	..	12*	4*	4*	4*	..	..
Lantern Slides Account .....	3*	3*	..	7*	..	12*	3*	..	57*	10*
Emergency Fund (for Library Fittings) .....	..	..	..	327	67	..	..	..	..	..
Rent, Use of Library, &c. (Roman Society) .....	..	..	..	..	38	60	55	65	80	80
	1,239	1,263	1,240	1,610	1,417	1,255	1,472	1,279	1,286	1,204

\* Receipts less expenses.

## ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.	31 May, 1913.	31 May, 1914.	31 May, 1915.	31 May, 1916.
Rent .....	£ 100	£ 100	£ 100	£ 109	£ 188	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205
Insurance .....	14	15	15	13	14	13	10	9	10	19
Salaries .....	178	178	201	241	271	283	267	279	287	280
Library: Purchases & Binding Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, &c. ....	85	85	85	58	73	103	86	90	31	12
Shed: Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc. ....	..	..	..	..	34	51	36	40	40	41
Shed: Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc. ....	..	..	140	126	151	176	193	161	122	81
Lantern Slides Account .....	..	..	..	..	16*	..	..	130*	..	..
Photographs Account .....	..	..	17*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cost of Journal (less sales)....	356	406	362	532	385	362	493	307	415	315
Grants .....	225	340	185	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Roman Society, Expenses of formation .....	..	..	..	51	15	..	..	..	..	..
Library Fittings .....	..	..	..	208	18	..	..	111	..	..
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications and Reserved	10	6	53	52	3	4	2	2	2	101
	1,069	1,249	1,161	1,740	1,310	1,327	1,352	1,573	1,264	1,195

\* Expenses less sales.



Dr. JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1915, TO MAY 31, 1916. Cr.

To Printing and Paper, Vol. XXXV, Part II, and XXXVI, Part I, .....	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Plates .....				358	15	11
By Drawing and Engraving .....				34	10	0
Editing and Reviews .....				18	2	2
By Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members .....				64	16	0
				49	23	4
				405	16	11
By Sales, including back Vols., from June 1, 1915, to May 31, 1916, .....						
Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd. ....				76	6	6
" Hellenic Society .....				0	4	0
By Receipts for Advertisements .....				76	4	6
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....				14	0	0
				315	12	5

NOTE.—Owing to Vol. XXXVI, Part I, not being issued till after the close of the financial year, and actual figures being impossible, approximate figures of the cost, and an estimated amount for the value of this part have been included above.

£405 16 11

EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPT ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1915, TO MAY 31, 1916.

Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1916.	Account for Current Year.	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1916.	Account for Current Year.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
120 16 11		120 16 11	
£120 16 11		£120 16 11	

By Sale of 1 Copy during year .....	£	s.	d.
Deficit Balance at May 31, 1916 (excluding value of Stock) .....			
	1	0	0
	120	16	11
	£120	16	11

Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1916.	Account for Current Year.	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1916.	Account for Current Year.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
120 16 11	—	120 16 11	—
—	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
£120 16 11	£1 0 0	£120 16 11	£1 0 0

Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock) .....	
Balance on Current Year for Income and Expenditure Account .....	

Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock) .....

Balance on Current Year to Income and Expenditure Account .....

FACSIMILE OF THE CODEX VENETUS OF ARISTOPHANES' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1915, TO MAY 31, 1916.

	Codex showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1916.		Account for Current Year.		Codex showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1916.	Account for Current Year.	
	£	s	d		£	s	d
To Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding Value of Stock) .....							
By Half Balance to American Archaeological Institute .....	78	3	0				
By Half Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	—						
	£78	3	0		£78	3	0

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1915, TO MAY 31, 1916.

	£		s	d		£		s	d
	£	s	d			£	s	d	
To Slides and Photographs for Sale .....	38	0	10		By Receipts from Sales .....	44	1	7	
By Slides for Hire .....	1	15	10		By " " Hire .....	5	3	6 1/2	
By Photographs for Reference Collection .....	12	3			By Receipts from Sale of Catalogues .....	40	7	1 1/2	
	51	18	10			11	0		
By Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	30	14	11						
	81	3	8 1/2						
	£81	3	8 1/2			£49	18	7 1/2	

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1915, TO MAY 31, 1916.

	£		s	d		£		s	d
	£	s	d			£	s	d	
To Purchases .....	7	14	2		By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c. ....	6	8	0	
By Binding .....	4	15	3		By Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	12	0	8	
	11	29	5						
	£11	29	5			£12	0	8	



# INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From JUNE 1, 1915, to MAY 31, 1916.

Expenditure.		Income.	
To Rent	£ 205 5 0	By Members' Subscriptions—	£ 412 4 4
Salaries—		Proportion brought forward from last year.	58 16 0
Librarian and Secretary	140 0 0	Received during current year—Arrears	5 5 0
Assistant Treasurer	25 0 0	" " " 1915	944 13 6
Librarian	88 3 0	Less 1/3 of 1916 subscriptions forward to	1120 16 7
Typist, &c.	20 5 5	next year	376 0 0
Insurance	270 8 3	Members' Entrance Fees	744 16 7
Miscellaneous Expenses	10 1 1	Librarian's Subscriptions—	18 18 0
Stationery	18 4 7	Proportion brought forward from last year.	84 10 0
Postage	26 10 1	Received during current year—1914 & 1915	38 17 0
Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members,	24 13 6	" " " 1916	105 18 0
Notices, &c.	10 19 4	Less 1/3 of 1916 subscriptions forward to	289 5 0
Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises	41 12 0 1/2	next year	46 15 6
Grants—		Life Contributions brought into Revenue Account	192 10 0
British School at Athens	100 0 0	" Interest on Deposit Account	47 5 0
" " Rome	30 0 0	" Dividends on Investments	4 19 6
Balance from Library Account	180 6 0	" Contributions towards Rent, by British School at	66 0 11
Balance from "Journal of Hellenic Studies"	12 6 8	Athens and British School at Rome for use of	20 0 0
Account	315 12 5	Society's room	10 0 0
Depreciation of Stocks of publications	6 0 0	" Rent of room occupied by the Royal Archaeolog-	
Reserved against Depreciation of Investments	100 0 0	ical Institute	
Balance	0 13 9	" Contributed by the Society for Promotion of	
		Roman Studies—	
		Rent	30 0 0
		Use of Library	50 0 0
		Balance from Excavations at Phylakopi	80 0 0
		Account	
		Balance from Archaeophanes Cohen-Venelles Account	1 0 0
		Balance from Lantern Slides and Photographs	
		Account	19 3 8 1/2
			£1204 13 8 1/2

## BALANCE SHEET, MAY 31, 1916.

*Liabilities.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Debt Payable .....				287	15	7
" Subscriptions carried forward .....				472	15	6
" Endowment Fund .....				377	3	0
(Includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Allen Furrer)						
" Emergency Fund (Library Findings and Fundraising) .....				304	18	6
" Total Received .....						
" Life Compositions and Donations—						
Total at June 1, 1915 .....	£	1943	9	0		
Received during year, 1916 .....	£	25	15	0		
				1957	4	0
Less carried to Income and Re-						
penditive Account—Mun-						
bers deceased .....				47	3	0
Excess of Assets over Liabil-						
ities at June 1, 1915 .....				79	16	3½
ded Surplus Balance from In-						
come & Expenditure Account .....				9	14	9
Balance—Excess of Assets at						
May 31, 1916 .....				80	9	4½
				<u>£3723</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7½</u>

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. P. CLAY.

W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

## vii

*Assets.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Cash in Hand—Bank .....				390	0	9
Assistant Treasurer .....				34	11	8½
Penny Club .....				13	1	3½
				<u>439</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>
" Debt Receivable .....						
" Investments (Life Compositions) .....				1384	3	11
" " (Endowment Fund) .....				570	0	0
				<u>1954</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>
Less Reserve against Dequestration .....				100	0	0
				<u>1854</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>
" Emergency Fund—Total Expended .....						
" Valuations of Stocks of Publications .....				428	4	0
" " Library .....				350	0	0
" Expenses 'Stambo' carried forward .....						
				<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>

£3723 0 7



## THE FUTURE OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

On November 14th, 1916, a GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held, at which, in place of the usual paper, Members were invited to express their views on the **Future of Hellenic Studies**.

Dr. Leaf, President of the Society, opened the proceedings, and was followed by Mr. T. E. Page, Sir Clifford Allbutt, Professor Conway, Mrs. Haig, Professor Percy Gardner, Sir William Ramsay, and Mr. R. W. Livingstone. A communication was received from Sir Frederic Kenyon, who was unavoidably prevented from attending the Meeting.

### Dr. Leaf:—

'The Council have summoned you to a consultation on the crisis through which Hellenic Studies are now passing. It is not a crisis which is peculiar to Greek studies; there is no institution, no ideal, no faith which is not now being passed through the crucible, and forced to test its foundation and its worth. But we cannot help recognising the existence at this moment of a tendency which does very specially affect us; a tendency which is the direct outcome of the hideous gospel of brute force which Germany has been striving to force upon the world—a tendency to exalt the materialistic side of science, to restrict the meaning of the word science itself, as though it were concerned mainly with mechanics, chemistry, and the other arts which can be directly applied to the destruction of human life; and as a result to run down and discredit all science which deals with man himself, his intellectual and spiritual powers, his higher aspirations and capacities. Against this tendency we are bound to protest with all our power.

'The Council of the Society have thought that they could best serve the interests of the cause which we all have at heart, by calling together the members for a consultation on the position; and that in place of the usual paper which is read on such an occasion we should meet for an exchange of views, and endeavour to enlighten one another on the means by which we can best protect our position. It is not a moment at which much can be done by formal resolutions; if public opinion is to be influenced, it must be rather by a propaganda of individual members; and we trust that in this propaganda each member of the Hellenic Society will feel it his personal and private duty to take an active part.

'There will no doubt be considerable differences of opinion among us as to the steps by which our end can best be obtained. Such differences are inevitable in a cause about which many people hold strong views. I trust that no one will hesitate to say quite frankly what he thinks; it is our business to face the position without any pretence or reserve; and it is only by the most complete frankness that we can ascertain how best we can help one another.

'One more point I have to mention in these preliminary remarks. Several of our most distinguished members have kindly promised to address us; but we hope that the discussion will not be confined to them. In order to give time for

as wide an expression of opinion as possible, it is, I am sorry to say, necessary to limit the time allotted to each speaker; and I must therefore ask all who address us to confine themselves to ten minutes. It is not easy to do so, when one is feeling strongly; but if you will allow me these few minutes already employed in Presidential business as an extra, I shall endeavour, in what I have to say as a mere member of the Society, beginning from this moment, to abide rigidly by this rule. And I shall therefore strictly confine myself to two points connected with the cardinal problem, the future of Greek in education. I shall take first what seems to me to be our great weakness, and then pass on to our real strength.

<sup>1</sup>The time has come when Greek must stand or fall upon its own merits. No artificial helps will avail in future. On the contrary, I am convinced that any attempt to rely upon them can only end in rapid and disastrous failure.

<sup>2</sup>Of course I am thinking in the first place of "compulsory Greek" in the preliminary examinations at Oxford and Cambridge. I am expressing only a private and unofficial opinion, which commits no one but myself; but it is an opinion which I hold very strongly; and I hope that we shall none of us to-day hesitate, in this important crisis, to express our opinions plainly. There are here, I have no doubt, many who will differ from me. I respect their objects; but I feel bound to deprecate their methods. It seems clear to me that this compulsory Greek is the weak point in our position, the untenable salient which invites the attacks of the enemy, and from which it is urgent that we should as soon as may be withdraw, while yet there is time.

<sup>3</sup>The fight for the retention of compulsory Greek has been a striking object lesson in the art of making enemies. Every year we are turning out of our large schools boys who go up to the University with equal hatred and contempt of Greek. I am speaking of the able boys whose bias is towards science, or mathematics, or history, but who have not the liking, or perhaps the capacity, for ancient languages. They find that, if they want to go to Oxford or Cambridge, they have to be taken, probably for a year, off the studies which really interest them, in order to be crammed for an examination which, as they can see very well, is a patent farce—at least at Cambridge. Who can blame them if they go out into life hating and despising such a study? The study of Greek, which should be a distinction and a privilege for the few, is degraded into a hateful corvée for all. Remember, I am not speaking of the stupid boys. We cannot shut our eyes to what is said for instance by a man like Lord Rayleigh at the meeting at Burlington House last May. Lord Rayleigh said "any idea of attaining to an appreciation of the language and literature of the Greeks, in my own case, and in the case of most of my friends, was mere moonshine." He went on to quote Henry Sidgwick as having said that the great impediment to a literary education was classics, "and I think," adds Lord Rayleigh, "he said Greek." I feel sure from my own knowledge of Henry Sidgwick, that he did say Greek, and that he meant compulsory Greek. Again we find F. W. Maitland, a born scholar if ever there was one, writing, in a published letter to Henry Jackson, "Compulsory Greek, acting on a fine natural stupidity, deprived me early of all power of learning languages."

<sup>4</sup>Now things like this, from such men, we cannot afford to have said; yet we are asking for them so long as we maintain compulsory Greek. We are steadily banking up a flood of hatred against Greek—banking it up by an illusory and artificial dyke which cannot resist much longer. The longer we strive to maintain



it, the more disastrous will be the flood when the inevitable burst comes. It is not a time when we can face with equanimity the odium inseparable from the obstinate maintenance of a privileged monopoly.

‘If I thought then, as many do think, that the study of Greek were to be dependent in the future on artificial props, I should despair of it. But I at least am an optimist. I have a profound faith in the capacity of Greek studies to resist all attempts to suppress them. I believe that the charm, as well as the substantial value, of the best that we have received from Hellas is such that there will be always a demand for it from many of the very flower of youthful minds—a demand large enough to ensure that the study of Greek shall never be extinguished, at least till there shall have come over humanity some much more profound change than can be brought about by two or three or four years of the most interminable war. And I will try to give you very briefly the grounds of my faith.

‘Remember that the complaint of the aggressiveness of science at the expense of the classics is not new; it has been continuously raised for at least half a century. That date, if you will allow me a moment’s personal reminiscence, is fixed in my mind, because it is just half a century since I entered Harrow, and my own entry coincided with the appointment of the first science master there. The science teaching was no mere farce; for the first-fruits of it was the brilliant though unhappily brief career of Frank Balfour, who in his thirty-one years of life leapt into the first rank of European science. The modern side at Harrow now numbers considerably more than the classical; more than half the boys are taking science as a regular part of the curriculum. In the meantime you know what has been done at the Universities in the growth of great scientific schools, which I have no time to enumerate. Science has grown and thriven greatly, in spite of the serious handicap of compulsory Greek, alike at Oxford and Cambridge.

‘But has it been at the expense of Classics? Turn your thoughts back fifty years, and ask yourselves what the position of Classics was then. In 1866 there was, I venture to say, outside Oxford and Cambridge no interest in Classics whatever. You could not have called a meeting such as this; for there was no Society to call together. Since that year we have seen the foundation of the Hellenic Society, of the British School at Athens, of the British School at Rome, and last, but by no means least, of the Classical Association, with its branches all over the United Kingdom. All are flourishing in numbers; all are engaged in spreading the faith that the human mind cannot live by bread alone, and that an essential portion of its nourishment is to be found in that part of human nature which has been handed down to us from Greece and Rome.

‘But there is a better test of the position of the Classics than a mere enumeration of members or an addition of the money which has been subscribed for purposes of propaganda. Classical philology, like every other science, must be judged by its output of original work. And here again I ask you to make a comparison with what was doing fifty years ago. There existed then a single journal for classical work not sufficient in bulk for independent publication, the *Journal of Philology*, which covered not only Greek and Latin, but Oriental languages as well. What have we to-day? We still have the *Journal of Philology*; but we have added to it the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the various publications of the British School at Rome, the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, and the *Classical Review*; and the *Classical Review* itself, now the publication of the

Classical Association has given birth to the *Classical Quarterly*. All are, and have from the first, been full of matter, most of it original work of the highest quality. When we judge the Classics by their works, we must admit that, far from having suffered from the intense competition to which they have been subjected during the last half century, they have thriven enormously: it is not too much to say that the study of Greek has passed from moribund decadence to a vigorous and fertile youth. Fewer, though still far too many, are being forced to learn Greek; but a vastly increased number are studying it in the right way, and proving their work by publication of results.

If we ask how this transformation has been effected, the answer is plain. It is that the study of Greek has been brought out of the library into the fresh air; it has extended itself to all the departments of human life; it has taken in archaeology, history, economics, geography as a part of itself; and thereby it has in my opinion effectively asserted its right to be one of the sciences. It has not been in opposition to, but in alliance with, the movement of science. I for one do not complain of the aggressiveness of science; I heartily approve of any movement for a wider and more effective recognition of science in education and government. But I hope that we shall take our full share in that aggressiveness, and boldly assert the place of Hellenic studies in the ranks of real science. We have felt to the full the good effects of competition in the past; let us now set ourselves to realise the ground we have won, and proclaim our intention not only to hold it but extend it.

How can we best do so? We must influence public opinion by proclaiming the faith that is in us; by letting the world know how many there are who find in things Hellenic that intellectual and moral satisfaction which is not wholly supplied by anything else: who see in the spiritual side of life something wholly superior to the invention of new explosives; and who will not be content that an art and a literature which they have found, in confirmation of the judgment of all the past, to be unique in interest and influence, should be blotted out of the intellectual possessions of the British race. I find it difficult to imagine what I should have been without Greek: to me it has meant the very light of my life.

#### Mr. Page:—

Though an original member of the Society, this is the first meeting I have attended, chiefly because while much interested in "*Hellenic Studies*," I have had comparatively little interest in those archaeological questions to which the Society seems to devote its whole attention.

Unfortunately I have to disagree with almost everything the Chairman has said, for whereas Dr. Leaf has spoken of the progress of Greek study I can only bear witness to its persistent decline, although I allow that the number of technical journals has much increased; but their existence is no proof of any general interest in Greek literature and the number of people who really read them is probably very small.

As regards "compulsory Greek," I can only repeat with greater emphasis the views I expressed when invited to speak on the subject some years back at Cambridge. On that occasion I had the misfortune to follow Mr. S. H. Butler, who made one of his beautiful speeches, to show that we might securely give up "compulsory Greek" because "Hellenism can never die," and it was my duty to



point out that as a matter of fact the study of Greek was rapidly dying in our public schools, and that but for the encouragement given to it by our older Universities—and part of that encouragement was making some knowledge of it "compulsory"—it would, I believed, soon be wholly dead. The public schools are led by the preparatory schools, and these are private establishments, not under public control, and almost as marketable as hotels. Some of them are excellent, especially the smaller ones where the qualities of the headmaster count for much, but in many of them, if it were possible to find out what the salary of an assistant master is, it would be found that harning is exactly the thing that is held most cheaply. What they are chiefly concerned with is health, luxury, sports, playing-grounds, good social surroundings, and the like; but against Greek they have always set their faces, and at last wholly got rid of it, on the plea that they wish to teach Latin "intensively," though, as a matter of fact, they teach it no better than they did.

Not do very dissimilar conditions prevail in our public schools. In the last fifty years their number has very largely increased, so that the accommodation they provide almost exceeds the number of boys who can afford to come to them (and in the near future the condition of things may become much intensified). The result is that, owing to heavy expenditure on buildings and the like which brings with it large charges for interest and upkeep, whenever a study ceases to "pay" or to be demanded by parents, that study will, with absolute certainty, be dropped out of the curriculum, and, if any school begins to fall in numbers, it will immediately drop Greek, and the same will soon apply to Latin also. Indeed, in our public schools what were "Army Classes" have already developed into Modern Sides; then the Modern Side steadily begins to swamp the Classical Side, and in it, just as its only maxim seems to be *Graeco sacre est hereticum*, so the Latin taught is hardly worth teaching. It is taught for the most part purely with a view to passing some examination, while as regards French and German, their value as literature is far less considered than their value as aids to obtaining profitable employment. In fact, under the pressure of what are at bottom purely commercial influences the whole position of "humane letters" as an instrument of liberal education is seriously endangered.

What I then said at Cambridge was criticised as "cynical" and "pessimistic," while it was half-suggested that it was "vulgar." But the vulgarity was not in my words, but in the hard facts which had to be faced, and could not be denied. Indeed, for some years I furnished Mr. Butcher with definite facts as regards a particular school which shewed to demonstration that what I said would happen was actually happening; and only lately I heard the same tale from a distinguished scholar connected with another great school, who spoke not only of the number of boys who did Greek continually dwindling, but of the general standard of Classical work steadily deteriorating except in the case of some few boys who were working for scholarships.

The same process is going on in those secondary schools which have taken the place of the old grammar schools—in one of which I myself read the *Agamemnon* before I was fourteen—so that quite recently, as a member of an Education Authority, I had the greatest difficulty in preventing certain reports being accepted by the Authority, in which a strong effort was made by three inspectors to banish Latin almost wholly from the curriculum and to replace it by a modern language, even in cases where the pupils studied two languages other than English.

'My general conclusion, based on undoubted facts, is that there is a strong and growing tendency to devote time and attention almost exclusively to subjects which can be called "paying" in the most vulgar sense, and that unless Societies such as the Hellenic Society use their influence to oppose this tendency, there is the gravest danger that the whole character of our higher education will become fatally degraded.'

#### Sir Clifford Allbutt:

'I am glad to hear Dr. Leaf's opinion that the study of Greek cannot be fostered by artificial devices; such as, for example, "compulsory Greek" at the Universities. On the contrary nothing of late has borne so hardly against Greek as this artificial defence. So long as this requirement drifted along as an old custom from generation to generation, it attracted less notice; but when, after a battle royal at Cambridge, the residents were overborne by outside influences, and compulsory Greek was thus re-established in permanence, public opinion was aroused, the anti-Grecian got a telling cry, and the law to Greek studies was more than the pain. So long as Greek is an instrument of slavery it can never hold up its head among liberal studies.

'Indeed I would discard the formal use of the title "classics," which has become a synonym for Latin and Greek only, and for these mainly in their academic or even grammatical aspects. It tends to remove these languages from the broad realm of humane letters, and to suggest to the man in the street a barren mental gymnastic, or at best the elegant mystery of a few antiquaries. The last qualities which "classics" suggests to him are those of life and muddled. And surely in its proper use the "classics" should include the masterpieces not of Greek only, but also of all tongues and periods; and these rather in their ethical, literary and historical sense than in their philological sense.

'Again the accusation is made against Latin and Greek that they are "dead" languages. True, perhaps; but if so, they have been killed by their teachers. How can that be a tongue which is never spoken? Their living use, which carries with it a physiological development in the pupil, has been allowed to die out, and Latin literature and conversation have become as music scores never heard. If these tongues are to recover their influence among men they must be raised from the dead, they must come not from the copy-book but from the heart. Boys would never grow into cricketers if they learned the game from books only.

'Furthermore, even as it is, the teaching of "classics" is wrong from beginning to end. It begins with the abstract, it should begin with the concrete, and for some years should stay there. The growth of a foreign as of a native tongue should be as of living symbols first, expressions of life and the world; analysis should follow afterwards. Yet from the outset the little scholar is nourished on remote, subtle, and for many years to him incomprehensible, abstractions. Give him first the range and music of the instrument, he may pick it to pieces afterwards—say in the Fifth or Sixth Form, when these languages have become tongues to him.'

<sup>1</sup> In Greek, no doubt, we are faced by our own ignorance of its pronunciation; all we know being that ancient Greek could not have been pronounced with the modern soulless disregard of quantity. Then the use of the fine and lucidest kinds of speech will have built up the

corresponding language centres in the brain. But on many points such as these I have already occupied many columns of *The Times* (*Edin. Suppl.* Sept. 7, Oct. 5, Nov. 16), and it would not become me to dwell at greater length. (See also *Proc. Class. Assoc.* 1906).



‘As regards the relations of Science to Letters, I will say only that these arts are not to be regarded as rivals, nor even as alternatives; nor again as “semi-detached”; nay, nor even “complementary,” as some put it; they are to be regarded as interpenetrating and fusing the one into the other, so that neither is complete without the other. The unlettered scientist and the unscientific student of letters are alike illuminated on one hemisphere only. We have seen many a pathetic instance of this misfortune.

‘One audacity I keep to the last; namely this, that as a subscriber to “classical” periodicals I would suggest for the advancement of Greek and Latin studies, for the increase of their influence on opinion and culture, a larger proportion of occupation with the broader and more generous interpretations of the masterpieces of the past, such as we have heard to-night not only from Dr. Leaf. Academic commandments and textual ingenuities, in intellectual value little higher than chess problems, are no illegitimate amusements for experts in their spare hours, but meanwhile the inexhaustible content even of well-known masterpieces is neglected, and infinite labour on other great works not so well-known is not begun. And not the man in the street only is disappointed.’

**Professor R. S. Conway (Manchester) :—**

‘I fear that as I have been called upon at this point, what I say will seem like a direct onslaught upon the views put forward by Dr. Page, whom nevertheless, in common with all students of Latin, I regard with the reverence and gratitude due to one of the greatest of scholars and teachers. Dr. Page promised to mention some “hard facts,” but the only fact that he has explicitly described is that an Education Authority, elected by ratepayers, resisted the suggestions of official inspectors and listened to him when he pleaded for the establishment of the teaching of Latin and Greek in the secondary schools which the Authority controlled. Surely this is not a discouraging, but a most encouraging fact! More than that, it represents the normal way in which knowledge and education have always been extended, by the direct advocacy of those who love them, among those to whom they are less known.

‘A great multitude of new schools have been established in the last thirty years, and it is the business of everyone who cares for Greek study to use their influence with the authorities who control them to see that proper encouragement is given to the study of Latin and, in the larger schools, of Greek. County Council Authorities are much more open-minded towards pleading on behalf of any branch of Higher Education, literary as well as others, than a body of parents of boys at the public schools. If one were to judge the latter by a recent pamphlet, there could hardly be a more philistine class in the community. One parent indeed, openly stated that his only motive for sending his sons to a public school was to secure for them its social hall-mark, and he complained bitterly that this could not be obtained without such a non-lucrative study as that of Greek.

‘The real defence of Greek therefore, is to be found in an offensive against the real enemy, the indifference of English people as a whole to any kind of knowledge; the spirit which looks upon a specialist as a householder looks upon a plumber, a disagreeable necessity to be got out of the house as soon as possible. The chief efforts of those who care for Greek should be to extend the study of Latin and Greek to the newer schools and the younger Universities,—not by refusing reform where it is needed. Boys and girls who have been well trained

in Latin can acquire a scholarly knowledge of Greek in a much shorter time than is commonly supposed; and I am convinced that much time is wasted by beginning Greek at the preparatory schools. Between the ages of fourteen and nineteen school-boys can learn Greek up to a scholarly level. To show this I quote the case of several students who had not begun Greek before entering on their University course but who, after four years, had attained a substantial knowledge of the language. These were students of special ability; but for their sake it is important that the Leaving Scholarships awarded by Education Authorities should not be tied up to any one course of subjects, but that students with a gift for the study of literature shall be allowed to pursue it as freely as those whose gift is for Natural Science. Dr. Page has lamented the badness of the Latin on the Modern Side of public schools. I feel bound therefore to mention that I examined Dr. Page's own old school last summer, and that one of the pleasantest parts of a pleasant experience was to find the interest which the boys in the Modern Fifth showed in the Latin books they had read; although of course, in point of exact scholarship, they were not the equal of the boys in the Classical Fifth.

<sup>1</sup> The practical steps which I advocate at this moment are three: (1) The introduction of some Natural Science and the discontinuance of Greek at preparatory schools. (2) The abolition of Greek as a compulsory subject for students of Natural Science at Oxford and Cambridge, but its retention for all students of Literature, Modern Languages, History or Philosophy. (3) A change in the Oxford and Cambridge system of Open Scholarships, so that candidates should not be allowed to win a scholarship on one subject only, though they should still be allowed to make one subject their chief qualification. By this means the excessive specialisation which is doing great harm to school-boys and burdening their teachers in Science and in Mathematics no less than in Classics, would be stopped.

#### **Mrs. Haig:—**

'Residence in India has shown me the importance of a knowledge of things Hellenic to all those who are called on to take part in the government of India. In India the centre of national life is the village; in Greece the city was the centre of life, for Greece was a collection of city-states, and a knowledge of their history, their laws, and their polity makes it far easier to appreciate the point of view and the customs of the village communities in India.'

#### **Professor Percy Gardner:—**

'The two main theses of the address of our President, first, that we must learn to do without the compulsory learning of the Greek language in school and University, and second, that we may hope notwithstanding to maintain the heritage of Hellas in modern education seem to me almost beyond controversy. Mr. Page indeed has impugned them. But in the first place his view of the condition of our secondary schools seems unduly pessimistic. He thinks that the classics are decaying in them, yet we are told that they neglect the teaching of

<sup>2</sup> The contents of the following paragraph were not actually delivered by the speaker, but they were in his mind; and as without them

what he said is liable to some misapprehension he has sought permission to append these sentences here.



science. And everyone knows how unsatisfactory is the teaching in them of modern languages. Do they then teach nothing but football? However, we are all hoping that, whatever be the state of our schools, they are going to be made more effective and thorough in consequence of the great stir in the nation's life. Mr. Page's pessimism largely arises because for him the influence of Hellas on education is bound up with the linguistic study of Greek by schoolboys. But an appreciation of Greek literature and art and Hellenic civilization generally, though allied with the study of the Greek language, is not limited by it. Our President has observed that the production of careful specialist studies of what is Greek has made rapid progress since 1880. But that is not all. A parallel sense of the immense value of Hellenic culture has spread through much wider circles. It has been found that popular audiences throughout the country, and particularly in the North of England, are very willing, if properly approached, to understand the value of Greek civilization in matters of literature and art. They are quite willing to discover that, until one has had a certain amount of Greek culture, it is impossible to thoroughly appreciate our literature or our art. Now things Hellenic may be, to a considerable extent, studied with some slight, but without any advanced, knowledge of the Greek language, and I do think that in future we shall have to depend for the general diffusion of Hellenic culture more upon translations than upon the originals. Most boys who come from the Universities have not sufficient knowledge of the Greek language to take pleasure and enjoyment in reading it; for that reason, I think, to obtain good translations will be most beneficial, and we owe a great debt to Mr. Loeb and his friend, Mr. Salomon Reinach, for the great series of translations which they have started. Comparatively few read the Bible in the original: but that does not prevent it from being appreciated.

**Sir William Ramsay:—**

'I had no intention of speaking, because I came here not to teach but to learn. I find there is most to learn from those who differ from me, and with the President's own remarks I agreed so completely that there was nothing to learn from him, but I found much to learn from Mr. Page, and many corrections of my opinions to get from his words. I had, like the President, fancied that activity in publication of magazines and books about classics was a proof that the study of classics was still living and active. I learned from Mr. Page that such things are a sure sign of decay. It used to be my good fortune to present a large number of copies of Mr. Page's own works as prizes in my classes at college during a long succession of years, and as I listened to him I rather marvelled that he had lent himself to help in the decadence of classical studies. Moreover, I feel that this is delicate ground, because another of his points was that classics should be and remain of no practical use, and in particular must never be connected in any way with financial advantage. Now it has always been a pleasure to myself to receive annual letters from publishers enclosing accounts and cheques for royalties, and I had pleased myself with the thought that by ordering every year a dozen or more "Pages" I was contributing to the pleasure of an excellent scholar, but as it is, I am afraid that I was only helping to disquiet his mind with the melancholy thought of the decadence of study and mercenary entanglements. That classics should be useless in practical life, and that all boys

should be drilled in classics before they leave a preparatory school, were I think the two lessons which he impressed most deeply on my mind. I confess my own point of view has been that by forcing a very large number of boys to detest Greek, you are doing no real service to the study. The truth apparently is that the larger the number of people who learn to hate Greek in childhood, the stronger the study of Greek is in the country.

The most appalling fact that has been brought home to me in life is the contempt which the British people entertain for knowledge; and I confess that I have connected this largely with the failure to learn classics. It is all very well for the one man who learns Greek, or the two or the three, but what of the 99, 98, or 97 who fail? They are accustomed year after year to fail and to be perfectly content. They get back their exercises scored from end to end, and they are happy and even proud to fail. The most important lesson that one has to learn in this world is that it is not allowable to make a mistake, and we send boys away from school who have to begin to learn when they go into business that the man who makes mistakes has no career before him. And the contempt for knowledge is in my judgment largely due to the fact that in some cases great excellence in classics is connected with a certain archaic bent of mind which makes a man useless in practical life. I have known many brilliant examples of extremely able men who were excellent classical scholars, but I have also known a certain number who were super-excellent in classics as taught in the schools and who were otherwise so useless in life as to produce the feeling in the mind of the ordinary boy that learning and knowledge are useless and contemptible. I do not, however, claim to be right in this. I have learned better through Mr. Page, and I am a learner, not a teacher. For many years, in class after class at college, I used to explain that I never taught anybody anything, but that it had been my good fortune to be in the company of a large number of young men to whom I taught nothing, but while they were with me they succeeded in learning for themselves through a certain enthusiasm something that was worth learning, namely—that it is possible to acquire knowledge and that knowledge is useful.

In conclusion, I should like to mention, with regard to a remark of Professor Gantner about the difficulty of getting from the United States a sufficient number of Rhodes Scholars trained in Greek—in many Universities of America I was told that it was impossible to induce their best scholars to apply for Rhodes Scholarships because those who were intending to be scholars were bent on going to study in Germany.

#### Mr. R. W. Livingstone:—

If the President casts his mind, not fifty but one hundred years back, I think he would feel less satisfied with the position of the Classics. Then, as literature, parliament, and the numerous translators testify, the man who controlled the country had had a classical education. There followed the Industrial Revolution, and the Classics, like the Church, have never got hold of the classes which it called into existence. How little Greek touches, or is understood by them may be seen by the criticisms they make on it, from such remarks as Coleridge's that there was more useful information in one page of the *Times* than in the whole of Thucydides, down to the fatuities on the subject uttered by many eminent men of to-day drawn from the same class. It may be seen from the condition of Greek in the newer



Universities, and in most of the new big secondary schools which are increasingly important. Greek, as these facts prove, does not maintain itself by its own excellence, and the evidence shows, I think, conclusively, that in most of the new secondary schools it would practically cease to be taught, unless it were necessary for those of their pupils who go to the older Universities to learn it, in fact unless "compulsory Greek," or some similar method of protecting the language, existed.

How can its influence be extended? Partly by better teaching, partly, perhaps, by popular courses of lectures at the newer Universities, and by degree courses in which the classics are studied in the original, but also in translations, thus enabling students to cover more ground and get more grasp of the subject. But I think that the most effective method would be to get the Board of Education to see that teaching in Greek is accessible all over the country, not only in the big public schools, but also in the new secondary schools, so that any boy who wishes can learn it. If adequate safeguards of this kind were provided, the need for "compulsory Greek" would disappear. In Germany these facilities exist, so that one third of the boys in the secondary schools study Greek, and Greek is in a far better position than here. But this is only achieved by protection, and without protection, as far as the evidence shows, Greek sinks from an influence moulding the educated men of a nation into a study for the few.

**Sir Fredaric Kenyon** wrote as follows:—

'I believe that every boy in a secondary school ought to get a grounding in classics, mathematics, history, modern languages, and natural science; that he should not specialise until a late stage in his school career; but that he should do progressively more of the subject for which he is found to have most aptitude and less of the others. I should be content not to require Greek before entry to a public school; but I think every boy should have a full and fair chance of showing that he has linguistic aptitude, and that no literary education should be considered complete which does not include Greek. I think Greek so important that every material encouragement should be given to boys to learn it: I would keep up all Greek scholarships and prizes, and leave those who think that science is equally important to endow it accordingly; and while I would urge that many of our public schools should teach more science than they do, I would equally urge that many schools and universities (especially in the north) ought to see that their science students get a proper share of the humanities.'

No resolution was proposed, as the object of the meeting was not to commit the members of the Society to a common opinion, but to elicit their individual opinions on a subject which closely concerns it.

In view of the importance of the question the Council have decided to reprint the 'Report on the Position of Greek in Education' issued by them in January 1912, together with a supplementary note, which appeared in the *Educational Supplement of The Times* in March of the same year.

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<sup>1</sup> See below, p. lxx.

*Printed, Jan. 1912. Reprinted, May 1912, Oct. 1916.*

# MEMORANDUM OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES ON THE PLACE OF GREEK IN EDUCATION.

The Council appointed on 17th January, 1911, a Committee which, after various investigations, presented a report on 19th December, 1911.

The Committee felt themselves precluded from entering into the controversial problems connected with compulsory Greek; and decided to confine their inquiries to ascertaining existing facts, and suggesting means by which Greek would receive an equal chance with other studies. They were materially assisted in this task by a valuable memorandum on the position of Greek in Scotch education, laid before them confidentially at their first meeting.

The Committee, after considering this memorandum, decided to draw up a schedule of questions and to send it to the Professors of Greek or other suitable authorities in all Universities in the British Isles (except Scotland) in order to ascertain the position of Greek both in Entrance Examinations and in Pass and Honours Courses. The answers to these questions may be summarised as follows:—

## **A—Entrance Examination** (including Responsions at Oxford and Previous Examination at Cambridge).

It appears that no University except Oxford and Cambridge makes Greek compulsory on all students.\* Durham and Trinity College, Dublin, make it so for classical students. Latin is compulsory for all or some faculties in many places. Greek or Latin in very few.

It appears that, even when the two are alternative, an almost negligible quantity take Greek and not Latin. The percentage of the total number of students taking Greek is usually very small.

## **B—Pass Courses** (subsequent to Entrance Examination as defined above).

No University, except Oxford and Cambridge, makes Greek compulsory for all, and only Trinity College, Dublin, makes Latin compulsory. As to making Greek, Latin or both compulsory in certain Faculties (Arts, Divinity, Law, Medicine) there is considerable divergence; but it is common in modern Universities to make Greek or Latin compulsory in Arts.

As to percentages, it appears again that the number taking both and the number taking Greek tend to be identical, or to differ only about 1 per cent.; but there are notable exceptions here. At Cardiff the numbers given are "both, 11 per cent., Latin only, 63 per cent., Greek only, 24 per cent.": and at Manchester "both,

\* An exception is made at Oxford and Cambridge in the case of students of Oriental origin, and at Oxford in the case of candidates for Diplomas and B.Litt. For correction of various details given under **B. & C.**, see last page of the Memorandum.



25 per cent., Latin only, 73 per cent., Greek only, 4 per cent." Of the whole number of students about 15—25 per cent. take Latin, and about 2—10 per cent. take Greek; but this last is based on very few returns.

It is everywhere (except at Oxford and Cambridge and at Trinity College, Dublin) possible to take Latin without Greek or Greek without Latin, for pass.

### C—Honours Courses in Classics.

In most cases Greek or Latin cannot be taken separately; but there are several exceptions—at Birmingham, Leeds, and in Irish and Welsh Colleges (not Trinity College, Dublin). The proportion of the total number of students taking Greek who read for honours is high, varying from about 25 per cent. to 66 per cent.

### D.

In a good many Universities Latin or Greek may be taken as a subsidiary with some other subject.

### E.

To the question whether opportunity is given for beginning the study of Greek at the University, the answers are mostly in the negative, but there are some exceptions. The practice is mostly considered undesirable; but there are some emphatic opinions in its favour, e.g., from King's College, London, Manchester, Durham, Bristol, and two of the London Colleges for Women (Holloway and Westfield).

The Committee next proceeded to circulate to the head-masters and head-mistresses of a certain number of boys' and girls' schools, and to some other persons, a short set of questions involving matters of policy as to Greek in schools and at Universities. The answers received showed divergence of opinion, but may thus be summarised:

(1) As to the question whether an opportunity of beginning Greek should be given at the Universities, the general opinion was that this should be done in special cases; but only where it was impracticable to get the work done, as it ought to be, in schools.

(2) As to the standard of University entrance examinations in Greek and in Latin, the general opinion was that the standard was not higher in Greek.

(3) As to whether the standard for University entrance examinations in classics was higher than in modern languages, most considered that this was the case, but some dissented. Of the former several thought the difference lay in the nature of the subjects.

(4) The answers were unanimously against the allowing of Honours in one classical language only at Universities. Some added that, if Honours in a single language were allowed, it was essential that a Pass standard in the other should be insisted on.

(5) As to whether it is possible or desirable to teach Greek to pupils who have not learned Latin, there was a difference of opinion; but some thought it practicable and even desirable in special cases.

(6) As to whether Greek should be made a leading literary subject in girls' schools, some head-mistresses thought it impracticable; but two head-mistresses of important schools thought it might be done with advantage for a certain proportion of the higher girls.

In addition to the answers to their questions, the Committee have had valuable information and advice from various quarters, especially as to

the cramping influence of too narrow a devotion to Attic Greek, which places at a disadvantage such authors as Homer and Herodotus. It was also pointed out that it was most desirable that it should be possible for a boy to begin Greek at a public school.

While it is probably inexpedient for the Society to take any corporate action on the subject of compulsory Greek, with regard to which its members hold divergent opinions, the Council consider that the Society may very properly use its influence to emphasise the importance of the study of Greek as an element of culture, and may make suggestions to obviate the danger lest the opposition to compulsory Greek should lead to a depreciation of the value of Greek altogether.

Generally speaking, the Council are of opinion that the intrinsic merits of Greek as a means of training are beyond dispute; but they feel the danger that local education authorities throughout the country may in many cases have some prejudice against it, and that, in consequence, there may be large districts within which it will be impossible for young students to learn it, however much they may desire to do so, and they therefore desire to call special attention to the recommendation made in Section 3 below.

The Council therefore make the following recommendations:—

(1) **Universities.** In the opinion of the Council it should be the policy of the Hellenic Society to advocate that wherever only one classical language is required, Greek should be admitted as an alternative to Latin. In the present state of things, this may practically mean compulsory Latin; but there are already exceptions (e.g., Manchester and Cardiff), and there may well be a change in the future, if this door be not barred by statutes or regulations. Further, any movement to allow Classical Honours to be taken in one language only, at least without an adequate standard being required in the other, should be strongly opposed, both because the higher study of neither language can be properly pursued without a knowledge of the other, and because such a course would probably lead to the absence of anyone competent to teach Greek even in schools which took Latin as a leading subject.

(2) **The Public Schools.** A representation might be made to Headmasters, either individually or through the Headmasters' conference, urging that an opportunity of beginning Greek should be given where it does not exist at present to boys who have not already begun it at a preparatory school. It is hardly within the province of the Society to make proposals in detail for the regulation of the curriculum; but the Council are strongly in favour of such elasticity as will allow a prominent place in it to the great non-Attic authors, especially Homer and Herodotus. A corollary of this would be that the Universities should recognise these authors in their entrance examinations.

(3) **Other Secondary Schools.** The Council strongly recommend that Greek, although it could not be given a position of privilege, should at least have a fair opportunity on its merits, and not be placed at a disadvantage compared with other subjects; and that so far as practicable, an opportunity of learning Greek should be placed within reach of all who desire it or are capable of profiting by it.

(4) **Girls' Schools.** The Council are of opinion that the educational value of Greek as a literary subject and as an influence on modern life and



thought, and its suitability for inclusion in a curriculum not so heavily burdened with the necessity of preparing for professional examinations, or cramped by similar practical considerations, should be brought home, as far as possible, to head-mistresses, to head-masters of schools not included in the above categories, and to the public generally. This might well be the subject of a pamphlet or a magazine article, such as might be written for the occasion and be available for wide distribution.

It was further suggested that some papers on aids to the stimulation of historical imagination in teaching Greek might be circulated, and other means advocated for the enlivening and reform of the teaching of Greek. It should also be made more widely known that the Society is in a position to lend important assistance through the possession of lantern slides.

(Signed on behalf of the Council),

ARTHUR J. EVANS,  
*President.*

*From the Educational Supplement of "The Times."—April, 1912.*

### "THE FUTURE OF GREEK."

The Hellenic Society send as the following statement with reference to the memorandum on the place of Greek in education drawn up by the Council of the Society and published in the *Educational Supplement* for January:—

The statement as to Greek being compulsory in the pass courses (after entrance) of various Universities is erroneous so far as Cambridge is concerned now that it is permitted to take two special examinations instead of the general (which includes Greek and Latin) and a special. The percentages of those taking Greek without Latin in pass courses are not very clearly stated, and in the case of Cardiff require amendment. The paragraph on this subject should read:—"As to percentages, it appears again that in most cases none, or only about 1 per cent., take Greek without Latin; but there are notable exceptions here. At Cardiff the numbers given are both, 13 per cent., Latin only, 70 per cent., Greek only, 17 per cent."

As to honour courses in classics, the statement in the case of Birmingham, Leeds, and Irish colleges requires amendment. Honours in one classical language only are allowed at Aberdeen and in the Welsh colleges. The Irish colleges appear to vary in their practice, and their curricula are in a transitional stage. At Belfast, Latin and Greek cannot be taken separately. The same is true of Leeds. At Birmingham they cannot be taken separately in the "School of Classics," which corresponds to the Honours School of other Universities.

The recommendations at the conclusion of the memorandum have met with general approval; No. 3, urging that an opportunity of learning Greek should be placed within reach of all, might be made more definite by the suggestion that, if difficulties of curriculum or other causes exclude the possibility of Greek being taught in some secondary schools, it should at least be arranged that there should be some school or schools in each educational district at which Greek could be learnt by those who wish to learn it.

## CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, Lord Cromer has founded an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The first annual prize, of £40, will be awarded before the end of 1917, under the following Rules:—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on October 1, 1917.
2. Any such person desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before December 1, 1916, the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.
3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.
4. Any Essay already published, or already in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible.
5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before October 1, 1917. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.
6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.
7. The author of the Essay to which the prize is awarded will be expected to publish it (within a reasonable time, and after any necessary revision), either separately, or in the Journals or Transactions of a Society approved by the Academy, or among the Transactions of the Academy.

The Secretary of the Academy will supply on application, to any person qualified and desirous to compete, a list which has been drawn up of some typical subjects, for general guidance only, and without any suggestion that one or another of these subjects should be chosen, or that preference will be given to them over any other subject of a suitable nature.

Communications should be addressed to "The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W."



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## TOPOGRAPHICAL.

- 7441 Map of Trajan's route to the Danube. (*J.H.S. Papers*, i. p. 519.)
- 8163 Map of the Balkan States. (*The Truce War Map*.)
- 8166 **Constantinople**. Bird's-eye view and map showing position.
- 8167 **Pergamon**. Great Altar and Acropolis, restoration. (Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, Fig. 118.)
- 8442 **Cnossus**. General map of ruins, showing positions of Palace, W. Palace and Villa.
- 8104 **Athens**. Acropolis, restoration. (Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, Fig. 84.)
- 8106 .. Propylaea, restoration. (Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, Figs. 101, 102.)
- 8162 .. Monument of Agathon and Sosthenes. (Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, Fig. 128.)
- 8441 Relief map of N. Greece.
- 8462 **Akkridha**. (*Leat, Athens and Ilyria*, p. 86.)
- 8463 **Jantina**. (*Leat, Athens and Ilyria*, p. 224.)
- 9326 **Meteora**. Monastery of Hagia Triada.
- 8461 **Monastir**. (*Leat, Athens and Ilyria*, p. 52.)
- 8464 **Suli**. (*Leat, Athens and Ilyria*, p. 561.)
- 8445 **Aegina**. Restoration of central group of West Pediment of the Temple of Aphaia. (Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, Pl. III.)
- 6342 **Mycenae**. Lion group from gateway.
- 6102 .. Lion Gate, restoration. (Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, Fig. 38.)
- 6109 **Rome**. Ara Pacis Augustae, restoration. (Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, Fig. 280.)
- 7460 **Selinus**. Drawing (1846) in ruins of. (The standing column = the S.E. angle of the hexastyle peripteral temple behind the sea.)
- 5274 **Syracuse**. Oration, the temple.



## MISCELLANEOUS ARTS

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| 7894 | Minyan vase : sup from Argos.  | (J.H.S. xxiv, p. 120, Fig. 3.)          |
| 7895 | " " " "  | (J.H.S. xxiv, p. 131, Fig. 4.)          |
| 7896 | " " " "  | Dimitri. (J.H.S. xxiv, p. 131, Fig. 5.) |
| 9970 | L.M.I. Vase from Mochlos.  |   |
| 709  | Painted architectural termination. (To His-Neimash, <i>Fragm. Archilogiques, Archilectures, Athens, 2nd series, Pls. I., II.</i> ) |   |
| 8438 | Achalc female marble head from Cyprus? pedicle.  | (J.H.S. xxiv, Pl. I.)                   |
| 8439 | " " " " " " " " full face.   | (J.H.S. xxiv, Pl. I.)                   |
| 8440 | Achalc female seated statue in the Berlin Museum.  |   |
| 8441 | Hermes, head of * : sculptured drum of temple at Aranda. B.M.  |   |
| 8442 | Thetis, head of * : sculptured drum of temple at Aranda. B.M.  |   |
| 8439 | Aristippos * Bronze statuette.   | (J.H.S. xxiv, Pl. II.)                  |
| 7858 | " " head of *  | (J.H.S. xxiv, Pl. III.)                 |
| 8443 | Augustus (Pylae Porta) statue : details of cuirass. (Lackeybach, <i>Kunst und Geschichte, Fig. 236.</i> )                          |   |
| 8444 | Nereid Monument : the trizeux. B.M. (Outline drawings only.)   |   |
| 8445 | " " " " continue L.  |   |
| 8946 | R-I vase, Zeus, Nike, Athena. (Förwänger-Rachob.)  |   |
| 8447 | R-I vase, Youthful warrior and Nike. * B.M. E 385. (J.H.S. xxiv, p. 138, Fig. 6a.)   |   |
| 7893 | Roman Historical Painting (H. Sauer-Jones, <i>Companion to Roman History, Fig. 40.</i> )   |   |
| 6588 | Miscellaneous gems and impressions. Rom Period. B.M.   |   |
| 8448 | Achalc terracotta group*: a ploughman. (J.H.S. xxiv, p. 254, Fig. 5.)  |   |
| 8449 | Surgical instrument : a dental bar. J.H.S. xxiv, p. 116, Fig. 2.)  |   |

COINS.

- |      |                            |  |
|------|----------------------------|--|
| 7679 | Alexandria Troas, R and E. | Apollu Smithson.                                 |
| 7680 | "                          | foundation legend.                               |
| 7672 | "                          | houses and barclamen of Apollu.                  |
| 7681 | "                          | legend of the Smithson.                          |
| 7683 | Gargara.                   | Apollu types.                                    |
| 7692 | Gela, R.                   | River hall (R. M. <i>Handb.</i> , I. C. 26.)     |
| 7144 | Himyarite, etc.            | Sabean-Himyarite and Attic prototype.            |
| 7147 | "                          | Sabean class, with Attic prototype.              |
| 7161 | "                          | Sabean class (later).                            |
| 7182 | "                          | Guaranian class.                                 |
| 7184 | "                          | and Kattabian series with kings' names.          |
| 7188 | "                          | Minnian with Alexandrian prototype.              |
| 7420 | Leontini, R.               | (R. M. <i>Handb.</i> , II. C. 26.)               |
| 7422 | Setinae, R.                | Sellia and Hypae, Apollu and Arceus, Herakles.   |
| 7421 | Syracuse, R.               | Tetradrachms by Eukleides, Eukleides, etc.       |
| 7410 | "                          | by Eukleides. (R. M. <i>Handb.</i> , II. C. 21.) |

## SLIDES ILLUSTRATING HIMYARITE COINS

- 7142 S.W. Arabia, map st. (Hurry, Arabia Septica)  
7143 " " sketch map  
7144 View of Jeddah (Hurry) with double dragon supports.  
7145 Bahchentan boundary stone of Nari-Masitach with double dragon supports.  
7146 Minyanka inscription, with curved weapon symbol.  
7147 Gulf of Belawayo with Minyanka symbols  
7148 Bahchentan relief of Kamsade with curved weapon.  
7149 Relief illustrating Kamsade

## NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus  $\alpha$  should be represented by *a*, the vowels and diphthongs  $\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\omicron$  by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final  $-\omicron\varsigma$  and  $-\omicron\sigma$  by *-us* and *-um*, and  $-\rho\omicron\varsigma$  by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong  $\epsilon\iota$  it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Λαοδία* *Alexandria*, where they are consonanted by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in  $-\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma$  must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in  $-\epsilon$  and  $-\alpha$  terminations, e.g. *Prisus-Sigynus*. In some of the more obscure names ending in  $-\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , as *Αἰαγρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form  $-\omicron\alpha$  is to be preferred to  $-\alpha$  for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.



(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *ο* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *dianemnonos*, *chylon*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *agape*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *leonte*, *germsin*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorized to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

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Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications, should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Pentaptychos* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line, e.g., Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 123.

*Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.*

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A. E. M. = *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen*.  
 Ann. d. I. = *Annali dell' Instituto*.  
 Arch. Anz. = *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).  
 Arch. Zeit. = *Archäologische Zeitung*.  
 Abh. Mitt. = *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung*.  
 Bannmeister = *Bannmeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthum*.  
 B. G. H. = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.  
 Berl. Vas. = *Verständiger, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin*.  
 B. M. Bronze = *British Museum Catalogue of Bronze*.  
 B. M. C. = *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins*.  
 B. M. Inscrip. = *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*.  
 B. M. Sculpt. = *British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture*.  
 B. M. Terschmitz = *British Museum Catalogue of Terschmitz*.  
 B. M. Vases = *British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.*  
 B. S. A. = *Annual of the British School at Athens*.  
 B. S. R. = *Papers of the British School at Rome*.  
 Bull. d. I. = *Bullettino dell' Instituto*.  
 Busolt = *Busolt, Griechische Geschichte*.  
 C. I. G. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.  
 C. I. L. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.  
 Cl. Rev. = *Classical Review*.  
 C. R. Acad. Inscr. = *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*.  
 C. R. St. Pétr. = *Comptes rendus de la Commission de St. Petersburg*.  
 Dar. Sagl. = *Darandburg Saggio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités*.  
 Dittenb. (G. G. I.) = *Dittenberger, Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*.  
 Dittenb. Syll. = *Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*.  
 Ep. Arg. = *Epigraphie Argynourque*.  
 G. D. I. = *Coltitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*.  
 Gerh. A. F. = *Gerhard, Ausgewählte Vasenbilder*.  
 G. G. A. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*.  
 Hensl. H. N. = *Hensl, Historia Nummarum*.  
 I. G. = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.  
 I. G. A. = *Rühl, Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*.  
 Jahrb. = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes*.  
 Jahresh. = *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes*.  
 J. H. S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.  
 Klio = *Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte)*.  
 Le Bas-Wadd. = *Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique*.  
 Michel = *Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*.  
 Mon. d. I. = *Monumenti dell' Instituto*.  
 Müller-Wien. = *Müller-Wiesseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst*.  
 Mus. Marbles = *Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*.  
 Neue Jahrb. H. Alt. = *Neue Jahrbücher für das Classische Alterthum*.  
 Neue Jahrb. Phil. = *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*.

<sup>4</sup> The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions*, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed as follows:—

I.	I. = <i>Inscr. Atticae ante Romulae reformationem.</i>
II.	II. = " " <i>antiquioribus et inter Romul. ann. et Augusti tempora.</i>
III.	III. = " " <i>antiquioribus Romanis.</i>
IV.	IV. = " <i>Argolicae.</i>
V.	V. = " <i>Macedonica et Thracica.</i>
VI.	VI. = " <i>Graeciae septentrionalis.</i>
VII.	VII. = " <i>Asiae, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris.</i>
VIII.	VIII. = " <i>Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris.</i>
IX.	IX. = " <i>Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris.</i>
X.	X. = " <i>Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris.</i>
XI.	XI. = " <i>Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris.</i>
XII.	XII. = " <i>Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris.</i>
XIII.	XIII. = " <i>Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris.</i>
XIV.	XIV. = " <i>Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris, Asiae minoris, Asiae majoris.</i>



Namen in Klammern. Gemeinheits- oder Ortsnamen in unklarer oder unklarer Stellung.

System 6 file = Summation Chronicle.

Nach Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauls, Wiessem = Paily-Wissem Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft.

*Phyllophaga* = *Phyllophaga*

Reimer, C. D.—Dancey, Unites and Dissequences of Phrygon.

History. *Det. Green* = *Ranney*. *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*.

Reinach Jean-Sébastien = S. Reinach; Rémarque des Sculptures.

Reinhold H. G. P. Reinhold, Abgeordneter des Volkes gewählt

*Eugenia de la Cruz*

*Re: E. A. = Raymond A. Phillips & Associates*

$$H_{\text{max}} = N_{\text{max}} = 15000 \text{ Simulations}$$

*The Journal of American Studies*, 1978, 12, 1.

23. *Wasserschnecke* (Mollusca)

Kön. Mus. — Mittelungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.

Recher - Recher, Leguano der Styliothecie.

8. M. L. S. *Scania Museum Catalogue*

T. 1. 1. = Titoli. Annon. Minutis.

Z. f. V. = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde

### Translation of Inscriptions

- [ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, i.e. a lacuna filled by conjecture.
- ( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, i.e. (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
- < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, i.e. to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
- — — Dashes for the same purpose when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has only subscript, it should be reproduced in that form, otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign.<sup>4</sup>

Quotations from *MSS* and Literary Texts

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* —

- ( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [ ] Double square-brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

## THE COMMERCE OF SINOPE<sup>1</sup>

A YEAR ago I had the honour of speaking to you on the need of a History of Greek Commerce, and of proposing to you a way in which this Society might make an important contribution to that history, in the shape of a commentary on the three books of Strabo which deal with Asia Minor. That proposal, I am happy to think, has been warmly taken up by the Council; a Strabo Committee has been appointed, and has settled the main outlines of the work, which will consist of a Greek text, a translation, and a commentary laid out on broad lines. Large portions of the work have been assigned to the men who are best fitted to deal with them, and even under the shadow of the great preoccupation some progress has actually been made in putting on paper materials already in hand. The war must of necessity delay the completion of the task; in some cases it will be desirable that contributors should make special journeys to their districts, and Asia Minor is at the moment a sealed land to us. But there is much which can be dealt with already, and we can make progress not merely with spade-work, but with actual construction.

In the meantime I should like—and I hope you will not think it out of place in an address such as this—to offer a concrete instance of the manner in which Strabo may bear upon the history of commerce. Last year I mentioned the economic history of Corinth as likely to form the kernel of such a work. For such a task the time is perhaps as yet hardly ripe; certainly I am not capable of touching it. But I should like to undertake a much more humble task, and say something about another commercial town, by no means of the first rank, yet important in its own way, because I think it may teach us something of the foundations on which Greek commerce was laid, and I can fairly offer it as an enquiry which has arisen directly from the study of Strabo, and therefore forms a proper supplement to what I said on rather abstract lines last year. I am proposing therefore to take you to-day to Sinope—now the decayed Turkish town of Sinub, but once the queen of all the Greek colonies which surrounded the Black Sea.

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<sup>1</sup> From the Presidential Address delivered to the Hellenic Society, June 29, 1915.



The southern coast of the Black Sea played in ancient times a part in the economy of the world which, under the paralysis of Turkish rule, it has now almost lost. The mountains are full of mineral wealth; but the mines, once well worked, are now almost deserted. The fisheries provided, in the form of salt fish, a great part of the food of the common people of Greece. Slaves were abundant and cheap, and formed a principal article of export. And the climate produced an extraordinary—almost a sub-tropical—wealth of vegetation. The narrow coast land from Sinope to Trabizond enjoys a summer temperature almost identical with that of Alexandria, ten degrees—more than 600 miles—further south; and it enjoys in addition what is wholly denied to Egypt, a copious summer rainfall. The hills are therefore clothed with luxuriant forests, and have for thousands of years supplied timber inexhaustibly. No wonder that all this coast was dotted with Greek



FIG. 1.—ASIA MINOR.

colonies thriving on this export trade; while the western and northern shores were equally studded with important towns drawing their wealth from the vast corn-lands of the Danube Valley and southern Russia.

Of all these colonies Sinope was the first. All ancient authorities are agreed that it was the most important city of all this region.<sup>1</sup> Why should this particular spot have risen to such pre-eminence? That is the problem which I wish to put before you to-day.

The question is of course an obvious one, and has often been asked.

<sup>1</sup> The evidence will be found in D. Robinson's monograph, *A.J.P.* xvii. 132. See particularly Strabo vii. 3, 11 ἀνατολικήν

τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ἀσίας . . . ἀνατολικήν τὴν ἐν τῇ Κασπίᾳ θάλασσῃ.

You will find in almost every work dealing with Sinope the same answer—that Sinope was the terminus of an important caravan route from the east to the west; sometimes we are told, yet more specifically, that this route passed from the Euphrates through the Hittite capital of Pteria. In other words, that Sinope was important because of its communications by land. That is an answer which I wish wholly to dispute. It is, so far as I can ascertain, a mere conjecture due to Ernst Curtius, but so far wholly devoid of any evidence whatever to support it. It is dangerous to assert a universal negative; but I hope to go far towards shewing you proof that Sinope for all practical—that is commercial—purposes has always been entirely without land connexions, or rather that such land connexions as it has had have been a source not of strength but of weakness, and that it would have been better without them. Sinope owed its power to the sea, and to the sea alone.

To begin with the present day, we learn from Mr. J. G. C. Anderson's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that Sinope 'is shut off from the plateau by forest and mountains; a carriage road over the hills to Bolayır and thence by Vazirkepirlı to Amasia was begun about twenty years ago, but has never been completed even as far as Bolayır.' This is what Sir W. M. Ramsay says—'Sinope is cut off from the interior by broad and lofty mountains, most difficult to traverse. I have never crossed this road, but according to Sir C. Wilson its difficulty was described by Col. (then Lieut.) Kitchener in the very strongest terms.'<sup>1</sup> Hamilton (*Travels*, 313 ff.) describes the road over the mountains, and concludes 'Sinope can boast but little intercourse with the interior; its commerce and communication with the capital are alike carried on by sea; and the difficult nature of these mountain passes, which during many months of the year are absolutely impassable; gives to it, as it were, in fact, as in appearance, the qualities and characteristics of an island.' The latest authority is the monograph of Mr. D. M. Robinson. He begins by assuming the caravan theory. 'To this port, branch roads were built from the great Persian highways. It is true that Sinope had no good direct connexion with the interior—which seems to give up the branch roads at once—but its shipping facilities were superior, and a coastwise road connected it further east with a more favourable point of departure for the interior.' Unfortunately for the theory this coastwise road as I shall presently shew can be positively disproved, so there is already not much left. Mr. Robinson in fact seems to feel this, for he goes on, 'It is hardly practicable at present to locate the ancient roads close to Sinope. In exploring the back country I found Roman milestones at a distance of perhaps twenty-five or thirty miles in a south-easterly direction from the town, but they were not *in situ* nor were others which I found in other directions.'<sup>2</sup> Nor is it possible to tell

<sup>1</sup> *Enc. Brit.* 25, 149; *HMAM*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be hoped that Mr. Robinson has published elsewhere the exact location of these milestones; such a loose form of expression is to be deprecated. It would seem

from his indications that they came from near the junction of the Amnias and the Halys, by which, as we shall see, the main road from Pontus to Bithynia must have passed.



how far the Romans built along the old lines or in new directions. But it is probably safe to say in a general way that there were numerous highways good and bad reaching into the interior. We have come then to 'probably safe'; that is all that is left of the Curtius theory; and so far the evidence goes to show that it is extremely unsafe. What already seems 'probably safe to say' is that no signs of roads can be found near Sinope because none were ever built in a difficult country when other and far better means of communication were at hand.

The position of Sinope (Fig. 2) proclaims at once that it is designed by nature to be the emporium for the water-borne trade of the Euxine. Its site is curiously central for the whole coast of the sea; it is exactly midway between Byzantium on the west and Phasis on the east, at a distance of 350 miles; Odessus, now represented by Varna, and Olbia, represented by Odessa, are



FIG. 2.—GREEK COLONIES ON THE EUXINE.

little further at 400 miles; and the most remote of all Greek colonies, Tanais at the uttermost corner of the sea of Azoff, is not more than 440 miles away. A convenient passage from the north is provided by the constriction in the width of the sea between the Crimea and Cape Karambis near Sinope; in clear weather it is here possible to cross without ever losing sight of land—an important matter for sailors who had no compass.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See Strabo vii. 4. 3 *οὐχ ὅτι γὰρ τὴν πελάγεσσι τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν ποταμὸν Καραμβίαν καὶ Κριε Μοτοπον ἐν τῇ Κριμαίᾳ*. The state-

ment has been doubted, but appears to be correct. Robinson (p. 136) says 'Ancient navigators could cross the Pontus just at this point without losing sight of land for more

But these advantages are trifling compared with another which Sinope possessed: it was the only good natural harbour on the southern coast. For the whole of that long stretch, save at this one point between Heracleia and Phasis, the coast is devoid of any cape or bay which could shelter a ship from the force of the northerly gales which are the terror of sailors in the Black Sea. But just at this central spot a promontory runs out eastwards from the mainland for a distance of two miles. On the neck of this promontory, where it is only half a mile wide, the town was built. On the inner side was a harbour, improved by a mole, providing complete shelter from north, west, and south: on the opposite side was a convenient landing place for small boats in fine weather, saving those that came from the west a run of four miles round the cape. (Fig. 3.)



FIG. 3.—SINOPE. (After the Admiralty Chart.)

It is easy to discern the necessary conditions for the trade of the whole south coast. No seagoing ship could afford to go from little trading station to trading station, picking up what might happen to be on offer, here missing

than a few hours on ordinary days, and on very clear days without losing sight of it at all. Both promontories can be seen to-day from the middle of the sea, and in a note 'The officers of Black Sea steamers volunteered this information to me.' The distance is 144 nautical miles; the geometrical condition that land should be visible on both sides is that it should rise at least 1,600 feet

above the sea. This condition appears to be fulfilled in the Crimea, but I am not sure about the Asiatic side; there are hills there of considerably greater height, but those whose heights are recorded lie at a certain distance inland. But refraction would in certain states of the atmosphere very largely increase the distance at which they would be visible.



a caravan by a few days, there learning that the goods brought for barter had missed the fashion and were not wanted, then again finding that while days had been spent in useless bargaining at Trapezus a rival had slipped by and cleared off the whole of the last consignment of slaves at Phasis; and all the time in dread of a storm on that shelterless lee-shore, often obliged to interrupt the most profitable transaction in order to hoist anchor and run for the open while yet there was time. Commerce under such conditions was impossible. What was needed was that all this local trade should be done by small coasting boats stationed at each trading point, able to load at every opportunity, watching for the fine weather, ready to be drawn ashore as soon as a tempest threatened. And this implies a central emporium to which they could at any time take their goods and bring back such wares as local knowledge showed to be in demand at the moment. That is the condition of commerce over a large portion of the world at the present moment, and it must always have been so. The importance of Sinope lay in the fact that it was the only spot on the whole southern shore where such an emporium could be founded, and that it was eminently suited for the purpose. Here the sea-going ships could put in safely at any time, while the master was carrying out necessary repairs, the merchant could go to buy and sell in wholesale warehouses where he would find his goods collected in large amounts, duly sorted and graded, and everything ready in order to save the precious time of the sailing season. That is the reason why Sinope was powerful, and no other is needed.

Indeed a connexion with the shore would have been rather a drawback than an advantage. There is a notable tendency for such emporia to be founded, especially in foreign countries, on islands just off the shore. It was so, for instance, with Cyzicus, with Symeuse, with Tyre. It was so when Venice was founded, it was so when Bombay was founded. Two of the greatest emporia of modern trade, Singapore and Hong Kong, are both on small islands. It was the weakness of Sinope that it was not on an island but on a peninsula, and so open to attack from the land. This Polybius carefully points out when describing the preparations made by Sinope to resist a siege by Mithridates<sup>1</sup>; and 'it is probably safe to say' that, far from wishing to have their city joined up by roads to the inland system, the people of Sinope did all in their power to prevent the construction of such roads, which would be useless for commercial purposes, but of the greatest assistance to an army marching against them from the interior.

What prosperity can grow out of the emporium trade may easily be exemplified by the case of Hong Kong. There a barren little island, so barren that it cannot so much as supply itself with fresh vegetables, even in the hands of Chinese gardeners, yet supports a great city of over 300,000

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. iv. 54. Similarly Strabo xv. 3, 11 points out that it was by siege that Sinope lost her liberty on more than one occasion: ἀποστραφέντων δὲ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, οὐδὲ λαὸς ἔχοντι

ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀστυρίου, καὶ τὸ τὰς οὐραίων ἐλπίδων, καὶ ἀποστρέφει τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὥστε τοὺς λαοὺς ἀφαιρῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεονεκτημένου, καὶ τὰς ἀστυνορίας ἐλπίδας ὀλοῦντες.

inhabitants. The port has a tonnage (ships cleared and entered) of some 20,000,000, and a total trade estimated at £50,000,000; and all this is based on the exchange between the local traffic, river steamers and junks, on the one hand, and ocean shipping on the other. That is what the emporium trade means; and we have quite sufficiently explained the importance of Sinope when we see that it was designed by nature to be the emporium, the Hang Kong of the Euxine. It was not the terminus of any road, but it was the centre of the existing trade; and in that sense only it was the terminus of every road that debouched into the Black Sea.

But there are other more definite reasons for saying that Sinope was not the terminus of a caravan route. The caravan routes to the east of the Black Sea are defined by nature, and they do not run to Sinope. The most important of them, the ancient trade-route to Central Asia, comes by Erzerum to Trebizond—or rather, it came for many thousand years to Trebizond till, in the last two decades, the construction of a good artificial harbour at Batum has diverted the last stages of it a short distance northwards. The next most important route is that which brings to the sea the produce of the whole north of eastern Asia Minor; and that can have its terminus at one place only—at the ancient Amisos, the modern Samassa.

You will find in the twenty-first volume of our *Journal* a lucid and able article by Mr. J. A. R. Munro on *Roads in Pontus*. I refer to it with all the more satisfaction because Mr. Munro has fully seen and insisted upon the vital distinction between two classes of roads, the administrative and the commercial. The commercial road aims first at cheapness of carriage, and for this purpose runs to the most accessible sea; for water-carriage is cheap compared to land carriage—so cheap that under normal circumstances no competition is possible between them. The administrative road does not consider expense; it desires above all things certainty and expedition; for this reason it avoids the sea and goes as far as possible by land. In Pontus the contrast is particularly striking. I cannot do better than quote what Mr. Munro says. 'This road from Amisos to Zela was of great commercial importance. It was the only great road in Pontus from north to south, and connected Amasia, the inland capital of the country, with the sea. More than that, it was the one northern outlet for the whole of eastern Asia Minor, and so corresponded in some degree to the famous road southwards through the Cilician Gates. . . . But important as this road was, it was not the main artery of communication within the kingdom. It was useful for external trade or intercourse with the outside world, but it ran counter to the configuration of the country. The natural routes of Pontus run at right angles to it, and it was along these that the kingdom extended its territory. The long axis of the country lay east and west.' He goes on to point out that the plain of Phanorea, where Cabira stood, 'is the heart of the whole kingdom. . . . Eastwards from it, the long straight valley of the Lycus runs up into Armenia Minor almost to the Euphrates. Westwards the valley of the Sapetli Su gives a gentle, easy ascent to Lake Stiphane, whence there is a good road over open undulating country to the Halys; and from the opposite



bank of the Halys the valley of the Amnias offers a passage through the highlands of Paplagonia to the frontier of Bithynia. . . . This was the grand trunk road of the kingdom of Pontus. One might almost say that Pontus consists of two roads, this great trunk road and the commercial highway from Amisus to Zela. . . . To use a physiological metaphor, the road from Amisus to Zela was the alimentary canal of the national body, the road from the head of the Lycus to that of the Amnias was its spinal cord. The one was necessary to the trade and material power of the Pontic kingdom, the other to its unity, administration, active force, and defence.<sup>1</sup>

The distinction so forcibly and happily put by Mr. Munro, between the spinal cord and the alimentary canal, is vital to all commercial geography; it has unfortunately only too often been overlooked by archaeologists in their discussions of trade-routes. But we must not dwell on it; our immediate subject is Sinope, and the importance to us of Mr. Munro's paper is that he tells us definitely that the usual theory is wrong; that the terminus of the Pontic trade-route is not at Sinope but at Amisus.

But we may be told that Sinope was the terminus after all; that the caravan route only passed through Amisus, and was then continued to Sinope by the coast road to which, as we have seen, Mr. Robinson pins his somewhat wavering faith. We must examine this possibility. It is certainly *a priori* most improbable that commerce, having the choice of two roads of the same length, one of them by sea and one by land, should choose the incomparably more expensive land route. Anyhow it does not do so at the present day. Let us turn again to Mr. Munro. 'The northern range presses so closely on the Euxine that there is no continuous easy passage along the shore. A road of a sort has no doubt existed from time immemorial; but it has never been a good one, and all traffic is carried on upon the broad highway of the sea. A coast road is not wanted, and would be of no service to the inland country cut off from it by mountains and forests.'<sup>2</sup> That is definite enough; but it is not all. For we have positive and contemporary proof that no such road existed in the height of the prosperity of Sinope during the Hellenic period. The evidence is worth quoting at some length, as it gives us a picture of the way in which Sinope at that time held its position as the chief town of the shore:

When in the year 400 B.C. the Ten Thousand after fighting their way back from Canaxa had reached Trapezus, their difficulties were not at an end. They were anxious to get home, and were naturally eager to go not by land but by sea—to reach Greece, as one of them put it, like Odysseus, stretched out at full length asleep.<sup>3</sup> But there were not enough ships to be had; so the Spartan commander, Cleirisophos, was sent off to Byzantium in the hope of borrowing a fleet from his friend Anaxibios the Spartan admiral there. But the prospect was uncertain, and Xenophon thought right to have an alternative in hand. But he learnt that the land roads westwards were difficult (*δυστροποι*) and apparently quite out of use; so he

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* xi. 1, 83-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 1. 199.

went to the Greek towns along the coast asking that the paths might be rendered passable. This was done for a certain distance, and the army, finding that no ships came, marched by land as far as Kotyora. Here they came to a stop. The town, a small colony of Sinope, was suspicious and unfriendly, and applied to the mother city for assistance. Sinope accordingly sent a delegation under Hekatonymos to remonstrate with Xenophon and the army. 'Kotyora, Kerasus, and Trapezus,' said Hekatonymos, 'are our colonies; we took the land and gave it to them, and they pay us tribute; so any hostility shown to them must be considered as directed against Sinope. The king of the Paphlagonians, Korymbos, is on friendly terms with us, and if you attack us, we shall call in his assistance.' Xenophon succeeded in satisfying the deputation that he and his army had no hostile intentions, and were only anxious to get back to Greece with all speed; he added a hint that the Paphlagonian king had designs of his own on Sinope, and might not be inclined to refuse the aid of a trained and hardened army of 10,000 men if offered him: and the meeting ended with a friendly conference as to the best means by which the return could be effected—whether by sea or by land.

'It is plainly to the interest of Sinope,' said Hekatonymos, 'that we should advise you to go by land. If you sail, it is Sinope who must supply you with ships; no one else can do it. If you go by land, you will go at your own risk, not at ours. But speaking as Greeks to Greeks we feel bound to tell you what you will have to face. In the first place you must go by a narrow mountain pass which can easily be held by a small force against an army—in other words, as you will note, there was no coast road. If you succeed in forcing this, you will have to cross a large plain where the Paphlagonian cavalry can act, and the Paphlagonian cavalry is said to be the best in the world. But suppose you manage to defeat them, how are you going to cross the rivers? You have in front of you the Thermodon and the Iris, each 300 feet wide, and the Halys, no less than 400 yards; and where will you find boats? We tell you that it is not only difficult, but absolutely impossible to go by land. But we are ready to take you by ship as far as Herakleia, whence you will have no difficulty in going on by land or by sea as you prefer.'

This passage surely disposes finally of the caravan route by the coast. It cannot even have run from Amisus to Sinope; for between the two lies the Halys, where as we see there was neither bridge nor ferry. The whole country was at the mercy of barbarians; Sinope held by her trading stations\* just so much territory as could be commanded by the town walls, and all her communications were solely by sea. No caravan route had its terminus there in 400 B.C. and there is no evidence whatever of such a route either before or after.

\* There is another point of some importance in this passage. It is

\* Another station lay on the west, namely Kytaron;—καὶ τὴν Κίτυρον ἔκδοτον ἔχοντες ἔσαν Σινωπῆς . . . καὶ τὴν Κίτυρον καὶ τὴν ἑλκωνίδα ποταμὸν.

καὶ τὴν Ἀπορρηνίδα, καὶ ἄλλους, καὶ τὴν Κίτυρον. (Strabo. lib. 7, 16.) It was a small station for the timber trade.



noticeable that no mention whatever is made of Amisus itself; the whole district from Korymba to Sinope is treated as Paphlagonian territory in which Sinope can claim no more than the doubtful friendship of king Korymbas. It must certainly be concluded, I think, that the Paphlagonians, or perhaps the Persian government, jealously excluded the Greeks from the one place which might have served them for penetrating into the interior<sup>2</sup>—that the Paphlagonians insisted on bringing their own goods down to the coast, and allowed no foreign traders to enter.

This argument from the silence of Xenophon is entirely consistent with the little we know of the earlier history of Amisus—chiefly from a passage of Strabo unalloyingly injured by a lacuna in the middle: *ἔστι δ' αὐτῆς Θεόπριστης πρῶτος Μιλησίου κτίστης . . . Καππαδόκων ἄρχοντα, τρίτον δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποικισθείσαν Παιραία μεταπορισθῆναι*, xli. 3. 14.<sup>3</sup> From this it would seem that there had once been a Greek colony there, but that it had fallen into the power of the Cappadocians, and did not again become Hellenic till an Athenian colony was established there under the home name of Piræus. This took place, as we know from the evidence of coins, in the fourth century, after Xenophon's visit, and in all probability after the downfall of Persian power at the battle of the Granicus, 354. No coins of earlier date are known; some with Aramaic inscriptions, formerly attributed to the town and dating from the earlier part of this century, are now regarded as uncertain. We know however that Datames, who ruled the district vigorously, at first for Persia, and afterwards for himself, during the first third of the century, not only owned Amisus, but coined there (see Polyainos, vii. 21). Though the evidence is mostly negative, it all combines to strengthen the argument from the silence of Xenophon, that in his day there was no Greek element at Amisus, and that the town was held by the Paphlagonian chiefs, whose subjection to Persia was, before the days of Datames, probably nominal. It was only where the inland districts were safe from the eyes of too curious merchants, among the barren beds of the hill-country, and under the jealous eyes of hostile tribes, that small trading stations like Korymbas and Korymba were permitted. We must recognise at all events the great probability that, while the Persian power was still unbroken, Greek merchants were not allowed to obtain a footing anywhere—perhaps not even to travel for trade—in the interior of Asia Minor.

There is one more problem connected with the trade of Sinope on which it is necessary to touch, as it involves what is perhaps the most explicit statement about ancient trade-routes to be found in Greek literature. Strabo writes as follows; 'In Cappadocia is found what is called the Sinopic *μάρτυς*, the best of all, though the Iberian competes

<sup>2</sup> In the whole stretch of coast, from Amisus on the west to Trapezus on the east, Amisus is the only clue into the interior, *Monop.*, *l. 17*, *3*, xxi. 52.

<sup>3</sup> See also Bekkubios quoted in xli. 3. 25. *Skymnos* (617) says that these older colonists came from Phokaia.

with it. It is called Sinopie because the traders used to take it to that port before the Ephesian market got through to the people in these parts.<sup>19</sup>

Now in order to understand the full significance of this passage it is desirable that we should know exactly what this Sinopie *millos* really was. That is a difficult and thorny question, to which different answers have been given, and I cannot here enter into the details; it must be sufficient if I state the conclusion at which I have myself arrived.<sup>20</sup> It seems that *millos* was a trade-name covering all sorts of red pigments derived from the earth. In many cases it included clays coloured with oxide of iron or similar matters, and may be translated by our 'ruddle' the Latin *cubrica*. But it included also the finest, most brilliant and most durable of all red pigments, namely vermilion, which is given directly by the mineral cinnabar, the native ore of mercury; and I feel no doubt that the Sinopie *millos* was in fact cinnabar. As a matter of trade it was called *millos*; but the men of science know it by the foreign name of *κιννάβαρι*. Hence there arose a confusion which misled Theophrastos in his treatise *On Stones*, and those who followed him, into distinguishing between the *millos* of Sinope and the cinnabar of other regions. Two pieces of evidence seem to me unmistakably to show that the distinction is wrong.

Firstly Theophrastos himself, in speaking of the Cappadocian mines which supplied the Sinopie *millos*, says that the great difficulty in working them was the suffocating nature of the air in them, which acted with great rapidity. Now I am not aware that any compound of clay with red iron oxide or the like has any suffocating quality. But the poisonous fumes of mercury ores have rendered all mercury mines a by-word for deadliness. Thus Theophrastos himself, though ignorant of the identity of the Sinopie *millos* with cinnabar, unconsciously supplies strong evidence in favour of it.

Secondly Strabo, who does not mention *κιννάβαρι*, equates the Sinopie earth with the *millos* of Spain.<sup>21</sup> And what the Spanish *millos* was there can be little doubt. The famous mine of Almaden has for centuries been the main source of mercury, till its output has recently been outdone by the American New Almaden. It was the main source already in Roman times. It was so valuable that the Roman government took the ownership and leased it to a company. To suppose that Strabo, when discussing the exports of Spain, should pass this over in silence while recording mere 'ruddle' as one of the chief products of Turkestan, is clearly absurd. The Iberian *millos* was cinnabar, therefore the Sinopie must have been the same.

We might indeed have confidently arrived at the same conclusion from

<sup>19</sup> *ἡ δὲ τῆς Κοκκινιάδος γένεσις καὶ ἡ αἰτία ποῦ ἐκστρέφεται πλεονεξία, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι καὶ ἡ ἀποδοτικὴ ἀρετὴ αὐτῆς ἐκείνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας διὰ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῆς ἐκστρέφεται καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι καὶ ἡ ἀποδοτικὴ ἀρετὴ αὐτῆς ἐκείνη.*—*Str.* 2, 10.

<sup>20</sup> See note at end.

<sup>21</sup> See, in addition to the passage already quoted, *Str.* 2, 10: *ἡ δὲ τῆς Ισπανίας κιννάβαρις αἰτίας ἐκστρέφεται καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι καὶ ἡ ἀποδοτικὴ ἀρετὴ αὐτῆς ἐκείνη.*



purely geographical considerations. A glance at the map will shew that any mineral which would bear the cost of the long inland carriage from the highlands of Cappadocia to the emporium at Sinope must have been no common red clay, such as was found in abundance at many points close to the sea, notably at Lemnos and Keos, but some quite rare and unusually valuable ore; and the only ore which suits the conditions is cinnabar.

Unfortunately it is not possible to point to ancient cinnabar workings in Cappadocia itself. No doubt they, or at least the tailings, are to be found somewhere, probably among the mountains on the eastern side. These are so little known as yet that we could hardly expect to have heard of mines long since abandoned and no longer of interest to the prospector. But cinnabar is a product of Asia Minor, and in ancient days it was worked at a spot which explains how it was that the market of Ephesus succeeded in cutting into that of Sinope for this particular article. 'There are great mines of cinnabar,' Sir W. M. Ramsay tells me, 'at Sizma, fifteen to eighteen miles N. of Iconium, and five or six S. of Laodicea Lycæonæ.' An English house at Smyrna not long ago purchased them and attempted to work them; but they found that the ancients had everywhere been before them and almost exhausted the ore, and prospecting only proved the extent of the old works.

Now these clearly cannot be the mines of which Strabo and others speak as the original source of the Sinopic earth, for the sufficient reason that they are not in Cappadocia at all, but in Lycæonia, and on the further side. Strabo is quite clear as to the division between Lycæonia and Cappadocia, at Garsaura, some ninety miles to the east of Sizma; it is incredible that he could have spoken of mines near Iconium, the chief town of Lycæonia, as being in Cappadocia. And indeed a glance at the map is enough to shew that the produce of such mines could not possibly have been transported to Sinope for shipment to the west. Through traffic always seeks the sea, not necessarily by the shortest route on the map, but by the line of least resistance; and for Iconium, cut off from the south by the difficult ranges of the Taurian mountains, there is no question that the line of least resistance was to Ephesus. But for Cappadocia the line of least resistance were for the southern part through the Cilician Gates to Tarsus, for the northern by Zela and Amaseia to Amisos.

We hear elsewhere more about the Ephesian cinnabar, and can therefore discern something not only of the actual working, but of the date about which Ephesus entered into competition with Sinope. Theophrastus says there were two kinds of ore, one of which was 'native,' i.e. could be used at once for making vermilion, while the other needed a process. Of the former he gives the Spanish as an instance. The latter ore was worked 'a little above Ephesus, at one place only.' The process was apparently no more than simple levigation and washing, the heaviest deposit being thus gradually purified till ready for use. It was, he says, still 'comparatively modern,' *ὡς παλαιόν*, having been invented by one Kallias of Athens 'from the silver mines,' presumably of Laurion, 'ninety years

before the archonship of Praxibulos at Athens. Praxibulos was archon in Ol. 116, 2, i.e. 315-4 B.C.; the date is no doubt that of the treatise.

We can thus trace how it was that Ephesos became a market for cinnabar. It did not obtain the produce of the Cappadocian mines—the words of Strabo do not imply this, and geography makes it practically impossible: the produce of eastern Cappadocia was certain to be exported either to the north or the south, in preference to the much longer and more arduous route to the western coast. The words of Strabo only explain why this cinnabar was called 'Sinopic earth,' because in early days, when Ephesos had no product to compete with it, it was exported from Sinope only. What Ephesos did was to open fresh mines nearer at hand; and this was done by the adoption of a new process which made profitable the exploitation of an ore not pure enough to be used in its native state. And we can moreover tell within a few years the date at which this happened. It was not long before the year 315 B.C.

We are thus once more brought to the date which marks the Greek settlement at Amisos—the last third of the fourth century, the years immediately succeeding the battle of the Granikos; and with this before us the words of Strabo, quite unusual in form, receive a new significance—it was at this time that 'the market of Ephesos got through to the people of these parts,' *ἀπὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διχθῆναι*. He does not say or imply that the Ephesians captured the mines of Cappadocia; he means the vague phrase 'the people of these parts' to include all the tribes of the central plateau, and does use a word which implies that there had once been a barrier to keep them out, a barrier which had been penetrated.

There is another piece of evidence which points directly to the same conclusion—the evidence of the roads. It is well known that one of the two great highroads across Asia Minor, the southern route, led straight up from Ephesos to the Lycianian Laodicea and passed close to the mines. But it was not an early route. Sir W. M. Ramsay has examined the history of it with the greatest care, and has come to the conclusion that it cannot be traced backwards to an earlier date than 300 B.C.; the first direct evidence is that of Artemidorus, about 100 B.C. (*H.G.A.M.*, 35 ff.). In other words it would seem that there was no important high road outwards from Ephesos to the central plateau till after the battle of the Granikos. We are thus led once more to the inference we have drawn from Amisos—that while the Persian power was dominant, Greek traders were not allowed to establish themselves in the interior, that all the internal traffic was held in native hands, and that native caravans brought the native produce down to the Greeks on the sea-shore. It was only after the conquests of Alexander that the Ephesian market 'got through' to the central plains, and that Ephesian traders were able to bring their capital and technical skill to the opening up of fresh sources of supply.

Finally, it may be added that the words of Strabo are not inconsistent with a further conclusion—that the Cappadocian product continued to be exported through Sinope in his own day. The Ephesian export competed



with the Sinopic, but never extinguished it. Indeed, it seems to have been the Sinopic which survived; even in Strabo's day it would seem that the Ephesian mines were already almost, if not quite exhausted; for we learn from Pliny that the Ephesian process had been abandoned as too costly,<sup>12</sup> and from Vitruvius that it had been moved to Rome, where it dealt with the superior ores of Spain.<sup>13</sup>

## NOTE

The passages of ancient authors dealing with μέλτος and cinnabar will be found collected and discussed in Blümmner, *Technologie*, iv. 478-495. For the sake of easier reference, however, I give the text of Theophrastus (ed. Schneider) —

(51) τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν μὲν εἰσι βάβδοι, τὴν δ' ὄχραν ἄθρυν πως φασὶν εἶναι μέλτος δὲ παντοδαπὴν, ὥστε εἰς τὰ ἀνδρείκελα χρῆσθαι τοὺς γράφειν . . . (52) ἀλλὰ μέλτου τε καὶ ὄχρας ἐστὶν ἐνιαχοῦ μέταλλα, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτά, καθάπερ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, καὶ ὀρύσσεται πολλή· χαλεπὴν δὲ ταῖς μεταλλεύσαι τὸ πύρρυσθαι ταχὺ γάρ καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. βελτίστη δὲ δοκίμια μέλτος ἢ Κεῖα εἶναι γίνονται γὰρ πλείους ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν μεταλλῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ σιδηρεῖα ἔχει μέλτον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Λημνία καὶ ἡ καλοῦσι Σινωπικὴν. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Καππαδοκίη, κατὰ γὰρ δ' ἐς Σινώπην. (53) ἐν δὲ τῇ μικρῇ μεταλλεύεται κατ' αὐτὴν ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτῇ γένη τρία, ἡ μὲν ἐροθρὰ σφόδρα, ἡ δὲ ἱκελευκὴ, ἡ δὲ μέση . . . (54) γίνονται δὲ καὶ κιννάβαρι τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸς τὸ δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐργασίαν αὐτοφύει μὲν τὸ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, σελήρον σφόδρα καὶ λιθώδες, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κόλχῳ . . . τὸ δὲ κατ' ἐργασίαν ὑπὲρ Ἐφέσου μικρὸν ἐξ ἑνὸς τόπου μένον. ἐστὶ δ' ἄρμας ἡν' ἐντέλλονται λαμπυρίζουσαν καθάπερ ὁ κόκκος ταύτην δὲ τρίψαντες ὅλως ἐν ἀργύρῳ λείψουσιν λευκώτατην πλένουσιν ἐν χαλκοῖς [μικρῶν ἐν καλοῖς] τὰ δ' ἐφιστάμενον πάλιν λαβόντες πλένουσιν καὶ τρίβουσιν· ἐν ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὰ τῆς τέχνης· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πολὺ περιπλοῦσιν οἱ δ' ὀλίγον ἢ οὐθέν· ἀλλὰ πλῆσμι [τῷ] ἐπάνω χρώνται, ἐν πρὸς ἐν ἀλείφοντες. γίνονται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐφιστάμενον κίττω κιννάβαρι, τὰ δ' ἐπάνω καὶ πλεῖον πλῆσμα. (55) καταδοῖξαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ εὐρεῖν τὴν ἐργασίαν Καλλίαν τινα Ἀθηναῖον ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρίων· ὃς αἰσθητὸς ἔχειν τὴν ἄρμαν χροσίαν διὰ τὸ λαμπυρίζειν ἐπραγματεύετο καὶ συνέλεγε· ἐπεὶ δ' ἤμαρθετο ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἄρμαν κύλλον ἐθαύμαζε διὰ τὴν χροάν, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν ἤλθε ταύτην, οὐ παλαιὸν δ' ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐτη μέλιστα ἐνεμήκοντα εἰς ἄρχοντα Πραξίβουλον Ἀθήνησι.

<sup>12</sup> *miraculum* in Ephesus nomen, quod deservit et quia metalli magni species erat, xxviii. 117.

<sup>13</sup> quas nationes in Ephesiaceis metallis fecerunt officinas suas transierunt sunt idem Romani

quod id genus tenus postea est inventum Hieronymus reguillius, e quibus metalla glaciis portabantur et per publicanos Romanos vendebantur, vii. 5, 4.

The following comments may be made on this. (1) The description which is given of the three sorts of Sinopic earth (58) is exactly true of cinnabar, the colour of which 'varies from a fine bright red to a reddish-brown and leaden-grey hue' (*Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9 s.v.). This is not far from a translation of Theophrastos' ἐρυθρὰ σφόδρα, λευκός and μέση.

(2) In saying that the miltos of Keos is the best, Theophrastos is in direct contradiction to Strabo, who says that the Sinopic is 'best of all'. An Attic decree records that the sale of it was monopolized by Athens. Nothing else seems to be known of it. The Lemnian was certainly a clay, it owed its reputation which still survives in Turkey mainly to its supposed medicinal qualities (see Hasluck, *Terra Lemnia*, B.S.A. xvi. 220). Only the second quality seems to have been used as a pigment by carpenters (Galen, xii. p. 170).

(3) Vitruvius (vii. 8. 1) says of minium (cinnabar) 'id autem agria Ephesium Cilbians primum esse memoratur inventum', and Pliny (xxiii. 113) quotes from Theophrastos 'optimum supra Ephesum Cilbians agris lutea coeci colorem habente'. No mention of the Cilbians agri occurs in our text of Theophrastos, and it is not clear whence Vitruvius got the name.<sup>12</sup> The Καλβιανὲς πεδῖες lay at the head of the Cayster valley (Strabo xiii. 4. 13) and quite near Ephesus. If this location is correct, it is of course not possible to regard the Sizma mines as the Ephesian workings referred to by Theophrastos. It is quite likely that the Ephesians may have learnt (and practised) the Athenian process in some cinnabar mines of their own at the head of the Cayster valley before the opening up to them of the inner country.

WALTER LEAP.

<sup>12</sup> It is possible that the missing words in Theophrastos may be hidden in the meaning *hinc auriferi de caecis* a little below the words

ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσῷ ἀγρῷ (58). This may represent a marginal note to the effect "Auriferi hinc inserti de Καλβιανῇ".



## TWO ATHLETIC BRONZES AT ATHENS.

### [PLATES I, II.]

WHILE I was staying for a few weeks in Athens during the early summer of 1912, my interest was particularly engaged by two figures (Nos. 6614, 6615) among the Acropolis bronzes in the National Museum. Though by no means equal in artistic value, both deserve to be more widely known than they have become through catalogue notices,<sup>1</sup> being apparently the work of one school which, as I believe has not yet been accurately identified. Dr. Stais was kind enough to allow me to examine the figures closely and to photograph them, and has now courteously given me permission to publish my impressions.

6615. (PL. I.) The figure is perfect save for the loss of the right forearm and the right foot. It represents a boy<sup>2</sup> facing front. His right shoulder is lowered; the right upper arm hangs nearly perpendicularly from the shoulder, while the forearm projects to the front and somewhat downwards. The head is inclined to the right, as also is the trunk of the body. The left upper arm projects outwards to the left and is raised slightly above the horizontal position; the forearm is nearly at right angles with it: the hand is open with the back uppermost, the fingers nearly touching the left side of the head. The right leg is advanced and slightly bent at the knee, the shin being nearly perpendicular; the left leg is drawn back and the knee very slightly bent: the foot is firmly planted upon the ground.

The figure measures 201 m. in height according to de Ridder, the head alone being 93 m. high, and was found in the S. of the Parthenon.

The attitude of this figure has been strangely misunderstood. De Ridder suggests a dancing man; Stais, a young man walking with his left hand raised as though to ward off a blow. It is surely neither the one nor the other, but (like the less perfect example from the Acropolis No. 6594)

<sup>1</sup> Previous publications and notices of 6614 are: *Ephe. Arch.* 1883, p. 46; *Deltion*, 1888, p. 32; E. A. Gardner, *J.H.S.* 2. (1889), pp. 268-9; de Ridder, *Catalogue*, No. 750 (pp. 273-7); Stais, *Cat. des Marbres et des Bronzes*, p. 207. For 6615 see *Ephe. Arch.* 1883, p. 56;

*Deltion*, 1888, p. 334; de Ridder, *Cat. No.* 757 (pp. 281-2); Stais, *Cat.* p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> The head and face give the misleading impression of being those of a middle aged man.

a discobolus in what Mr. E. N. Gardiner<sup>2</sup> has called the 'second typical position,' in which the discus is held in the right hand slightly in front of the body and resting against the flat of the forearm, while the left arm is usually raised above the head (this admits of variations) and the right foot (or sometimes the left) is advanced. The athlete, then, is about to swing the discus backwards ready for the throw, swinging the body downwards and to the right in the attitude of Myron's discobolus. No doubt as to this explanation can be entertained by anyone who compares the photographs of this bronze with Figs. 6 and 7 (here Fig. 1) of Mr. Gardiner's article.<sup>3</sup>

6614. (Pl. II.) This figure, like 6615, was found to the S. of the Parthenon, and must originally have been of the same height, 2.01 m., since its actual height is 1.7 m. and the head, like the head of 6615, is .03 m. high. Both feet are broken off at the ankles, the left arm is missing from a little below the shoulder-joint, and the right hand is lost at the elbow. The surface generally, but especially the surface of the face, has suffered from corrosion.

The figure, as Mr. Howard Carter was the first to point out to me, has been wrongly mounted and without reference to its centre of gravity. It should be tilted decidedly forward from its present position until the head is perpendicularly above the right foot. Our bronze, then, represents a boy athlete facing to the front, with both legs almost equally bent at the knees; the shins are inclined slightly forward, but the left is a little in advance of the right and is distinctly higher—a fact from which we may infer that while the right foot was planted full upon the ground, the left heel was raised and only the ball of the foot or even the toes touched the surface.

The thighs slope strongly backwards from the knees; the body is swung well forward from the hips, and the head thrown back, the face being turned upwards and the chin protruding. The attitude of the arms is important: the right arm is directed to the front and slightly to the right and upwards, *the flat of the forearm being uppermost*. The left arm, as the stump clearly shows, was in somewhat similar action, but was not raised so high above the level of the shoulder, and was directed decidedly more outwards.

As Stais remarks, such an attitude is not easily explained. E. A. Gardner<sup>4</sup> (followed by Stais) suggested that the figure is a charioteer, and compared with it both for attitude and style the so-called *Baton of*



FIG. 1.—FIRST CENTRAL BRONZE.  
(After Burlington Fine Arts Club,  
1903, Pl. I.)

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* xxvii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> *J.H.S.* x. 263.



Tübingen.<sup>6</sup> I do not think that this explanation can be accepted. If a charioteer, the figure would surely be draped as are the charioteers of Delphi, of the Mausoleum, and the Sicilian coins. The attitude also is a momentary one which must be converted into a forward spring, and is therefore impossible for a charioteer, more especially as the raised left foot would be meaningless in such a figure. However, no charioteer, surely, but would look well to his front and not upwards as here, and no charioteer could possibly hold the reins so high and with arms so far apart.

De Ridder<sup>7</sup> is fruitful in suggestions, and inclines finally to believe that we have a jumper<sup>8</sup> about to take off, who has raised the halteres to the front to increase the momentum of their swing backwards. Now, quite apart from other considerations, the movement of the arms is sufficient to overthrow this view, for no one could jump the better—if, indeed, he could jump at all—by swinging the halteres to the front without keeping both arms parallel and always at the same level. But de Ridder has also suggested (but withdrawn) two other explanations. If, he says, the right arm alone were raised, we might suppose the athlete to be either a discobolus, or a runner who turns on himself '*pour nehever le diables*'. We may dismiss the runner, but the figure is, perhaps, after all a discobolus, though not in the attitude which de Ridder probably had in mind. The pose is, indeed, one for which I cannot refer to a parallel in the monumental evidence for the various movements in discus-throwing, but the position of the right forearm with the flat, or inner, surface uppermost certainly indicates that this is a discobolus, and the movement can, I think, be shown to fit into Mr. Gardiner's reconstruction of the mode of throwing. The bronze certainly does not represent the discobolus in either of the early positions 1 and 2,<sup>9</sup> or any variation of these; nor can it be taken to be a transitory pose in any of the final movements 5, 6 and 7. Since, then, movement 4 (that of Myron's discobolus) is out of the question, it must have some connexion with 3. Now 6615, as we have seen, is a discobolus in this third position. I suggest that movements 1 and 2 of Mr. Gardiner's were carried out deliberately, that 6615 represents the initial stage of 3 and is still deliberate, but that the small bronze showing this stage, reproduced by Mr. Gardiner<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 1) marks an acceleration beginning at this stage, and, finally, that 6614 is an 'extra' movement<sup>11</sup> intervening between Nos. 3 and 4 of Mr. Gardiner's recon-

<sup>6</sup> I have omitted this figure from the discussion since I know it only from reproductions, and access to it is, of course, impossible for the present.

<sup>7</sup> *Numismata*, p. 276.

<sup>8</sup> For long I believed that the figure was indeed a jumper, but one who has already 'landed,' and is in the act of recovering his equilibrium, striving to regain his upright posture and about to break into the free broken strides which naturally complete the recovery after landing in the long jump. I

still think this explanation is possible, but not so satisfactory as that which I now put forward.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* N. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* Fig. 7, (p. 18).

<sup>11</sup> It may, of course, have been omitted by practical discobolists; but it would be helpful (I think) in the case of young athletes, as here, in giving them a moment to ensure their balance and 'feel for' the violent and difficult movement of No. 4.

situation. In this movement, if I am not wrong, the right arm with the discus is swung up to the front, the left leg is advanced though the foot still remains half-free of the ground, and the left arm moves from its curved position over the left shoulder to the front and outwards to the left to counterbalance the right arm and discus. From this, the position of our bronze, the transition to the fourth, or 'Myronic' position can easily be followed, the right hand being swung downwards and backwards (thus getting a continuous swing in one vertical plane<sup>12</sup>), and the body following downwards and to the right.

If this be so, the Athens figure 6614 gives us a hitherto unrecognised movement in the throwing of the discus.

We turn now from the motive of the figures to their art and style.<sup>13</sup> A single glance will assure us that 6615 is of a more archaic character than 6614, though this need not imply a great chronological difference or, indeed, any, as the late archaic and early free styles must have existed for a while side by side. But while 6615 is obviously intended to be viewed only from the front, and is, indeed, almost grotesque as seen from any other position [Plate I, 1-2] 6614 may be appreciated equally from any point of view [Plate II, 1-3]. There is, too, a decided difference in general artistic value, even if that only means that one artist has chosen to cast his figure in a happier pose than the other. The attitude of 6615 must strike us as formal; there is a fixity in the figure which suggests a set pose exactly reproduced, while the other figure has rather the appearance of a living figure turned in an instant into metal.

Let this general comparison seem unjust to the really admirable figure 6615, let us now consider it more in detail. The upper part, head, shoulders and arms, are admirably conceived, and could not better express the effect of the weight of the discus upon the upper part of the body, but with the lower part of his figure the artist seems less successful. So far as I can analyse this impression, it seems to me that the body from the breast to the hips is too short, that the waist is somewhat narrow and that the thighs are both too short as compared with the lower part of the leg and lumpy in their execution, only their general mass being presented without indication of the contours of flesh and muscle. But these impressions of undue shortness in trunk and thighs are, perhaps, somewhat unduly emphasised by the head, which, though not actually over large for the figure, is made to appear so by the peculiar arrangement of the hair. It is, however, in modelling that much of the excellence of this figure lies, so far as detail is concerned. The general rendering of the left arm is admirable, but here, as in most parts of the figure, the surface has suffered from corrosion. Yet how finely finished the whole once was we can understand from the exquisite softness and

<sup>12</sup> Without the movement here suggested, the transition from the 'two-handed position' to No. 3 only allows the discobolus an imperfect swing of the discus, first downwards and slightly to the right, then backwards; since in

the 'two-handed position' the discus is held on a line with the centre of the body and must clear the right side.

<sup>13</sup> Probably both figures came (like B.M. 359) from Gardiner, *op. cit.* Fig. 8) from Lebedev.



delineacy of the work on the lower part of the stomach. The face is, on the whole, tolerably well preserved, but though corrosion is here slight, it has destroyed the finished surface, leaving only the general forms. The eye is abnormally large and is rendered as a flattened mass slightly projecting from the surface of the face and surrounded by a narrow ridge. The mouth, similarly, which is short, is really a thick rounded ridge cleft along its length. But the dominating feature of the face is the chin, this projects strongly to the front with an upward curve which combines with the convex line of the cheek and the high cheek bone to form a curious S figure on either side the features. Nothing can be said as to the treatment of the hair—its general arrangement will be noticed later.

6614, as we have seen, is treated far more thoroughly as a real figure in the round, and it avoids in great measure the faults in proportion which appear in the companion bronze. The trunk is, perhaps, still a shade too short, but the thighs are here given their full length, an improvement which lends the figure that appearance of litheness and agility which is lacking in 6615. Corrosion and incrustation have robbed the bronze of its finest finished surface, but with the unhappy exception of the face, have not hopelessly damaged the modelling. It would be as tedious as futile to try to communicate an idea of the rare excellence and ease of this modelling by laboured description. It will be enough to draw special attention to the legs and back, and, having done so, to refer the reader to Plate II. The rendering of the abdomen can be considered more conveniently when we discuss the matter of origin. The face is sadly marred by corrosion, and only its general treatment can be discerned. The eyes and mouth seem to have been rendered in much the same form as 6615<sup>14</sup>; the chin, too, is pointed, though it has no suggestion of the nutcracker form which gives to 6615 something of a grotesque air.

To what school can we assign these figures? There are broad features which indicate a common source—the cusped-like fashion of the hair is common to both, so too is the tendency to shorten the trunk, together with certain features in the rendering of the abdominal muscles; the eyes and mouth,<sup>15</sup> too, are the same in both. The treatment of the hair and of the front of the body led de Ridder<sup>16</sup> to class them as Aeginetan; and he finds them most nearly paralleled in the figures from the temple of Aphnia and works which have been generally classed as Aeginetan, such as the Strangford Apollo. The case, however, is not wholly clear: 6614 is ahead of 6615 not only in composition, in vitality, and as a figure really in the round, but also in certain improvements in proportion—notably in the thighs; the face, too, is more oval in its outline, the cheeks are less hollow, and the waist less narrow. Moreover, the two figures diverge in their treatment of the

<sup>14</sup> Possibly owing to the relatively small size of the bronze; but they look almost to be unfinished.

<sup>15</sup> They touch the eyes and mouth of the

'Apollo' from Orchomenos (*Gardner, Hercul. book 1, Fig. 23*); but the resemblance, of course, goes no further.

<sup>16</sup> *Catalogue*, p. xxi.

abdomen; in 6615 the muscles are very roundly and smoothly modelled, there is a small curved ridge immediately above the navel, and a shallow depression below it; a small almost circular pit appears immediately below the junction of the breasts. In 6614 the two last features are not found, and the muscular system is delineated in a somewhat rigid scheme; and might be said to be engraved as much as modelled—though the modelling of the masses so defined is subtle and delicate in the extreme. These differences can be only partly explained—I think—by the difference in attitude, though in 6615 the abdominal muscles are relaxed and at rest, while in 6614 the upward swing of the trunk has tightened them, flattening out the surface and emphasising the lines which separate the main masses. While, therefore, there are broad general features which link the two together, there are important points of difference; and if we acquiesce in the view that they are products of one school, we must hold that the school was in a phase of transition, and that its members had made progress in different directions. With this reservation we may return to the question of origin. I cannot believe de Ridder to be right in assigning the pair to Aegina, least of all 6614. If this (as seen in profile) is compared with the 'body-snatcher' from the E. Pediment, we are conscious of a totally different impression; though the two are in attitudes which make comparison fair. The bronze athlete is altogether more lithe and subtle, the thighs are finer and relatively longer, the face and the line of the jaw too are longer and less strongly curved. De Ridder cites the fashion of wearing the hair as a witness to Aeginetan origin, yet our bronzes show no trace of the broad projecting fringe of curls over the brows which we see in the pediment figure and in the Strangford Apollo; so far as the front hair is concerned, they rather resemble the beautiful marble head in the Acropolis Museum.<sup>17</sup> The back hair of the Aeginetan figure, moreover, ends in a braided band running round the back of the head on a level with the top of the ear; the bronze figures certainly do not have this braiding, and their back hair ends in what is more like a cut edge well down on the nape of the neck and on a level with the lobe of the ear. The flange-like edge of the hair at the back of the head is simply due to the fact that it no longer follows the rounded surface of the head but lies on the nape of the neck. Where we do find this fashion parallelled is on Attic vases,<sup>18</sup> on which the ear is accommodated in a nick in the side of the cap-like coiffure. The flange at the back is not generally represented; chiefly, as I think, because the figures are not in positions which allow the hair to fall full upon the nape of the neck. But a b.c. kolohe in the British Museum (E 361) exactly parallels all the features of our bronzes (Fig. 2). In this respect, then, we find our figures to be Attic rather than Aeginetan. That the method of dressing the hair seen in these bronzes is different from the style of the Aeginetan marbles and is Attic, is confirmed (as I think) by a relief found

<sup>17</sup> Dickson, *Cat. of the Acrop. Mus.* 689 (p. 248 ff.)

<sup>18</sup> See Klein, *Euphrosia*, p. 273 (the figure

putting on gloves); p. 283 (diacobolus); Gardner *op. cit.* Fig. 4 (diacobolus) and Fig. 10 and 17.



about a year ago at Cottenham, Cambridgeshire, and presented by Mr. Arthur Ball of Cottenham to the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge.<sup>29</sup> This relief, which is apparently of Attic marble and is certainly Attic in style, represents an *ephebos* holding a horse, and may be dated at about 500-490 B.C. The hair of the *ephebos* reproduces exactly the form of the hair seen in the two Athenian bronzes; and is lightly worked over in such a way as to suggest a thick crop of curls rather than long tresses of hair braided and coiled up (as in the Aeginetan figures). A further Attic feature is the treatment of the abdomen. De Ridder somewhat curiously points out that this treatment strongly recalls the schemes followed by the painters



FIG. 2.—B.M. E 381.

of r.-f. vases, but argues from this fact that the bronzes are Aeginetan because the sculptors of Aegina followed the lead of the Attic vase painters. It is surely simpler (especially now that we have seen much in the bodily forms which is Attic and not Aeginetan) to conclude that our bronzes are Attic work.<sup>30</sup> (The metope of Heracles and the Cerynian Stag from the Athenian

<sup>29</sup> The relief is, I understand, to be published in due time.

<sup>30</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV. 211. Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors*, pp. 33-34 and Pl. VI.

treasury at Delphi (Fig. 3) gives us an example in sculpture of this 'red-figure style' of rendering the front of the body which is undoubtedly Attic in origin). Indeed, the feeling of these figures and the general impression they make are that the source is Attic: and when we compare 6614 as seen in profile with Myron's *Discobolos*, the general resemblance (and especially the treatment of the thigh in each) is almost startling, and the essentially Attic feeling of the smaller figure emerges beyond doubt.



FIG. 3.—METEOR FROM THE TREASURY OF THE ATHLETES AT DELPHI  
(from Gardner, *The Greek Sculpture*).

This comparison also brings out the value of 6614 for the history of Greek art. Every beginner in the subject must have felt that Myron's *Discobolos* stands curiously alone, and must ask himself how sculpture could have passed almost at a stride from works like the Naples *Harmodios* and *Aristogiton* to so complex a work as the *Discobolos*. In point of fact



Myron's figure does not really stand alone: it was the craftsmen who wrought bronzes like 6614—and in a more remote degree, 6615—who solved the preliminary problems and, by their tentative but ever bold representations of instantaneous poses in athletic exercises, prepared the way for Myron's magnificent if somewhat sensational genius. Indeed the maker of 6614 seems to belong to the immediate movement which produced Myron. If we compare it as seen in profile with the *Discobolus*, we may as fruitfully compare it as seen from the front with the *Mareotes*: in each the attention is riveted solely by the rendering of the body and by its mechanism and organic action, while character or emotional expression are ignored: and in each the same object is attained—the capture of a violent and essentially momentary pose. This is not to say, nor to hint, that 6614 is Myron's or a work of Myron's circle: but I think we may fairly and reasonably claim that it reveals to us something of the atmosphere and influences which produced Myron.

HELEN G. EVELYN WHITE.

## ANOTHER NOTE ON THE SCULPTURE OF THE LATER TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

WHEN I wrote my former notes I was undecided as to the meaning of two of the sculptured fragments. No 1215 is described in the *Catalogue* as 'Fragment of sculptured pier, with portions of two figures wrestling; one is half kneeling, and his left thigh is clasped by the hand of his opponent'—perhaps the contest of Herakles and Antaeus.<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1.)



FIG. 1.

The high relief shows that the fragment indeed belonged to a pedestal, and in re-examining it more carefully I find that a portion of the right-hand return still exists. Small as the trace is, it is enough to fix the place of the fragment in regard to the angle of the pedestal together with the vertical direction. It is plain, further, that the hand which grasps the leg is a left hand. These data are enough to define the general type of the design—a type which is well known for the struggle of Herakles and Antaeus (Fig. 2). The subject is that proposed in the *Catalogue*, but its treatment was not that which is there suggested. In Reinach's *Répertoire* four or five examples are illustrated of statue groups which conform to the same formula, and one is given in his collection of *Reliefs* (iii. p. 75). Another similar design from an unengraved gem appears in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire* under 'Antaena.' Our Ephesus relief is by far the oldest of these and in several other cases these sculptures give the earliest known versions of their subjects.

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion was first made by Dr. Murray, *R.I.B.A. Jour.* 1893.



Beneath the restored pedestal (Fig. 2) is shown a square block A B, such as would have been necessary for the support of the projecting figures: A complete base for the sculptured pedestals is suggested (to a smaller scale) by D, the projection of the sculpture being indicated by S. The ordinary base, which was probably repeated under the sculptured drums, is represented at C. It will be observed that D projects as much as C while having a level upper surface to receive the sculpture. There could not have been bases of the C type under the sculptured pedestals because they have no level upper surfaces, and if any such were provided by bringing the moulded forms further out, an impossibly awkward profile would have resulted and the projection would have been absurdly great; finally, no straight-sided moulded bases were found.



FIG. 2

The second of the fragments is No. 1217 from a sculptured drum. It is small, and described as 'much mutilated, with a female hand holding up a veil; a spiral bracelet on the wrist.' The hand is turned palm outwards, and it grasps a fillet or 'sash' rather than a veil. To the right of the hand is a trace of the hand of the figure to which it belonged, in a position which shows that the arm was extended and lifted high. To the left in front of this figure was another, of which the elbow of a raised arm is preserved. These figures must have been somewhat widely spaced. Above the hand and the head are traces of masses falling in curves as if suspended, and it appears that these must be parts of a series of festoons which surrounded the top of this drum. Along the lower edges of these festoons seem to be traces of leaves (Fig. 3). This fragment must be part of a drum on which were about six figures engaged in suspending festoons, or rather in attaching fillets to festoons.

We may be reminded of the relief of Dionysos at the British Museum, where an attendant is hanging up festoons; this relief is probably of the second century *A.D.* A second relief in the British Museum—that of Homer and the Muses, by an artist of Priene, which seems to be of the third century *A.D.*—has similar festoons around a circular altar; and a real altar of fairly good style found in the theatre of Dionysos at Athens has fine festoons.<sup>2</sup> The temple at Magnesia had festoons on the walls. An altar at Delphi is practically a copy of our drum.

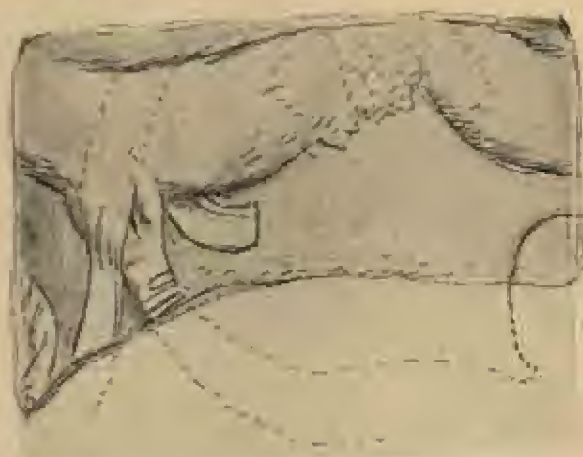


FIG. 4

Even if it requires a few words of repetition, it may now be convenient to collect under the several numbers of the sculptures in the *Catalogue* a few further observations, which are mainly of the nature of footnotes to my former papers. When careful revised restorations are made the smallest hints may prove of use.

1200, *Pedestal block*; the story of Herakles and Omphale. The lion-skin of Herakles must have been worn with the skin of the fore-legs tied around his throat as on many vases and reliefs.<sup>3</sup> Fig. 4 is a restoration of what remains. Found at the west front.

1201, *Pedestal block*; Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides. The pendent lion's skin carried by H. should be compared with that of the Lansdowne House statue, which is supposed to be a copy of a work by Scopas. Compare the seam of the serpent's skin with Figs. 1 and 2 in Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena*. Found at the west front.

1202, *Drum*; procession of men in Persian dress. It may be suggested that they were represented as bringing the gifts of Croesus to the Temple. They might almost be the prototypes in art of the Wise Men of the East. West front.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> See Roscher's *Dictionary*, iii. p. 246.



1203. *Drum*; another fragment of the same. West front.

1204 (a). *Pedestal blocks (2)*; Combat of Herakles and Kyknos.



FIG. 4.

Fig. 5 is a restoration. These two blocks are not of equal width. A *crisis* is scratched on one of the surfaces.



FIG. 5.

1204 (b). *Pedestal block*; Artemis warning someone beyond, doubtless Herakles attacking the Keryneian stag, of which a trace seems to remain at

the left-hand bottom corner. A late relief of this subject at the British Museum is on a tall panel, which is of suitable proportion for the space to be filled on the pedestal. West front.

1205, *Pedestal block*; Herakles and a Triton. A Triton blowing a shell, but otherwise of similar type to the one of which a restoration was before given, was carved on the base of a column at Branchidae.<sup>4</sup> A Triton also blowing a shell, but later in style, is, in the British Museum, on a relief from the theatre at Ephesus. The constantly repeated motive of old Triton's 'wroathed horn' must have had some noteworthy original and it seems probable that this subject may have been on another side of the Triton pedestal at the Artemision. All the facts suggest that the Tritons and Nereids of Ephesus must have been designed by Scopas, the master of a famous group of marine deities. West front.

1206, *Drum*; Alkestis released from Hades. For the attitude of Heracles with the hand against his hip covered by drapery, compare the Uffizi Adonis figured in Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*. Can the diadem or fillet carried by Persephone have been given back by the departing Alkestis? The forefinger of the lifted hand of Thanatos was not extended as beckoning, but closed against the thumb. (On representations of Thanatos see Heinemann's *Thanatos*, 1913, and F. P. Weber's *Aspects of Death*, 1914.) Hermes was speaking. Any photograph of this drum will show the technical skill with which the figures are so modelled as not to interfere with the contour of the column; the general cylindrical surface is so much maintained for the parts in relief that the sculpture hardly breaks up the form more than painting would have done. West front.

1207-1210, *Pedestal blocks*; Nereids riding Hippocamps. On the return in front of the two most perfect pieces, there are full traces of another great coiled tail which was like the other. There is evidence for Nereids on three sides of the pedestal and, doubtless, the fourth was similar. West front.

1211, *Drum*; Family groups of Citizens assembled at the Temple. This is in the style of many votive reliefs of the fourth century; see Figs. 3, 5, 12, 87, 101, 102 in Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena*. At first, Wood thought that No. 1215 and No. 1213 were parts of one drum, but he corrected this in his errata. The standing woman's figure has her arms circled under her mantle in an attitude commonly used in term-cottas, it is found also on the relief of the Muses found at Mantinea and attributed to Praxiteles. Our figure stands mainly on the left foot which throws the hip out in a curve. From the east end.

1212, *Pedestal block*; Victories leading animals to the sacrifice. In my sketch of a restoration a ledge under the figures was shown, but there was in fact only a piece of raised ground and not a continuous projection. It seems that in all cases the bed joint was at the level of the feet of the figures who must have seemed to rest on a course below. This is

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias and Hunseniller, *Dolopos*, p. 132.



further confirmed by comparison with the great sculptured plinth of the Altar at Pergamon, where the figures were supported in a similar manner West front.

1213, *Drum*; The Muses. The figure on the left was standing in profile, and seems to have had her chiton caught up over the raised heel of a foot which rested on its toes (Fig. 6). This attitude may be compared with that of a Muse on the Priene relief at the British Museum. In the *Catalogue* it is said that the latter is 'generally recognised as Polyhymnia, of whom this is the typical attitude.' A similar figure appears on the Halcarnassus pedestal also in the British Museum and Reinach illustrates three Muses from Delos in this poem (IV. 139, &c.) The figure seated with her left hand resting on the seat may also be compared with a Muse on the Priene relief. The Ephesus figures were certainly very beautiful, the fall of the drapery over the feet of the seated one is most skilfully managed, both feet are

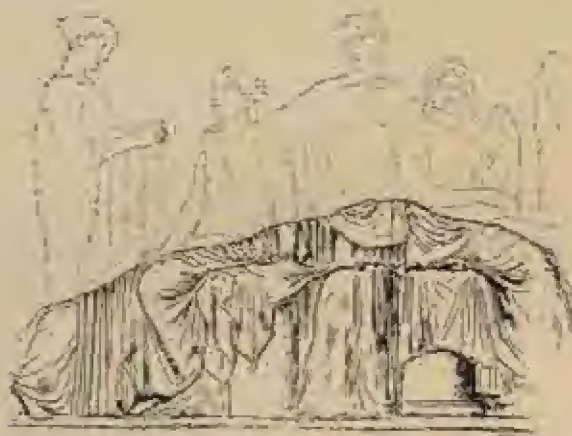


FIG. 6.

shown almost as in a front view by taking advantage of the turn of the curve, the figure standing to the front has drapery very like that of Persephone on the Hermes drum. The strongly driven vertical furrows of the drapery of the standing figures on both these drums still show the Phidias tradition. From the east end.

1214, *Drum*; Theseus and Sinis. From the west front, probably from an inner row.

1215, *Pedestal*; Herakles and Antaios. Place of finding does not seem to have been stated, but doubtless it was at the West with the other labours of Herakles.

1216, *Fragment*; sheep's head (from Croesus' temple?). The joint makes it difficult to account for.

1217, *Drum*; women hanging fillets to festoons. Apparently from the east end, where fragments of a drum were found, which were described as

mere splinters proving only that it had been six feet in height with plain spaces between the figures. From the indications of the record we may suppose that most of the sculptures of the western façade represented the adventures of Herakles and Theseus. They appeared thus together in the metopes of the Thesoum. One pedestal had Victories conducting animals to the sacrifice, one drum had people bearing gifts, and we may assume the existence of at least a pair of each of these disposed so as to balance one another, and these may best be assigned to the two outer columns at each end of the western front.

At the eastern end, or back of the temple, no pedestals were found, but only sculptured drums. These drums may have been arranged so as to have the Muses with a group of Artemis, Apollo, and Leto, and possibly other gods and attendants in the centre; then columns with priestesses putting up festoons for a festival, and beyond came the assembling of the citizens. Such a scheme would follow more or less closely that of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon. The oxen and sheep for the sacrifice and the gifts at the west front would follow the precedent of the rest of the frieze and form part of the festival scheme. The whole may be explained as the deeds of the two great Greek heroes and a festival of the Goddess Artemis.

One other fragment of sculpture which may be mentioned here is the lion's head (47/58) which has been assigned to the gutter of the archaic temple. It must, as I have before said, be fifth-century work, and have belonged to a statue group. On re-examining it I noticed an attachment on the left shoulder where the lion must have been in contact with another figure. Wood must have observed this, for he describes a fragment thus—'A fine lion's head, part of a statue, belonging probably to one of the former temples was also found here [in the naos], with fragments of sculpture and architectural enrichment, below the pavement.' (*Discoveries*, p. 258).—A lion's head of an earlier period [than the fourth century], evidently a portion of a statue, was found within the cella and is now exhibited (p. 261). He says farther—'One or two fragments of sculpture, including part of a female arm, and another with the elbow, both from figures about eleven feet high, were found beneath the pavement' (p. 246). It seems probable enough that these fragments should have been parts of a figure associated with a lion or with two lions, and it is not unlikely that our lion's head is part of a group of the goddess as 'the Lady of wild things.' During the last exploration of the site of the temple some small and early examples of such a motive were found; also 'a fragment of late sculpture, a hand resting on a lion's head, doubtless from a statuette of the goddess' (Hogarth, &c., p. 27). It would be going too far to suppose that the large fragments formed part of the great cult image, but our lion's head may represent some important votive statue of Artemis.

A carved architectural member which has recently been put in the gallery is probably a part of the cymatium of the great doorway or of the pediment. It can be restored fairly well by comparing it with the gutter-front of the Mausoleum (Fig. 7). A fragment of a capital now in the base-



ment has a convolvulus-like flower between the loops at the end of the channels of the side-rolls of the *volutes*. Some wall-stones at the British Museum have slightly recessed margins<sup>3</sup>.

In the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (February, 1915) I have set out the evidence for a difference of design between the front and the back of the Temple, and the evidence that the sculptured drums were not raised upon the sculptured pedestals.

Some of the inscriptions printed at the end of Wood's volume suggest points of interest in regard to the 'common temple of Asia and Ephesus'.

The great festival was 'the birthday of the mighty goddess' which was in May. At this time a distribution of an endowment was to take place in 'the Pronaos' of the Temple to the *Theodotai*, the singers and others. The Pronaos is so frequently mentioned (while no other part of the Temple is named) that it is evident that it was regarded as a great hall, and it is



FIG. 7.

doubtful if there was even any other treasury. Here were kept certain gold and silver images, which were to be carried from 'the Pronaos' to the Theatre and back and deposited in the 'Pronaos of Artemis'. One of these was a 'golden Artemis and two silver deer attending' another being a 'silver Artemis bearing a torch'—interesting types. 'The Priests, who wear golden ornaments and the Victors in the Sacred Games carry and carry back the effigies'. One inscription is a grant to an actor, after his victory in the contest at the great festival of the Artemisia, the president of the games being Lucius Aurelius Plato; a second commemorates 'the victory in a musical or poetical contest under the patronage of the Muses, who are

<sup>3</sup> In the recently published *Fifth Part of Antiquities of Ionia* I have stated that Priene had similar walling-stones. This was a mistake for Tricase.

thanked; and another records the dedication of a statue to Artemis and to the youth of the Ephesian citizens.

The sculptures of the Artemision were probably related to the birthday festival of the goddess as much as were those of the Parthenon to the pan-Athenian festival. I mentioned before that one of the 'citizens' is making a sign of warning or a gesture of worship which may remind us of one of the 'magistrates' of the Parthenon; it is a further confirmation of the view now proposed, which is that the general scheme was suggested by the Athenian temple. It may now be hazarded that the men in 'Persian' dress on one of the drums who resembled gift-bearers were indeed forerunners of 'the priests who wore golden ornaments' and carried precious images of Artemis in the procession. These later-given images were, of course, but a small part of the ceremonial treasure. It was provided that the victors in the sacred games were also to join in the procession, and this may be some sort of explanation why on the sculptured pedestal the sacrificial animals are led by Victories. Further, a musical contest under the care of the Muses helps to show that they were well in place on one of the columns. Dr. Hogarth cites a record of a valuable prize won in such a contest at the dedication of the temple. When we recall the prominence given to boys on the Drum of the Citizens it is curious to find in these inscriptions more than one reference to 'the Youth of the Ephesian citizens' who were to be brought up in the right ways.

Finally the keeping of the gold and silver images in the pronaos of the temple helps to confirm a view that I have put forward before, that the sanctuary proper was not roofed but open to the sky as were the temples of Apollo at Bassae and Branchidae.

To the many points of resemblance between the work of Scopas and the sculptures at Ephesus which have been noticed may be added the fact that the curved cymatium of the gutter at Ephesus was very similar to one which has been found at Tega. Further, the construction of the sculptured pedestals at Ephesus which are divided into four by *vertical joints* seems to me like sculptor's architecture; no mason would have thought of such an unsound scheme of building.

*Comparison of Ephesus with Priene.*—Wilberg has recently re-opened the question as to whether the entablature of the temple of Priene had a frieze,<sup>6</sup> and this involves Ephesus too, for the details which have been recovered of the entablatures of the two temples are so closely alike that it is evident one was copied from the other. Wilberg tries to show that the Priene entablature as restored by Wiegand without a frieze hardly raised the sloping rafters of the roof high enough to pass over the margin stones of the lacunaria, and he brings back a frieze to get this height. The difficulty is only in regard to a few inches while the frieze raises the roof some feet. Wilberg seems to exaggerate the difficulty by adding a thick deeply recessed cover stone. Very few of the marginal stones were found—literally only two or three, and

<sup>6</sup> *JA, März 1914.*




those that came under the slanting roof may have been trimmed away to give the rafters room. The fitting together of the stones of the entablature by Wiegand is to me convincing, but there may easily be an error of a few inches in his drawing. Wilberg cannot show that there was any sculptured frieze, and ends his arguments thus—'But either with or without reliefs the temple certainly had a frieze, and we do not need to ascribe to Pythios, the gifted builder of the Mausoleum and the temple of Priene, a design which is artistically unsatisfactory.' No argument can be founded on taste. The question involves a large group of buildings besides Priene and Ephesus. The Mausoleum entablature was also similar in its details, and in none of these three buildings has a frieze been shown to exist; the Amazon 'frieze' at the Mausoleum could not have belonged to the order, for I have recently observed that a large Lesbian moulding, of which fragments are in a case, surmounted the sculptured stones. At the Nereid Monument, which I believe followed the Mausoleum, there is no frieze; and although it was desired to have sculpture, the figures were carved on the epistyle rather than that a frieze should be introduced. Even a building so late as the great altar at Pergamos had what seems to have been the traditional Ionic entablature. At Priene itself, Wiegand found no friezes either at the altar or at the temple of Asklepios. At Ephesus the entablature without the frieze would have been about 11 feet deep; with a frieze it would have been as much as 15 or 16 feet, between a third and a fourth of the height of the column. At Ephesus there is no question of great lacunar coffers of the Priene type, indeed the probability is that the ceiling of the *Pteron* was of wood.

Since the part to this point has been in print I have examined Pullan's original note-books which were used to record his finds from day to day at Priene. Some new facts thus disclosed, together with further reasons, are sufficient to show that Wilberg's theory is ill-founded and entirely breaks down.

(1) One of his arguments is that a ledge cut out at the back of the dentil course of the entablature, which was given by Wiegand as 14 cm. deep, varies from 13 to 16 cm. and could not therefore have been made to take similar stones of the lacunaria. In Greek building such slight variations are general. Pullan's notes, for instance, give the heights of the several disc-members of the column-bases of the east front of the temple as 95, 96, 99, 102, and 108 feet. Wilberg might just as well contend that these bases could not have been associated together side by side.

(2) A more elaborate argument is built up on the width of this same ledge, founded on the supposition that the lower lacunar stones which fitted into it, according to Wiegand, were formed of four marginal pieces of equal

lengths disposed thus .

As Pullan's sketches show, these marginal



stones were of various lengths, and they seem to have been arranged with two short ones coming between two longer ones. The parts of the width of

all these stones which were occupied by mouldings were jointed by mitres (these parts may be supposed to be inside the two diagrams); but the flat parts of two of the stones ran on beyond the mitred joints, overlapping the ends of the other pair of stones, and being two to four feet longer than they were. This not only removes all difficulty on the point, but is a strong reinforcement of Wiegand's solution, as it explains the changes in width of the recesses as Wilberg's own scheme does not.

(3) At both Priene and the Mausoleum the lower lacunar stones were put together as just described; the next course of each coffer was in one large stone, with a square piercing through it which was moulded all round; this piercing required a covering-stone. Wilberg assumes that the covering-stone at Priene was deeply hollowed out on the underside with more mouldings and was about 9 inches thick. It is this stone which makes the chief difficulty in regard to the rafters of the roof. That no fragments of such deeply recessed covering-stones were found, at either Priene or the Mausoleum, is strong evidence against such having ever existed. Now Pullan found at Priene two or three fragments of corner pieces of slabs about 3½ inches thick which he at first thought might be parts of a frieze, for they were in white marble, but they had raised, roughly tooled margins about 5 to 9 inches wide, the panels being smooth. These slabs seem perfectly suitable for the covering-stones, as the rough margins would have rested on the course below. As to the lower course it seems to me that there was room for the rafters even in the case as presented in Wilberg's diagram.

(4) Wilberg's supposititious frieze not only lifts the roof above the lacunaria excessively, but the fact that there was no such height indeed, is brought out by comparison with the Mausoleum, where the cross-beams which supported the lacunar stones were much notched down on the epistyle, obviously to get just sufficient height for the coffers.

(5) The construction of the entablature as shown by Wiegand is sound and workmanlike, and, as he says, 'it is so interlocked that there cannot be a doubt of its correctness.' It must further be noticed that it is entirely made up of known stones, and that they should so fit together by accident seems impossible. The restoration proposed by Wilberg, although he could make his hypothetical stones of any size and shape, is extremely poor and improbable as construction.

(6) Not only has no identifiable fragment of the frieze been found, as Wilberg admits, but his restoration requires, what he does not point out, a third course of egg-and-tongue moulding, while only two are known to have existed.

(7) Wiegand's solution not only agrees with the fact that no friezes have been found at the other buildings before-mentioned, but, again, at Sardes the American explorers have found no frieze.

(8) The friezeless scheme falls in with the traditional Ionian type of architrave order as described by Choisy.

W. R. LETHBRIDGE.



## INO-LEUKOTHEA.

THE uncritical excesses of those theorists, chiefly German and some English following them blindly, who discerned 'faded gods or goddesses' in most of the leading figures of Greek mythology, has produced a reaction which may be equally uncritical. We ought not to believe in the original divinity of an Agamemnon, an Achilles, or a Diomed. Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly a small group of personages, who may be called hero-gods or heroine-goddesses, whose godhead is the primary fact and whose humanity is secondary. The usual mark of these is that their legend is hieratic wholly; that they have little or no secular character, not to say 'epic' or 'heroic.' Of these the most prominent and important is Ino-Leukothea; and the interpretation of her character and personality and the problem of her origin are among the difficult tasks of the historian of Greek religion. What has been written hitherto on her cult and legend cannot be regarded as satisfying.

The name Ino, which is the prior fact, fails to help us; it may be Hellenic or not, but its root-meaning and root-affinities escape us. The first literary notice of her is in Homer's thrilling narrative, where as a kindly sea-fairy she aids the drowning Odysseus. But the poet is aware that this is not her original character, for he describes her as 'Ino-Leukothoe of the fair ankles, daughter of Kadmos, who was once a mortal speaking with the tongue of men, but now in the salt sea-waters has received honour at the hands of the gods.'<sup>1</sup> For Homer, then, she is merely one of that familiar type, the mortal translated to the divine sphere; and though he remembers her Cadmean origin and parentage, she must before his period have already assumed her maritime godhead and her name Leukothoe, 'White Goddess,' whatever that may mean. Hesiod speaks of her only by her name Ino, in his catalogue of 'glorious children' produced by the union of a mortal with a goddess<sup>2</sup>; thus from Kadmos and Harmonia spring Ino, Semele, and Agave; and while he knows that Semele was raised to the rank of a goddess he does not tell us what he thought of Ino; but there is no reason to suppose that his view of her was different from Homer's. A little later comes the testimony of Alkman<sup>3</sup>; in a fragment of his verse Ino is called the Queen of the sea (*σαλασσομήδισα*); similarly, Pindar speaks of Ino-Leukothoe as 'sharer of the sea-Nereids' power'<sup>4</sup>; and a dedicatory epigram in the

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 5, 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Theog.* 975-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Fr.* 82.

<sup>4</sup> *Pyth.* 11, 1.

Greek Anthology associates her and Melikertes with the sea-divinities Ophion, Neræus, Zeus Bathios (the god of the sea-depths), and the Samothracian divinities.<sup>5</sup>

But her marine character is far less clearly expressed in legend and ritual than her chthonian; and she must be primarily regarded as earth-sprung, as a vegetation-heroine-goddess of the Boeotian soil. This explains her close connection with the earth-goddess Semelê and the vegetation-god Dionysos, her fosterling,<sup>6</sup> whose orgy she traditionally leads, so that even the later Magnesians of the Mæander desire to import Maenads from Thebes 'who are of the race of the Cadmean Ino.'<sup>7</sup> Like Dionysos himself in Argolis, she was supposed in South Laconia to live at the bottom of a deep pool, into which a sacrifice of barley cakes was periodically thrown, an offering meet for the earth-mother.<sup>8</sup> Like Dionysos she has her mysteries, which in the Greek world are only attached to chthonian powers.<sup>9</sup> Like Dionysos she dies; and is honoured, as was Linos, Adonis, and Hyakinthos, with a ritual of sorrow and wailing. There was no motive for bewailing a sea-goddess, for the powers of this element did not die; but to bewail a goddess of fruits and verdure when she decayed was as natural as it was for the women to weep for Tammuz; and this deep-seated instinct of old earth-religion was misunderstood by the philosopher Xenophanes when he gave that memorable and elevated answer to the question of the men of Elea, whether they should sacrifice to Leukothea and bewail her: 'If you regard her as a goddess, do not bewail her; if as a mortal, do not sacrifice.'<sup>10</sup> However far she might travel over the sea, she seems never to have lost her chthonian character; for even at Pantikapaion, in the distant waters of the Euxine, she was worshipped as Leukothea λευκοθεα and grouped with Hermes, Hekate, Plouton, and Persephone in the formula of a curse by which a life was devoted to the nether powers.<sup>11</sup> In keeping with this character, she possessed an oracle-seat in South Laconia, where, as in other mantic seats of the earth-powers, the consultant slept on the ground to obtain prophetic dreams.<sup>12</sup> And the quaint secular story that she persuaded the women of Boeotia to roast the corn-seeds before sowing them, in order to bring Nephele into trouble, may well have been suggested by the consciousness of her vegetation-powers.<sup>13</sup> As pre-eminently an earth-goddess she would be *καρποφόρος*, interested in the nurture of children, and this would be the hieratic reason for her constant association with the infant or the youth Melikertes, and would explain the institution of a contest of boys in her honour at Miletos.<sup>14</sup> This would also explain the votive dedications made to her by Thessalian women, which were evidently not infrequent and which were more

<sup>5</sup> *Anth. Pal. Anth.*, 104 (*Cults*, 1, p. 149, R. 190).

<sup>6</sup> *Paus.* 3, 24, 3; *Eur. Bacch.* 493.

<sup>7</sup> *Kern, Inschrift. von Magnesia*, 213, *Cults of the Greek States*, 5, p. 298, R. 48.

<sup>8</sup> *Paus.* 3, 23, 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Lilienthal*, 2, p. 110 (R. p. 148).

<sup>10</sup> *Aristot.* p. 1100<sup>b</sup>, 6. *Platarch.* p. 228 v. tells the same story of the Thebans.

<sup>11</sup> *Arch. Anz.* 1907, p. 127 (*Cults*, 5, p. 65, R. 190).

<sup>12</sup> *Paus.* 3, 26, 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Zeusb. Adag.* 4, 34, 2 v. *Ἰνὸς ἄχνη*.

<sup>14</sup> *Kónon* 33.



probably prompted by the experiences of child-bearing than of sea-travel<sup>15</sup>; and we can thus understand the doubtful designation of her once famous and wealthy temple at Pyrgoi, near Caere, which Aristotle assigns to Leukothea, Strabo to Eileithyia, the goddess of travail.<sup>16</sup>

In fact, we have scarcely any attestation in the domain of cult proper of the maritime character of Ino-Leukothea, except a somewhat doubtfully recorded inscription from the Athenian theatre mentioning 'Leukothea the Saviour, the Harbour-Goddess.'<sup>17</sup> There is no reason to suppose from her very name that Leukothea must originally have belonged to the sea, as if none but a goddess of the foam could be called the 'White Goddess.' We need not be affected by the record that Myrsilos, a late writer of Lesbos, applied the name Leukothea to all Nereids,<sup>18</sup> for he may have only been following the literary tradition of Homer, Alkman, and Pindar.

The name is embedded in the inland cults of Bacotia at Thebes and Chaironeia, where the earthly and chthonian character of the goddess is manifest.

Nevertheless, the full religious account of Ino-Leukothea ought to answer the question why Homer and the other poets present her maritime character so prominently, and in answering will have to consider the probable ethnic origin or origins of the goddess with the double name. We must consider for a moment the Boeotian and Megarian legend, which has many points of hieratic interest. Ino, the second or first wife of Athamas, king of the Minyan Orchomenos, plots against the children of his other wife, Nephele; the plot fails, and Athamas is smitten with a madness, that is given a Bacchic colouring in some of the versions. He kills his son Learchos, and Ino escapes with the other, Melikertes, and leaps with him over a cliff into the sea.<sup>19</sup> The Megarians claimed that she sprang from the rock called Molouris in their territory, and in its locality was a space called 'the running-course of the Fair one' (Καλῆς δρόμος).<sup>20</sup> And the view appears to have prevailed in antiquity that the name Leukothea was a later accretion and was affixed to Ino after her leap into the sea, the Megarians claiming that they were the first to affix to her this name.

We are tempted to explain these cult-phenomena by the hypothesis that Ino was the aboriginal earth-goddess who became accidentally contaminated with an independent maritime goddess called Leukothea, who belonged to a different perhaps an earlier, ethnic stratum. But this hypothesis lacks reality; there is no trace of an original Leukothea apart from Ino; and, as we have seen from the evidences of cult, one name had as little maritime association as the other; we note also that Leukothea seems to have been

<sup>15</sup> Phorai, *I.G.* iv.<sup>2</sup> No. 922 (fourth century B.C.); Laurissa, *Epik. Arch.* 1910, pp. 378, 379.

<sup>16</sup> Aristotle, p. 1349, B 33; Strab., p. 220.

<sup>17</sup> *I.G.* iii, 308, [Λευκοθέα {2} σωτήρ] (sic) Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>18</sup> *Et. Mag.* p. 56, s.v. Λευκοθέα. cf. Müller, *F.H.G.* iv. p. 438; Hesych. s.v. Λευκοθέα: νεῖραί αὖ νεοθαί.

<sup>19</sup> *Ps. Schol. Pind. Isth. 109a*: Ἀπολλὼν 3, 4, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Paus. i, 42, 7; Plut. p. 675 E.

the official name used in the inland Boeotian cults of Thebes and Chaironeia.<sup>21</sup> We may also affirm with some certainty that the leap from the rock into the sea was a hieratic legend which could easily transform itself into a secular-romantic one; it is told of divinities, Dionysos, Apérodité, or 'heroic' personages with divine names, such as Molpadias (or Hemithia) and Parthenos of Caria, Diktynna-Britomartis of Crete<sup>22</sup>; and none of these are primarily sea-divinities, but vegetation-powers, and the ritual is vegetative, not marine, to be interpreted as the casting-out of the decaying image of the vegetation-deity so that it might be refreshed by the quickening waters and brought back to land with renewed powers. The 'leap' in nearly all these cases is preceded by a pursuit, which in legend might be amorous or angry, but in reality was solemn and 'hieratic.'

It was probably this ritual that gave rise to the poetic idea, which first finds expression in Homer, that Ino-Leukothea was essentially a sea-goddess, a view of her which, as we have seen, scarcely receives any corroboration in real cult. It may have also given rise to the double name; for if the process of throwing the goddess into the sea was regarded as purificatory and rejuvenating, the title *Λευκοθέα* may have been ceremoniously affixed to Ino when she emerged, the name 'White Goddess' being a name of brightness and good omen. We may see a parallel to this in the Arcadian cult and legend of the 'Μαυρή' or Euménides who were at one time regarded as 'Black,' at another as 'White.'<sup>23</sup> And the theory just suggested would explain the persistency of the legend that Ino was only called Leukothea after her leap.<sup>24</sup> But we must also reckon with the possibility that Ino is her pre-Hellenic name, of which Leukothea is the Hellenic equivalent and that the double title is an interesting evidence of a bilingual period.

The same question arises about Melikertes-Palaemon, the child hero-god who is associated with Ino and who appears to have the same double character. As regards that association, a recent view has been expressed by Weizsäcker<sup>25</sup> that Ino and Melikertes were originally distinct and independent, on the ground that in the cults of Ino at Thebes, Chaironeia, Megara, and in South Laconia the latter does not appear, and that he himself is worshipped alone in the Isthmus of Corinth and at Tenedos. But our records of all these cults are far too meagre to draw an induction from them that contradicts the prevailing legend of the close sacred association of mother and son, which certainly was indigenous in Boeotia, and was accepted in the Megarid and probably at Corinth, as in the periboloi of Poseidon's temple there there was a shrine of Palaemon containing a statue of Leukothea.<sup>26</sup> We do not know that his cult at Tenedos ignored Leukothea, whose name at least appears in a legend of the island,<sup>27</sup> and we may assume that her rites

<sup>21</sup> *Plut.* pp. 228 f., 267 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Vide Cults*, vol. 2, pp. 447 (note 2), 477-478, 637-638 (note a); *Died. Sic.* 3, 62.

<sup>23</sup> *Cults*, 3, pp. 442, 443.

<sup>24</sup> *Paus.* 1, 42, 7, cf. 4, 34, 4; *Apollod.* 3, 4, 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Roscher, Lexikon*, 3, p. 1257, followed by Tillyard in *J.H.S.* 1913, p. 308.

<sup>26</sup> *Paus.* 2, 2, 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Schol. Ven. A. II.* 1, 38.



at Miletos, as they included a contest of boys, were inspired by a consciousness of the mother and son. Nor is it *a priori* probable, as he was everywhere imagined as a person of immaturity or tender years, that his cult would have arisen independently, though occasionally either goddess or son might be worshipped apart. And the cult-aspect of Melikertes reflects that of the mother: his religious significance consists in the very fact that he dies and is worshipped as a young buried hero with chthonian rites, with offerings of black oxen, and even, if we may trust Philostratos, with mysteries,<sup>20</sup> which in Greece are only found in the sphere of chthonian religion.

Assuming, then, that Ino and Melikertes arose together as the divine couple of mother and son in the nature-sphere of fertility, and that the ritual-legend of the leap and Melikertes' association with pine-trees may be thus interpreted, we have to explain the name Palaemon. Is it a mere coincidence in regard to both these pairs of names, Ino-Leukothea and Melikertes-Palaemon, that each of the second names in the pairs is obviously Greek—for the ancients and most moderns naturally interpret 'Palaemon' as the wrestler—and that each of the first has a non-Hellenic, or at least a doubtful, appearance? Also, according to the legend, both names, Leukothea and Palaemon,<sup>21</sup> were only attached to the divinities after their experience in the sea and their rescue or return to land. And whatever we may say of Ino-Leukothea, we can hardly believe that the appellative Παλαίμων, 'the wrestler,' was a Greek translation of Melikertes; for we cannot understand how Melikertes, who was always imagined in the legend and figured in art as a child or a boy, should have been aboriginally styled a wrestler. Now we have no evidence that this name was attached to Melikertes in Boeotia, for Herakles-Palaemon, whose cult at Karoneia is attested by the almost certain restoration of an inscription,<sup>22</sup> has nothing to do with the child of Ino. It is only in the Isthmus, in the neighbourhood of Corinth, that we have clear evidence of Palaemon as a cult-title of the boy-god. Therefore we may conclude that Melikertes was given this title here because of his association with the Isthmian games, and to attach such a functional appellative as 'wrestler' even to a child- or boy-spirit who happened to preside over the local athletic contests was in accordance with a certain trend of Greek religious thought; no incongruity would be felt. To this association of a buried child with a great *áywv* we have the curious parallel not far away at Nemea. Here again, the prevailing tradition connected the establishment of the games with the fate of the infant Opheltes, who was slain by a serpent, when his nurse Hypsipyle left her charge in order to get water for the army of the Seven against Thebes.<sup>23</sup> In pity for his fate the Argives gave him a sumptuous funeral with the customary games, and Pausanias attests that Opheltes was worshipped with altar and temenos.<sup>24</sup> The legend, as usual,

<sup>20</sup> *Imag.* 2, 10.

<sup>21</sup> *Hyda.* 1, 41, 3.

<sup>22</sup> *I.G.* vii. 2874; cf. *AE. Meg.* p. 511, no.

K&g.

<sup>23</sup> *Vita Isthmiae Nuntior*, Schol. Pind. Boeckh, p. 423.

<sup>24</sup> 2, 15, 3.

is based on certain undoubted facts; part of the ritual of the Nemean games was chthonian, for the judges wore dark garments and the parsley-crown was a symbol of death according to the ancient interpretation. Obviously Opheltes, whose doubtful other name, Archemoros, has at least an allusion to death and the lower world, is no secular child, but a figure of old religion. The meaning of the name 'Opheltes,' 'the giver of increase,' his association with the snake, the earth-animal, suggest that he, like Palaimon, is the child-son of the earth-mother who dies in the heat of the year.<sup>23</sup> His legend has been more humanised than that of Melikertes; the snake has been misunderstood, and the figure of the mother has been obliterated from the later forms at least of the Opheltes-cult. But its affinity with the Isthmian is striking enough, though it does not appear to have been generally noticed.<sup>24</sup> And to these we may add another obvious parallel from the cult and legend of the mother and snake-child, Sosipolis of Elia.<sup>25</sup>

The ritual and the legend, so far as they have been at present examined, appear to reveal Ino and Melikertes as an aboriginal couple of mother and child and as belonging to the earth rather than to the sea, probably to the company of vegetation-powers. The legend of the leap discloses and attests a fertility- or purification-rite that we find widespread in the Mediterranean area.

Of similar value and of equal interest is the story of the cauldron, into which one or both of the two children, Learchos and Melikertes, were said to be plunged either by their father or mother. The versions are various and conflicting. According to Euripides,<sup>26</sup> the mother slew both her children, but the manner of their slaying he does not specify, and he was probably careless of the current legend, according to which Athamas killed one and Ino the other. But evidently the cauldron played a different part in the different versions. According to Apollodoros,<sup>27</sup> it was Ino who, in her madness, plunged Melikertes into a boiling cauldron, presumably to kill him, and then fled with his corpse; but one account preserved by the scholiasts who wrote the *brideae* of Pindar's Isthmia narrates that Athamas, having already slain Learchos, was about to throw his remaining son into the cauldron, when Ino rescued him and fled and, being pursued, sprang with him into the sea. So far such legends might be interpreted as reflecting a horrible ritual of child-sacrifice very similar to that practised by the Carthaginians in honour of Moloch; and such sacrifice may have been cannibalistic as well, for we find in the legend of the Bacchic madness of the Minyan women, with whom and whose story Ino is closely connected, traces of a cannibalistic sacrifice of children, and hence we should explain the worship of Palaimon, 'the child-killer,' in Tenos. On this theory the 'cauldron'

<sup>23</sup> The games were held near or after mid-summer.

<sup>24</sup> Clemens, *Protreptic*, p. 29, *edit.*, merely links them together in the same context.

<sup>25</sup> *Vide Cultu*, 2, pp. 410, 411.

<sup>26</sup> *Med*, 1284.

<sup>27</sup> 3, 4, 2.



is the sacrificial cooking-pot. But another form of the story is given by the same scholiasts: 'Athunnus in his madness slew Learechos, whereupon his mother placed him in a cauldron of boiling water; but she herself then went mad and sprang with Melikertes into the sea.' The important divergence of this version has curiously escaped the attention of scholars. What can we conjecture was the motive of the same mother placing her child in the boiling cauldron after he had been slain? We can only suppose that she did it in order to restore him to life, and that the cauldron is the implement, not of a cannibalistic sacrament, but of a resurrection-magic, easily misunderstood by later people. We are the more inclined to this version and view of it when we find that it plays the same part in the other, equally Minyan, myth of Medea's cauldron, in which she restored the youth of Aison and offered to revivify Pelias; another parallel is the legend that the dismembered child Pelops was reassembled in the 'pure cauldron' by Klotho or by Rhea.<sup>39</sup> Finally, the ritualistic significance of these legends is attested and may be illuminated by the discovery in Syria of an inscription belonging to the period of Trajan,<sup>40</sup> which may be thus translated: 'In behalf of the safety of the Emperor Trajan, Memnos the son of Beelibaes, the son of Beelibaes the father of Neteiros who was apotheosised in the cauldron which is used for the ritual of the festivals,<sup>41</sup> having supervised all the things done here, piously dedicated and erected this monument to the goddess Leukothea.' The phrase *ἀποθεωθεὶς ἐν τῷ λέβητι* in a ritual-inscription concerning Leukothea is deeply interesting. To interpret it, with Dittenberger, as meaning 'buried in the urn' is futile; to see in it, as Clermont-Ganneau does, an allusion to human sacrifice is perverse, for one cannot suppose that the dedicator wished to call the attention of Trajan to the fact that under his rule they were cooking people in cauldrons in Syria, at a period when human sacrifice had almost died out in the Mediterranean. Now, though the dedicator is a Hellenised Syrian, yet the strange coincidence of the association of the 'lebes' with Leukothea compels us to endeavour to interpret the mysterious phrase on the lines of the Thessalian-Boeotian legend and ritual; and we ought not to evade the problem by the supposition that we are here confronted with some unknown Oriental rite. But there is evidence which has been noted of a resurrection- or resuscitation-ritual reflected in the old Minyan legend of Ino-Leukothea. This could have been developed in a later mystery into a ritual of rebirth and transubstantiation, in which the catechumen died in his natural body and was raised a spiritual body, the 'lebes' serving as a baptismal recreative font, and such a transformed personage could well be described as *ἀποθεωθεὶς ἐν τῷ λέβητι*; just as in the Orphic sacred

<sup>39</sup> Plut. *Q.* 1, 37-40; Schol. *ib.*

<sup>40</sup> Pub. Clermont-Ganneau in *Revue Orléanaise*, 1886, p. 222; Dittenberger, *Oriental Greece*, *Inschr.* 611.

<sup>41</sup> This seems to be the natural translation of *τοῦ ἀποθεωθεῖτος ἐν τῷ λέβητι* & of *ἐν τῷ λέβητι*.

text it is said of the transformed Bacchic initiate, *θεὸς ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀνθρώπου*. We know that certain mysteries of Ino and her son were still popular in the days of Labanius<sup>41</sup>; and in the last period of Paganism a successful mystery was most likely to enshrine a doctrine of re-birth and resurrection, especially if it was to appeal to an Anatolian population.

A careful survey of the cult may shed a ray of light on the ethnic problem. We need not greatly concern ourselves about Phoenicia. The days are past when we believed in Kadmos the Phoenician; and we are not now deceived by the accidental resemblance in sound of Melikertes and Melkart, seeing that Melkart, the bearded god, had no affinity in form or myth with the child- or boy-deity and was moreover always identified with Herakles; nor do we know anything about Melkart that would explain the figure of Ino that is aboriginally inseparable from Melikertes. The ritual of the cauldron need not turn our eyes to Moloch, especially if the new explanation of it just offered be accepted.

The ethnic stock in which the legend and the cult seem most deeply rooted was the Minyan. Athanias himself was in one genealogy the son of Minyas<sup>42</sup> and king of the Minyan Orchomenos; his children, Phrixos and Helle, are interwoven with the Argonaut-story; as Ino, the nurse of Bacchos, in her madness murders one of her children, so do the Minyan women who are devoted to the same god.<sup>43</sup> Again, the sporadic diffusion of the cult of Ino and the child may be partly, if not mainly, explained by Minyan settlement and migration; by this channel it may have reached Attica and the Isthmus; we find it on the south coast of Laconia, which is full of Minyan settlement-legends<sup>44</sup> and where—at Brasina—the myth of Ino's arrival was interwoven with that of Semele's with her divine babe<sup>45</sup>; the same people may have implanted it in Messene<sup>46</sup> and Lemnos<sup>47</sup>. Miletos may have received it from the same source, and it was probably Miletos that transported it to the Black Sea, as she transplanted the Argonaut-story. If the Minyan stock alone were the parents of the cult, we should have the right to call it aboriginally Hellenic, as nearly all the evidence is in favour of the Hellenic character of the Minyans.

And yet the names Ino and Melikertes arouse our suspicions that the Minyans may only have been its chief propagators, having received it from elsewhere. Here, as so often in our quest of Hellenic origins, we find ourselves on a track that leads to Crete and the adjacent lands. The ritual-story of Ino's sea-leap occurs again in the legend of Diktyunna-Britomartis<sup>48</sup>; and the central figure in the pre-Hellenic religion of Crete was an earth-goddess associated with a youth or a child. Also it is significant to note that one of the maidens who found and cherished the body of Ino washed up

<sup>41</sup> 2, p. 110 (p. 448 f.).

<sup>42</sup> *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* 1, 220.

<sup>43</sup> *Folk Cults*, 3, p. 111.

<sup>44</sup> *Folk Cults*, 4, pp. 40-43.

<sup>45</sup> *Paus.* 3, 24, 3-4: cf. 3, 23, 8; 3, 28, 1.

<sup>46</sup> At Korone, 4, 34, 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Herakleia*, c. v. *Idem*; *Apoll. de Rhod.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ino-festival*.

<sup>49</sup> *Folk Cults*, p. 30.



on the shore of Megara was Tauropolis, the daughter of Ariadne<sup>40</sup>, and that a statue of Pasiphaë, the Cretan heroine-goddess, stood in the temple of Ino in South Laconia.<sup>41</sup> The temple of the doubtful goddess called Leukothea or Eileithyia at Pyrgoi, near Caere, which was vaguely regarded as a 'Pelagic' foundation, may have been the product of early Cretan maritime activity. We know that Delos was a link in an ancient trade-route between Crete and Athens, and we find Leukothea at Delos.<sup>42</sup> This theory of the Cretan origin of the cult could, however, only be pressed with conviction if we found clear evidence in the historic records of the island of the recognition of the goddess and her name, and this is unfortunately lacking.<sup>43</sup> But prehistoric Crete was closely associated with Rhodes and Caria; and in Rhodes the myth of the nymph Halia, called Leukothea after her leap into the sea, though quite remote from Ino's in other respects, touches it at this point.<sup>44</sup> And, again, the Carian legend of the goddess 'Hemithea' and her sister Rhoio must be considered in this discussion. In the story given by Diodorus<sup>45</sup> the former and her sister leap into the sea to avoid their father's anger, and both receive divine honours in the Carian Chersonese. Another legend about Hemithea is preserved by Konon,<sup>46</sup> that she and her young brother Tennes were put into a chest and sent out to the mercy of the waves by their angry father Kuknos, and washed ashore at Tenedos, the island whose ancient badge was the Cretan double-axe and where we also find Palaïmon. But in the same story as given by a scholiast on the *Iliad*<sup>47</sup> this Hemithea is called Leukothea; and Hemithea like Leukothea, worked a dream-oracle for the cure of diseases. It seems possible that the Carians received from Crete the goddess of this doubtful name and the ritual-legend of the leap or the exposure in the chest; and the sister Rhoio, who is put to sea in a 'larnax' with her infant son and who drifts into Delos, where Apollo recognises the child as his own, is probably, like the other sister, Parthenos, 'the maiden,' only another form and title of the same divinity. And we may suspect that the cult of Leukothea in Kos was not Dorian, but of Carian importation.<sup>48</sup>

We may at least be allowed to draw the conclusion that the Mycenaean stock and Cretan-Carian influences have had most to do with the emergence and the diffusion of the cult of Ino-Leukothea and Palaïmon-Melikertes.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

<sup>40</sup> Paus. 1, 42, 7, cf. Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3, 697.

<sup>41</sup> Paus. 3, 26, 1.

<sup>42</sup> Bull. Corr. Hell. 1882, p. 23.

<sup>43</sup> The gloss Henych, 'leuko thea' ἀλευκήτις *leuko thea* has been unconvin-  
cingly emended 'leuko' ἄλκυ; 'The Saviour of Ino' is

an unlikely name for a Greek festival.

<sup>44</sup> Diod. Sic. 5, 35.

<sup>45</sup> 5, 63.

<sup>46</sup> c. 28; cf. Paus. 10, 14, 1-4.

<sup>47</sup> Il. 1, 38.

<sup>48</sup> Paton and Hicks, *Inscr.* No. 372.

## STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE *NICOMACHEAN ETHICS*.

### I.

OF the *Nicomachean Ethics* many manuscripts are in existence, thirteen in Paris, ten in Florence, six at Vienna, and so on. The smaller Italian libraries have many of them a manuscript each. Thus, there is one in the biblioteca arcivescovile of Udine,<sup>1</sup> one in the biblioteca Classense at Ravenna,<sup>2</sup> one in the biblioteca comunale of Perugia.<sup>3</sup> These manuscripts are mostly of the fifteenth century, and their number is one of the many testimonies to the enthusiasm which the *Nicomachean Ethics* aroused among the scholars of the Renaissance. Unfortunately the text which they give is as a rule, bad—full of sophistications and interpolations.

In Bekker's academical edition (1831) six manuscripts are cited, but only four are collated throughout—K<sup>b</sup>, L<sup>b</sup>, M<sup>b</sup>, O<sup>b</sup>. The tendency of modern editors has been to restrict rather than increase the number of our authorities. Bywater bases his Oxford text (1890) substantially upon K<sup>b</sup> and L<sup>b</sup>. He also lays stress upon the mediæval Latin translation (P) and upon hints to be derived from the commentary of Aspasius. Professor Stewart, though he frequently gives readings from English manuscripts, acknowledges their unimportance.

Whatever may be found in the end to be the value of the mediæval Latin translation, I may be permitted to enter a caveat against too free a use being made of it for the correction of the Greek text until its own text has been put upon a surer foundation. Bywater uses a Paris edition of 1407—I suppose the edition of the *tres continentes* described in Pellechet 1230; Susemihl an edition of 1504 or 1505. The earliest printed text I have been able to procure is an edition of Venice, 1506, with the commentary of St. Thomas of Aquino. A comparison of that edition in some places with an early manuscript (Laur 79, 13) has shown me that it is an unsafe guide, and I have reason to think that the printed texts used by Bywater and Susemihl are equally untrustworthy. Here are one or two cases where it would seem, as far as one can judge from Bywater's *apparatus criticus*, that he has been misled as to the tradition of P. In 1098b 29 he reads ἀλλ' ὅν γε τι ἢ καὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> Mazzanti, G., *Inventario dei manoscritti della biblioteca d'Udine*, T. iii. p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Mazzanti, *op. cit.* T. iv. p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Mazzanti, *op. cit.* T. v. p. 95.



πλείστα κατορθοῦν and notes that *kai* is omitted by K<sup>b</sup>Γ. Now the edition of 1506 has 'sed et unum aliquid vel plura dirigere' but Laur. 79, 13 has 'sed unum aliquid vel et plura dirigere'. In 1099a 13 Bywater reads τοιαῦται δ' αἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεις and notes a conjecture of Sylburg τοιαῦτα. He does not notice that Sylburg is supported by Γ, which, according to Laur. 79, 13, reads 'talia'. The edition of 1506 has 'tales'. In 1099a 22 Bywater does not notice that Γ agrees with the variant which he gives from L<sup>b</sup>, καλαί γε καὶ ἀγαθαί. Γ has 'pulera et bona'. In 1117a 2 Bywater reads οὐ δὴ ἐστὶν ἀνδρεία and has a note: δὴ] οὐ Γ, δὴ οὐ L<sup>b</sup>. Now the edition of 1506 has 'non utique sunt fortia', but Laur. 79, 13 has 'non igitur utique sunt fortia' i.e. οὐκ οὐν δὴ ἐστὶν ἀνδρεία. In 1118b 13, under καὶ φυσικόν, Bywater notes: *kai* om. K<sup>b</sup>Γ. But both Laur. 79, 13 and the edition of 1506 have 'et naturale'. In 1121a 25, καὶ οὐ λήφεται ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ, Bywater notes that K<sup>b</sup>Γ omit οὐ both times. What Laur. 79, 13 has is 'et accipiet unde oportet et non accipiet unde non oportet'. It looks as if the translator in this case had two readings before him—λήφεται ὅθεν δεῖ and οὐ λήφεται ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ—which he amalgamated. Another case of the same kind is 1127b 24, φευγοντες τὸ ὄγκηρόν (ὄχληρόν K<sup>b</sup>), where Γ has 'fugientes molestum et tumultum' (edition of 1506; Laur. 79, 13 has 'timidum'). These examples show, I think, that we cannot pin our faith on any printed copy of the old Latin version. Whether it deserves a critical text is another matter to which I hope to return hereafter. In the meanwhile I wish to call the reader's attention to a source for the text of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, limited indeed to three books, which has been of late unaccountably neglected.

In the first printed edition of Aristotle in Greek (Venice, Aldus, 1495-98) the *Nicomachean* and the *Eudemian Ethics* are found in the fifth and last volume, which is dated June, 1498. In this the *Eudemian Ethics* are composed of eight books, of which the fourth, fifth, and sixth are identical (subject to considerable differences of reading) with the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. In this matter the Bâle edition of 1531 copies the Aldine. It follows that in these two editions at least—I have not examined later ones—there are two complete texts of the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, differing in details but the same in substance. Some of the older editors—Zell and Cornes, for instance—in their commentaries on the *Nicomachean Ethics* cite various readings from the *Eudemian* text. When Bekker brought out his edition of the *Eudemian Ethics*, he omitted the fourth, fifth, and sixth books from his text, which skips from the third to the seventh; and he justified his omission by the following note (on 1233b 14): 'Ποτὶ λεγέσθαι QM<sup>b</sup> σημειώσαι ὅτι τὸ δ καὶ ε καὶ τῶν Ἐυδημίων ἠθικῶν ἐσταῦθα πυρεῖται διὰ τὸ μὲν δ τῶ ε τῶν Νικομαχείων, τὸ δδ ε τῶ ζ, τὸ δε ε τῶ η τῶν Νικομαχείων ἐν πάσι καὶ εστὰ λέξιν ὅμοια εἶναι. P<sup>b</sup> et Palatinus 163 eorum librorum sola ponunt principia.

ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων δ: Περὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας σκοπεύον

ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων ε: Ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνομεν πρότερον εἰρηκότες:

ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων ζ: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λεγέσθαι ἄλλην ποθησαμένους ἀρχήν:

Z quarti indicem habet et litteram unam, II, deinde post versus duodecim vacuos ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων η' Susseml) says the same thing in other words in note 5 to the preface of his edition of the *Eudemian Ethics* (Lips. 1884), and he also omits the fourth, fifth, and sixth books from his text. The list of manuscripts which omit the three books might be increased. The Cambridge manuscript, II. 5. 44, as Dr. Jenkinson kindly informs me, 'gives the insipids only of Books 4-6 of the *Eudemian Ethics*, with a marginal ἔσται ὁπισθεν.' Moreover, there is an ancient translation of the *Eudemian Ethics* made by Gregory of Città di Castello\* for Pope Nicholas V., where the same thing occurs. The fourth, fifth, and sixth books are omitted without any notice. In his preface Gregory says: 'ex uno exemplari, equivo non satis emendato transtuli.' He does not tell us whether his manuscript also contained the *Nicomachean Ethics*. The other manuscripts which Bekker refers to and the manuscript at Cambridge all contain it before the *Eudemian Ethics*. There is therefore a good reason why the scribes did not give the fourth, fifth, and sixth books: they did not care to repeat what had been written just before, though in different phraseology. But it is not safe to enlarge Bekker's statement, as is done by the writer of the article on Aristotle in Pauly-Wissowa, into a statement that the fourth, fifth, and sixth books—I call them henceforth the common books—are not found in any manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics*. Here are four manuscripts which contain them.

Laur. 81, 12 (my A) is on parchment. It measures 262 x 166 mm. It is said by Bandini to be in the hand of Johannes Rhosus of Crete. The hand certainly agrees closely with the facsimile of Rhosus' hand, which is given by Omont (*Facsimilés de manuscrits grecs des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1887). The activity of Rhosus as a scribe extended, according to Omont, from 1447 to 1497. The manuscript contains the *Magna Moralia* and the *Eudemian Ethics*; but it is to be noticed that it confines the title of 'Eudemian Ethics' to the first five books of our *Eudemian Ethics*, and treats the last three books as disconnected fragments. The following is a more particular description of its contents. F. 7a ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν μεγάλων βιβλία δύο βιβλίων α<sup>α</sup> 26b ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν μεγάλων βιβλίων β<sup>β</sup> 49b τέλος ἠθικῶν μεγάλων ἀριστοτέλους 51a ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν

\* Gregorius Ephraemus, or Tifernas. His family name is unknown. There is a good account of him in Mura, G. M., *Memorie storiche di Città di Castello*, Città di Castello, 1844, vol. II, pp. 162-170. He was born in or about 1413. He devoted his youth to the study of medicine. He was thus in the line of emulous physicians, who from Master Theodosius onward have done so much for the study of Aristotle. After travelling he came again in Greece he entered the service of Nicholas V. and did translations for him from the Greek, e.g. Strabo, from Book XI. After the Pope's

death he went to France, and became professor of Greek at Paris; but his salary was small and irregularly paid. So he returned to Italy, and became professor at Venice, where he died in 1463, 'non sine vaneu sapientiam quo ab annulis et rivulis positum fuerat,' says an ancient biographer. He was short and fat—pinguis Gualter—and of a cheerful countenance. His Latin poems are in print. His translation of the *Eudemian Ethics* is in Laur. 59, 18. So far as I know, it has never been printed.



εὐδημίων βιβλία πέντε βιβλίον α<sup>ο</sup> 59a ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικά εὐδημία βιβλία  
 εἰ βιβλίον πρῶτον. ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικά εὐδημία βιβλίον β<sup>ο</sup> (The corrections above the line are in a minute hand in black, the titles, etc., being throughout in red.) F. 75a ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων βιβλίον β<sup>ο</sup>  
 ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων βιβλίον γ<sup>ο</sup> F. 85a ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν  
 εὐδημίων βιβλίον γ<sup>ο</sup> ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων βιβλίον δ<sup>ο</sup> F. 99a  
 ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων βιβλίον δ<sup>ο</sup> ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων  
 βιβλίον ε<sup>ο</sup> F. 109a ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων τέλος F. 110a ἀριστο-  
 τέλους... (Book 8 of the *Eudemian*, 7 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*.)  
 F. 124a ἀριστοτέλους... ἀριστοτέλους... (Book 7 of the *Eudemian Ethics*.)  
 F. 142b ἀριστοτέλους... ἀριστοτέλους... (Book 8 of the *Eudemian Ethics*.)  
 The manuscript is a fine specimen of calligraphy, with hardly any erasures or  
 corrections. There are no marginal notes.

Laur. 81, 20 (my B) is on parchment. It measures 276 x 193 mm. It  
 belongs to the latter half of the fifteenth century. The coat-of-arms of  
 Philolophus is at the bottom of F. 1a. (The same coat-of-arms is found in Laur.  
 81, 13, which was written for him in 1444.) It contains, according to an ancient  
 note written inside the binding, 'Aristotelis ethica ad Eudemium libri viii  
 Apollinis nylor Hieroglyphica. Platonis definitiones' F. 1a begins ἀριστο-  
 τέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίων Α. The books are numbered Α to Θ. There are  
 two hands—at first a round hand with the usual contractions; that is  
 replaced (F. 33a [123/a 3 ἡ πώλησις]) by a straight hand with very few  
 contractions, which goes to the end of the book. The marginal notes are by  
 two hands. (1) One of the annotators is identical with an annotator of K<sup>b</sup>,  
 who is generally, but wrongly, assigned to the thirteenth century. He adds  
 short marginal notes, sometimes in red, either calling attention to the matter  
 treated in the text, e.g. πῶς εὐδαίμονες γίνονται, διὰ τί τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι  
 κρεῖττον, or repeating proper names or noticing strange words, e.g. παπιζό-  
 μερος. These notes diminish after Book II. There are not more than a  
 dozen thereafter, the most noticeable being at 113/b 21, 23. (2) There are  
 a few notes in a much smaller hand, of which the most interesting is opposite  
 the passage (117/b 8) which says that a bad man could do ten thousand  
 times as much harm as a bad beast: ὥστερ ὁ ἀσελγὴς φιλέλφος adds the  
 commentator. At one point the first scribe of the manuscript becomes care-  
 less and leaves out several passages, which are filled up by the first annotator.  
 Here is a list: 122/b 39 πέφυκε γινέσθαι χείρων καὶ βελτίων; 12b 33 οὔτε  
 λέγειν (perhaps a later hand); 23a 6 γινέσθαι καὶ μὴ ὦν γε κύριος ἐστὶ  
 τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ὅσα δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ; 23a 17 καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν  
 τὴν ἐκδοσὺν ἐκείνου αἰτίον εἶναι ὅσα δὲ ἀκαύσια; 23a 33 τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν  
 ἐπιθυμίαν πάντων λυπηρόν; 23b 3 βουλόμενος πράττει; 24a 4 προαιρείται δὲ  
 οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἐξαίφνης. It is obvious that the line of the archetype was from  
 twenty-eight to thirty-two letters.

Laur. 81, 15 (my C) is on parchment. It measures 208 x 155 mm.  
 Professor Rostagno would date it between 1435–1450. The hand is rather  
 like that of George Chrysococcis, as given by Omont *op. cit.* No. 20 (first

specimen). As Chrysostomus, according to Otaout, copied manuscripts for Philoephus, and as this manuscript belonged to Philoephus, as appears from his signature, 'd. fran' fillofo' there is something to be said for the identification. The first seven books are numbered  $\alpha$  to  $\zeta$  (the sixth being numbered  $\zeta$ ), but though there is a gap of two lines between (L246a 25)  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\alpha\iota$  and  $\pi\omicron\rho\eta\sigma\iota\epsilon$ , there is no title. The *Eudemian Ethics* are followed by  $\omicron\rho\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \rho\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega\ \iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma\lambda\upsilon\phi\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ .

Laun. 81. 4 deserves scant attention. It is on paper, and of the end of the fifteenth century. F. 1<sup>o</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\theta\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \alpha$ . The subsequent books, including the three common books, have no titles. It is, so far as I can judge from a pretty careful examination, merely a copy of B but with many grotesque blunders. I refer to it no more.

Whoever casts an attentive eye over the two Appendices which I have subjoined to these observations will see that, notwithstanding many differences of reading between A on the one hand, and BC, which are very closely allied, on the other, the amount of agreement is so great throughout as to produce the conviction that (making an exception in the case of B of part of the exclusively Eudemian books) ABC are derived immediately from a common archetype. But the question remains whether they are derived from one common archetype throughout—that is to say, whether the exclusively Eudemian books are derived from a manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* which, as is generally the case with such manuscripts, left out the common books, while the common books were supplemented from a manuscript of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, or whether, as I am strongly inclined to think, the text both of the exclusively Eudemian books and of the common books is derived from one and the same manuscript, representing an original Eudemian tradition. Was there, in other words, for the three common books a continuous Eudemian tradition, handed on side by side with the Nicomachean tradition and preserved for us in ABC, or do they represent an attempt at a complete edition of the *Eudemian Ethics*, made by some Renaissance scholar—perhaps Philoephus himself—by the contamination of two traditions?

The importance of the answer to this question, so far as regards the three common books, does not lie in the character of the new readings which ABC give us. They are neither many nor momentous. It lies rather in this. The text of ABC in the three common books presents the most remarkable affinities with  $K^b$ . If the text of ABC represents an independent Eudemian tradition, then where it agrees with  $K^b$ , we should be entitled to infer that we have a reading going back to the earliest period in the history of the Aristotelian text. On the other hand, where it disagrees with  $K^b$  and agrees with one or other of our authorities— $M^b$  or  $L^b$ —we should be entitled to infer that the reading of  $K^b$  was not original, but was due to a blunder either of the scribe of  $K^b$  or of some antecedent scribe. So far as regards the three common books, the value of these manuscripts at the highest is as a touchstone of  $K^b$ .



By way of finding, or at least suggesting, an answer to the question I have put, the following considerations may be not altogether out of place.

It is necessary first to clear away the far greater part of the variants which we find in A. B and C are on the whole carefully written manuscripts. John Rhosus on the other hand, in spite of his calligraphy—perhaps in consequence of it—was a very careless scribe. One large class of mistakes, most of which I have left out of the apparatus criticus, is due to vicious pronunciation. Thus he writes *οι* for *η*: e.g. ἀφ' οἷς for ἀφ' ἧς, γραμμῶς for γραμμῆς; *αι* for *ει*: ῥιπτοῖν for ῥιπτεῖν; *ι* for *οι*: ἀγρίκου for ἀγροίκου; *τ* for *θ* and *vice versa*: e.g. ἐπταῖτα for ἐσταῖτα, ἀσπτερεῖς for ἀσπτερεῖς, τρεπτικοῦ for θρεπτικοῦ, τῆτον for θῆτον, ἀποδόστας for ἀποδόσθαι, διώρισται for διώρισθαι; *λλ* for *λ* and *vice versa*: μῆλλιστα, κάλλιστον. He confuses letters—*σ* and *ζ*: e.g. εὐλογίζονται for εὐλογίσονται, προσδιορισόμεθα for προσδιορίζομεθα; *κ* and *χ*: ἔχων for ἔκων, κρεία for χρεία. He leaves out or inserts *λ, μ, ν, ρ*. Thus he writes πείσιν for πλείστα, ἄμειν for ἄμεινον, ἔλλοιτο for ἔλοιντο, ἄρων for ἄκων. He is fond of substituting for one word another of similar sound, though it may not suit the context. Examples are 1129b 28 ἐσπερον MSS. BC] ἑτερος A; 1136b 31 οἰκέτης MSS. BC] ἰκέτης A; 1138a 14 πῶλον MSS. BC] πολλὸν A; 1140a 13 ἀρχή MSS. BC] ἀρετή A; 1142b 2 εὐστοχία MSS. BC] εὐτοχία A; 1150b 32 ἱατός MSS. BC] ἱατρός A; 1160a 39 ἀγαθῆς MSS. BC] ἀλλῆς A. In many cases it is impossible to say whether (1) a mistake is due simply to faulty pronunciation, i.e. where the scribe rightly reads his archetype but writes the word down as he pronounces it or (2) whether it is due to careless reading, as in these cases of substituted words, i.e. where the scribe rightly reads his archetype but retains only a confused memory of what he has read and puts down something else, or, lastly, (3) whether it is due to a misreading of his archetype. The following cases seem to belong to the last class. Rhosus writes *λ* for *δ*: 1130a 18 δελίαν MSS. BC] λελίαν A. He confuses *σ* and *ε*: 1132a 3 οὐδ' αἶ MSS. BC] εἰ δ' εἰ A; 1136a 31 αἰ δ' MSS. BC] οὐδ' A; 1229b 35 ἀπαθνήσκειν MSS. B] ἀπεθνήσκειν A. He confuses *π* and *τ*. He writes ἐπὶ for ἐτι, πάντα for ταῦτα. 1231a 4 περατῶδες for τερατῶδες; 1247a 30 τοῖος for τοῖος; 1249a 2 πῶν for τῶν. He writes *π* for *ρ*: 1233a 21 πεμπτός for μεμπτός; *σ* for *ε*: 1144b 19 φέτο MSS. φέτ' BC] ἴσθ' A; *ο* for *σ*: 1146a 24 συμπερανθὲν MSS. BC] οὐμπερανθὲν A; *σ* for *δ*: 1231a 5 δυσώδη MSS. B] συσώδη A. He is confused by the contraction for *και*: 1217a 36 καὶ δ MSS. B] δα A; 1217b 23 αἰ καὶ MSS. B] εἰς A. He writes *δ* for *εν*: 1218a 35 ἐνξία MSS. B] δεξία A. I do not think that any such distinction can be traced between his misreadings in the common books and those in the exclusively Eudemean books as to ground an argument that he had different archetypes before him in the two cases. Some of the misreadings, especially in the common books, rather suggest that the archetype was medial.

Rhosus is as unwearied in his omissions as the scribe of K<sup>b</sup>. (1) He constantly leaves out a final *α* or *ς*. (2) If a word is unconscionably long, he drops a syllable: 1130b 25 βομποθέηται; 1149b 29, 31 βουλεύσθαι; 1146a 4

ἀντεινούσης: 1150b 2 ἀντεινούσης; 1146b 20 δοξάντων, 1229a 19 κατευχότες. (2) He sometimes drops a syllable at the beginning or end and runs two words into one: 1146b 31 ἐπελ διχῶς| ἐεχῶς; 1246a 34 ποδι ποτε| διποτέ. (4) He constantly leaves out short words *εἰ, δέ, δὴ, τις, εἰ, διὰ, κατὰ*, and the like. (5) The longer omissions are mainly due to homoeoteleuton. There are one or two which afford some help towards determining the number of letters in a line of the archetype. Thus in 1134a 34 there is an omission of thirty-one letters, which cannot be due to homoeoteleuton; in 1232b 13 there is a similar omission of thirty-two letters. The omissions due to homoeoteleuton, with one exception, always contain either this or a larger number of letters. Here are the figures: 1129b 21, forty-three letters omitted; 1137b 22, twenty-one omitted; 1132a 16, forty-four omitted; 1137b 18, forty-three omitted; 1134a 29, forty-two omitted; 1237a 32, thirty-five omitted; 1232a 8, thirty-two omitted; 1246b 38, thirty-eight omitted; 1248b 5, thirty-two omitted. Now these cases support the view that the archetype of A, both in the common books and in the exclusively Eudemian books must have had about thirty-two letters to the line, as the commonest case of an omission due to homoeoteleuton would be where the scribe's eye ran from a word in one line to the same word coming either immediately below it or a little further along in the following line. One would therefore expect, as seems to be the case here, that an omission due to homoeoteleuton would contain a few more letters than a line of the archetype.

There is a remarkable characteristic of A which is found both in the common and in the exclusively Eudemian books. Rhossus is very careful to note the places where he could not read his archetype. Gaps are constantly left at the beginning, middle, or end of a word for one or two letters. Here are some examples from the common books: 1132a 5, 1133b 24, 1144b 33, 1136a 23, 1137a 6, 22, 1138a 6, 30, 1138b 28, 1142b 4, 27, 1144a 1, 16, 20, 1146b 23, 1147b 1, 19, 1148a 20, 33, 1148b 1, 32, 1149b 29, 1151a 33, 1154b 3. In one case two words are left out and there is a gap of corresponding length: 1151a 2, οὐκ ἀπροβούλευτοι. Not one of these gaps, so far as the common books are concerned, is left in BC. C has one gap, which is not noticed in AB, 1145b 24, περιέλαεν, where C leaves a space after *περι*, which the others do not. Now if we suppose that B and C were copied earlier than A, it is open to imagine that the archetype became unreadable in parts in the interval between these two transcriptions. Possibly it was rebound and the edges cut. But it is perhaps easier to believe that the gaps were in the archetype originally, and were made good by the scribes of B and C either from guesswork or, in the case of the longer gaps, from the comparison of other manuscripts.

Confining ourselves to the common books, we may say that, after allowance for the weaknesses of Rhossus, the three manuscripts agree so closely that they point unmistakably to a common immediate archetype. This archetype agrees in the main with K<sup>b</sup>. It agrees with K<sup>b</sup> not only in great matters but also in small—matters of spelling, punctuation, accentuation. But it is certainly not a copy of K<sup>b</sup>. It contains passages omitted in



K<sup>b</sup>, and in many places agrees, as against K<sup>b</sup>, with either L<sup>b</sup> or M<sup>b</sup>. Moreover it has independent readings, not of great importance, indeed, but having the appearance of being original, and not derived from conjecture. I defer the consideration of these readings until I come to consider K<sup>b</sup>.

As far as regards the exclusively Eudemian books,<sup>3</sup> the matter stands rather differently. Bekker for his academical edition collated only two manuscripts—P<sup>b</sup> (Vat. 1342) and M<sup>b</sup> (Marc. 213). Susemihl divides the manuscripts into two families, which he calls II<sup>1</sup> and II<sup>2</sup>. To II<sup>1</sup>, the better family on the whole, belong P<sup>b</sup>, C<sup>b</sup> (Cambridge II. 5, 44), which Jackson thought to be a copy of P<sup>b</sup>, and which is, at any rate, if not a daughter, at least a twin-sister, D<sup>b</sup> (Vat.-Palat. 165), and an unknown manuscript (C<sup>b</sup>), some readings of which are noted down by Victorinus in a copy of the first edition of Aristotle now at Munich. This manuscript, says Susemihl, in the latter part of the *Eudemian Ethics*, agrees rather with M<sup>b</sup>, i.e. the chief manuscript of the inferior family. This unknown manuscript is my B, as anyone may see for himself who compares its readings with the readings ascribed to C<sup>b</sup> in Susemihl's edition.<sup>4</sup> To the worse family, II<sup>2</sup>, belong, according to Susemihl, Ald. (the manuscript used by Aldus), M<sup>b</sup>, Z (C.C.C., Oxford, 112) and In. (the manuscript of an unknown translator). It is clear that the text of the *Eudemian Ethics* needs a thorough-going revision.<sup>5</sup> In the meantime, I have had to rely on the materials provided by Bekker and Susemihl.

John Rhodas is as careless in the exclusively Eudemian books as he is in the common books. B and C are, as I have said, carefully written manuscripts, and they agree together closely, though not quite as closely as in the common books. The facts about these manuscripts, ABC, so far as I have examined them, are as follows. During the greater part of the first book AB are agreed in essentials. They agree mainly with P<sup>b</sup>, but occasionally with M<sup>b</sup>. C agrees as a rule with AB. (It must be remembered that I have only examined C in select places, and that no inference as to its reading is to be derived from my silence.) Here are some cases where AB—and generally C—agree with P<sup>b</sup>: 1213a 21 φαύλως ABP<sup>b</sup>] φαύλως CM<sup>b</sup>; 24 διὰ τῆς τύχης ABP<sup>b</sup>] διὰ τύχης CM<sup>b</sup>; 30 συνενάγει (-ηC) ABP<sup>b</sup>] συναγάγει M<sup>b</sup>; 1213b 23 περὶ πάντων ABP<sup>b</sup>] περιπάντων CM<sup>b</sup>, but in C εἰ is over an erasure and an account over it has been struck out, and α is also over an erasure; 1216a 4 βίον ABCP<sup>b</sup>] βίωσ M<sup>b</sup>; 8 τοιαῦτα ABCP<sup>b</sup>] τὰ τοιαῦτα M<sup>b</sup>; 10 ἂ τοῖς ABCP<sup>b</sup>] τοῖς M<sup>b</sup>; 31 πρὸς (in C εἰ is added later) ὦν (P<sup>b</sup> ὦ A ὦν B ὦν C) ἀγορὰς ABCP<sup>b</sup>] πρὸς ἀγορὰς M<sup>b</sup>; μὲν καὶ ABCP<sup>b</sup>, but in C μ is over an erasure] καὶ M<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> It must be remembered that my results are based on a collation for A and B of only three books, I, III, VIII, and on an examination of C in certain important places. They are therefore merely provisional.

<sup>4</sup> There are a few cases where B disagrees with C, e.g. 1217b 9, περιφέρει C] περιήρ B; 1217b 26, ἄρως C] ἄρως B. But some of Vi-

ctorinus' readings may have been derived from another manuscript or be due to conjecture. The cases of agreement are numerous and striking.

<sup>5</sup> I may mention two manuscripts which so far as I know, have never been examined. Ambros. II. 40 sup., and Ravenna, Bibl. Classense, 210.

1215b 17 ἀνδρος ABCP<sup>m</sup>] ἀνθρώπου M<sup>b</sup>; 24 ἔχοντων μὲν ABCP<sup>b</sup>] ἔχοντων M<sup>b</sup>; 29 μᾶλλον ABCP<sup>m</sup>] οὐ μᾶλλον M<sup>b</sup>; 31 τῆς τροφῆς ABP<sup>b</sup>] τροφῆς CM<sup>b</sup>; 1216b 8 ἡμᾶ μὲν ABCP<sup>m</sup>] ἡμᾶ M<sup>b</sup>; 1217b 5 ἀγαθοῦ ABCP<sup>b</sup>] ἀγαθοῖς M<sup>b</sup>; 9 ἐκείνης ABCP<sup>b</sup>] ἐκείνῃ M<sup>b</sup>; 20 ἰδέαι ABCP<sup>m</sup>] ἰδέαι M<sup>b</sup>; 33 διδασκόμενον ABCP<sup>m</sup>] τὸ διδασκόμενον M<sup>b</sup>; 1218a 32 δψεως ABP<sup>b</sup>] ὄντος M<sup>b</sup>, ὄντως C; 1218b 16 τοῖς ABCP<sup>b</sup>] τῶν M<sup>b</sup>. Here are the principal cases where they agree with M<sup>b</sup>: 1214a 24 δαιμονία ABCM<sup>b</sup>] δαιμονίου P<sup>b</sup>; 1215a 15 τῆς ABCM<sup>b</sup>] διὰ τῆς P<sup>b</sup>; 1217b 21 κοινῶς ABM<sup>b</sup>] κενῶς CP<sup>b</sup>; 26 ἀγαθὸν ABCM<sup>b</sup>] τὸ ἀγαθὸν P<sup>b</sup>; 1218a 1 σχολῆς ABCM<sup>b</sup>] (but ἡ is over an erasure in B)] σχολῇ P<sup>b</sup>; 1218b 4 ποσαχῶς ABCM<sup>b</sup>] πολλαχῶς P<sup>m</sup>; 18 τοῦ οὐ ABCM<sup>b</sup>] τὸ οὐ P<sup>b</sup>. During the greater part of Book I the disagreements between the manuscripts may generally be set down to sheer mistake on the part of one of them—generally A. Here, however, are a few cases where a reading of A as against BC may be due to a difference of recension: 1215a 2 περὶ ὧν AIP<sup>b</sup>] περὶ BC; 1215a 32 πρίσκει A, *cell.*] πρᾶσι B πρίσει C; 1215b 23 ὑπέμεινεν A] ὑπομείνεν BC, *cell.*; 1216b 19 γινώσκειν A] γνωρίζειν BC, *cell.* Towards the end of the first book the disagreement between the manuscripts assumes a different character, AC agreeing as a rule with M<sup>b</sup> while B agrees with P<sup>b</sup>. This disagreement lasts during the greater part of the third book (I have not examined Book II). Here are some of the most striking cases: 1218b 11 τοῦτων ACM<sup>b</sup>] τοῦτ' BP<sup>b</sup>; 14 δέ ACM<sup>b</sup>] γὰρ BP<sup>b</sup>; 15 τοιαύτας ACM<sup>b</sup>] τοιαύτ' B τοιαῦται P<sup>b</sup>; 20 ὑγιαίνειν ACM<sup>b</sup>] ὑγιαίνον BP<sup>b</sup>; 22 οὐ (οὐδέ CM<sup>b</sup>) δεικνύουσιν οὐθ' ὅτι ACM<sup>b</sup>] οὐδὲ δεικνύουσιν οὐθὲν ὅτι BP<sup>b</sup>; 1228a 33 οὗτος ACM<sup>b</sup>] ὁ τοιοῦτος BP<sup>b</sup>; 1228b 1 πλήν οὐ ACM<sup>b</sup>] πλήν ὡς οὐ BP<sup>b</sup>; 10 πρῶτον ACM<sup>b</sup>] οἷ, BP<sup>b</sup>; 13 εἴη ἂν ACM<sup>b</sup>] οἷ, BP<sup>b</sup>; 1229a 2 ἀναρείσθαι ACM<sup>b</sup>] αἰρεῖσθαι BP<sup>b</sup>; 18 φοβερά ACM<sup>b</sup>] φερόμενα BP<sup>b</sup>; 20 εὐέλπιδας ACM<sup>b</sup>] εὐπείδας BP<sup>b</sup>; 25 θῆρες ACM<sup>b</sup>] σίτες BP<sup>b</sup>; 1230b 8 διὰ κολάσεως ACM<sup>b</sup>] δι' ἀκολασίας B δι' ἀκολασίαν P<sup>b</sup> (here B is nearer the true reading than P<sup>b</sup>); 12 ὀνομαζοῦντες ACM<sup>b</sup>] ὄνομα BP<sup>b</sup>; 16 ἐπιπόλαιον ACM<sup>b</sup>] ἐπὶ πύλεως BP<sup>b</sup>; 1231b 31 ἀσώματος ACM<sup>b</sup>] ἀσώτος BP<sup>b</sup>; 39 κτήσις τοῦ χρήματος ACM<sup>b</sup>] χρήσις τοῦ κτήματος (-τα B) BP<sup>b</sup>. Here again are a few cases of disagreement between AC on the one hand and B on the other, where B has a reading peculiar to itself: 1228a 28 ἐν τῇ διαγραφῇ AC, *cell.*] ἐκ τῆς διαγραφῆς B (=C<sup>b</sup>) or P<sup>b</sup>; 1230b 32 ἄδοντας AC, *cell.*] ἄδοντα B (=C<sup>b</sup>); 1231a 37 ἡ AC, *cell.*] ἡ δὲ B (=C<sup>b</sup>); 1231b 23 δεῖ οὐκ AC, *cell.*] οὐ δεῖ οὐκ B (=C<sup>b</sup>). There are a few cases even during the earlier part of Book III, where B unites with AC as against P<sup>b</sup>: 1228a 36 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδρείᾳ ABCM<sup>b</sup>] ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀδρεία P<sup>b</sup>; 1229b 26 ὑπομένει ABCM<sup>b</sup>] ὑπομένοι P<sup>b</sup>, or where AC unites with B as against M<sup>b</sup>: 1227b 28 εὐαρμόστων ABCP<sup>b</sup>] (but in B εὐαρ is over an erasure)] ἐναρμόστων M<sup>b</sup>; but these are few and unimportant. On the whole it is clear that during the earlier part of Book III AC follow the M<sup>b</sup> recension, while B follows the P<sup>b</sup> recension. It is to be observed that at I 33 of B a new hand takes up the pen with the words (1232a 3) ἡ πᾶλησις, and that from this time forward affairs went a different complexion, ABC agreeing in general with the M<sup>b</sup> recension. Here are some instances: 1232a 26 ὑπομονητικὸς ABCM<sup>b</sup>] ὑπομενετικὸς P<sup>b</sup>; 35 περὶ τὴ



ἑκαστος ACM<sup>h</sup> περὶ τὰ ἑκαστον B (=C<sup>h</sup>) περὶ ἑκαστον P<sup>h</sup>; 1232b 4 τοῦτο δοκεῖ ABCM<sup>h</sup> δοκεῖ τοῦτο P<sup>h</sup>; 5 κατεψηφισμένω(ο M<sup>h</sup>)s ABCM<sup>h</sup> κατεψηφισμένως P<sup>h</sup>; 13 χαίρειν ABCM<sup>h</sup> χαίρει P<sup>h</sup>; 28 δ' ἀγαθὸν ἐστι ABCM<sup>h</sup> ἀγαθὸν δέ P<sup>h</sup>; 1233a 2 ἀξιος ὢν ABCM<sup>h</sup> ὢν ἀξιος P<sup>h</sup>; 14 ἡξιούτο AB (=C<sup>h</sup>) CM<sup>h</sup> ἡξιούτ' P<sup>h</sup>; 27 ἡ ABCM<sup>h</sup> εἰ P<sup>h</sup>; 28 ἐπὶ ἐλαττόνων ABCM<sup>h</sup> ἐλαττόνων ἐπὶ P<sup>h</sup>; 1233b 17 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ABCM<sup>h</sup> τὰ μὲν P<sup>h</sup>; 27 μῶς ABCM<sup>h</sup> μῆδεμιάν P<sup>h</sup>; 1234a 0 παρὰ ABCM<sup>h</sup> περὶ P<sup>h</sup>; 9 προσίσταται AB (=C<sup>h</sup>) CM<sup>h</sup> προσίσταται P<sup>h</sup>; 30 γὰρ ἄλλον ABCM<sup>h</sup> ἄλλον γὰρ P<sup>h</sup>; 1234b 10 ἐναντιώτατον ABCM<sup>h</sup> ἐναντιώτερον P<sup>h</sup>; 12 τὸ θάρσος πρὸς τὸ θράσος ABCM<sup>h</sup> τὸ θράσος πρὸς τὸ θάρσος P<sup>h</sup>. In Book VIII ABC agrees as a rule with M<sup>h</sup>. Both in the latter part of Book III and in Book VIII there are a few cases where they agree with P<sup>h</sup> as against M<sup>h</sup>: 1232b 21 καὶ ἀρχαί ABCP<sup>h</sup> καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί M<sup>h</sup>; 1233b 3 ἀγαθοδαίμονιστῆς ABCP<sup>h</sup> ἀγαθοδαίμονιστῆς M<sup>h</sup>; 1247a 5 πολλοὶ ABCP<sup>h</sup> πολλοὶ M<sup>h</sup>; 1247b 26 οἱ ABCP<sup>h</sup> αἱ M<sup>h</sup>; 1248b 24 ἄλλα τὰ γὰρ ABCP<sup>h</sup> ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ M<sup>h</sup>. There are some cases where AB, less often ABC, agree in an independent reading, i.e. a reading which, so far as one can judge from Bekker and Sussehl, is not in any known manuscript. Examples are: 1214b 17 οὐ δυνατόν] δυνατόν ABC; 24 ἐστὶ codl. C] τι AB; 1215b 19 προίενται codl. C] προίενται AB (=C<sup>h</sup>); 21 αἵρεσιν codl. C] αἵρεῖν AB; 34 αὐτ' ἂν εἰς codl. C] αὐτοῖς ἂν AB; 1216a 3 τοῦ καθεύδου] ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν ABC; 1216b 2 αἱ λόγῳ ἀξιοὶ] αἱ λόγῳ ἀξιοὶ ABC; 1217a 18 καὶ codl. C] οὐ, AB, supporting a conjecture of Spengel; 1217b 1 λέγεται ποσαχῶς codl. C] ποσαχῶς λέγεται AB; 2 φασὶ γὰρ ἀριστον μὲν εἶναι codl. C] φασὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀριστον εἶναι AB; 14 χωριστὴν codl. C] οὐ, AB; 34 περὶ codl. C] παρὰ AB, supporting a conjecture of Victorinus; 1218a 20 ἐγαθὸν ὑπάρχον codl. C] ὑπάρχον ἀγαθὸν AB; 20 λέγονται codl. C] λέγεται AB (=C<sup>h</sup>); 1239b 22 ἐπιψεύδονται] διαψεύδονται ABC; 1239b 19 κομφοδοιδάσκαλοι] κομμοδοιδάσκαλοι ABC; 1242a 12, 14 εἰβιξ or κόβιξ codl. C] εἰμβιξ ABC; 1239b 12 λυπηθήσοι] λυπηθήσονται AB (=C<sup>h</sup>)C<sup>h</sup>; 1233b 25 καταφρονητικῶς] λευκαφρονητικῶς AB (=C<sup>h</sup>)C<sup>h</sup>; 1233b 13 λεκτέον] λέγεται ABC; 1246b 20 στρέφει] τρέφει ABC; 1247b 31 κατορθοῦντας] κατορθοῦν τέ AB (=C<sup>h</sup>)C<sup>h</sup>; 1248b 20 ἐφ' ὧν codl. C] ἀφ' ὧν AB, supporting a conjecture of Syllingius; 1249a 17 διήρηται P<sup>h</sup> δ' εἰη τε M<sup>h</sup>] δ' εἴρηται ABC, supporting Aldus; 1249b 1 ἔξωσ] τῆς ἔξωσ ABC, again supporting Aldus.

The net result seems to be that, subject to one exception, ABC in the exclusively Eudemian books are derived from one and the same archetype. The exception is that the first scribe of B for part of the first and third books—I can make no statement about the second—either abandoned the common archetype for a manuscript which approached very closely to the P<sup>h</sup> type, or corrected the common archetype largely from such a manuscript. The common archetype cannot be brought under either of Sussehl's families. Although it approaches, especially in the later books, to Π<sup>2</sup>, yet it has throughout readings which agree with Π<sup>1</sup> as well as independent readings of its own.

If, then, it is proved—as I venture to think it is proved—that for the

common books ABC are immediately derived from one archetype and that for the exclusively Eudemean books they are also immediately derived from one archetype, nothing remains but the question whether these two archetypes were one and the same. Although the existing evidence does not enable a conclusive answer to be given, it nevertheless affords some assistance towards the formation of a provisional judgment. One point deserving notice is this. In the common books there are few differences between ABC except such as have their origin in the mistakes of John Rhosus. B and C differ very rarely. This close agreement between the scribes in the common books suggests that none of them had any material to go upon but his archetype. On the other hand, in the exclusively Eudemean books, the differences between A, B, and C are more frequent and wider. Moreover, B and C often differ one from another. It is clear that they have both been corrected, and not always from the same source. Now, if they had throughout, as I suggest, an Eudemean archetype which contained the three common books, it is easy to see why they agree so closely in the common books and differ so often in the exclusively Eudemean books. All the known Eudemean manuscripts, except those with which I am dealing, omit the common books. Our manuscripts, in the common books, would have nothing to correct their archetype from. On the other hand, in the exclusively Eudemean books, they would probably have several manuscripts to call in aid where their archetype presented an unsatisfactory reading. If, on the other hand, our manuscripts had derived the common books from a Nicomachean archetype, there were certainly, when these manuscripts were written, plenty of other Nicomachean manuscripts which our scribes might have had recourse to, and we should have expected a much greater diversity of reading than we actually find.

It is also a circumstance worthy of attention that, as has been pointed out, the archetype of A both in the common books and in the exclusively Eudemean books contained about thirty-two letters in the line. I do not lay stress upon the fact that B's archetype in Book II. contained from twenty-eight to thirty-two letters, as B there may have been using a different archetype from AC.

There remains one point of primary importance. According to A, the *Eudemean Ethics* are in five books—I, II, III, IV, V. of the *Eudemean Ethics*, the last two of which correspond with Books V, VI. of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. The remaining three books, according to A, are fragments. Now, if A is here simply transcribing his archetype, no doubt can remain that there was one archetype for the whole work. It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider the general credibility of A as against BC. A is doubtless an extremely careless copy, but carelessness apart, a faithful one. John Rhosus, although a Cretan, was not a conscious liar. It is evident that B and C have been carefully corrected, whether by Philadelphus or by some other scholar. Here are some cases taken from the common books where A and C originally agreed as against B, and where we may reasonably infer that they represented the archetype. In 1129b 23 A has



κατηγορεῖν with M<sup>o</sup>: BC have κατηγόρειν (which is no doubt right) with R<sup>o</sup>LP. In C the letters *ac* are over an erasure. Evidently the archetype had κατηγόρειν. In 1139b 26 Bekker's manuscripts have οὐν ἡ δίκαιοςύνη. A has οὐν καὶ ἡ δίκαιοςύνη. B has οὐν ἡ δίκαιοςύνη. C had originally οὐν καὶ ἡ δίκαιοςύνη, but καὶ has been struck out. The archetype evidently had καὶ. In 1131b 8, where the true reading is ἡ τομή, A has οὐν ἡ μὴ, C has ἡν ἡ μὴ, B has ἡ τομή but ἡ is over an erasure. It is clear that in the archetype the words were undivided. In 1139a 25 A has τοίχωρχεῖ. BC have τοίχωρχεῖ, but in C χεῖ is over an erasure. The archetype must have agreed with A. In 1139a 20 Bekker's manuscripts have μόνη or μόνη. A has οὐν ἡν; BC ἡν. A is evidently closer to the archetype.

I pass to some cases in the exclusively Eudemian books where A gives a better reading than B. In 1217a 20 the manuscripts (except A) give ζητοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ αἰφῶδες κέρειν. A has ἐπὶ αἰφῶδες as one word. I venture to suggest ἀνέπισφαλδες. Although the word has only Byzantine authority—see Hase on *Leo Diacorus* p. 220v—it is good enough for Eudemos. In 1236a 34 ὀρχηστρίδες is a conjecture of Spengel. A has ὀρχηστρίδες. BC have ὀρχηστρίδες with P<sup>o</sup>; the other manuscripts ὀρχηστρίδες. In 1246b 34 σκερατικόν, the true reading, is a conjecture of Bekker, or perhaps of Victorius. A has σῶμα κρατικόν; BC and apparently the other manuscripts σῶμα κρατητικόν. In 1248b 17 the true reading is clearly κατ' αὐτὰ, a conjecture of Spengel. κατ' αὐτὰ, which comes nearest, is the reading of Aldus and apparently of the old translator. It is also the reading of A. BC have κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ with M<sup>o</sup>, and P<sup>o</sup> κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ. In 1248b 33 the author says that a sick man would gain nothing by adopting τῇ τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος τροφῇ, nor a weak and maimed man by adopting τοῖς τοῦ ὑγιῶς καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ὀλοκλήρου κόσμοις. It is clear that the passage would gain by the omission of τοῖς τοῦ ὑγιῶς καὶ. Now A reads τῇ for τοῖς, and τῇ τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος καὶ is clearly explainable as a dittography of τῇ τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος in the line above. Note that B<sup>o</sup> read τῆς and that Aldus omits καὶ τοῖς.

All this evidence that A, carelessness excepted, is a more faithful representative of the original than B and C lends colour to the supposition that Rhosus in confining the *Eudemian Ethics* to the first five books is again copying his archetype, and that we have here not the hypothesis of a Renaissance scholar but a survival of the original Eudemian tradition. It should not be forgotten in this connexion that the catalogue in Diog. Laert. τ. 23 mentions an *Ethics* in five books. It is true that Q (*Marc.* 200) treats the *Eudemian Ethics* as having five books, but that is done (see Bekker's note on 1246a 26) by not counting the common books. On the other hand, the titles given to the books in BC are not consistent. First, B numbers Book VI, ζ while C numbers it ε. Secondly, B—agreeing here with P<sup>o</sup> and Val. Pal. 165—gives a separate title to Book VIII and numbers it θ, while C, though leaving a gap, gives no title. It is clear that they were not copying from their archetype, but using their own discretion in numbering the books.

W. ASHRURNER.

## APPENDIX A

I have given the collation of A (Laur. 81, 12) and B (Laur. 81, 20) with Susenbittl<sup>2</sup> for the three common books. Wherever A and B differ, I have examined C (Laur. 81, 15). Where a reading is ascribed to A only, it is to be understood that B and C agree with the printed text. Where a reading is ascribed to B only, it is to be understood that A and C agree with the printed text. Where it is ascribed to AC, it is to be understood that B agrees with the printed text. Where a reading is given without any letter added, this is the reading of A and B. Where they agree, I have not, except in rare instances, also examined C: and therefore the agreement of C cannot be assumed.

112a: 1 Title. ἀριστοτελεὺς ἠθικῶν εὐδημιῶν βιβλίον δ' A ἀριστοτελεὺς ἠθικῶν εὐδημιῶν δ' (δ' C) BC 6 ἡ] δὲ 15 ἀπα] ἔπο 16 ὡς γινώσκας 25 δίκαιον καὶ τό] οὐκ. 26 ἡ ἀδικία] ἀδικία 30 ἡ τὰς θύρας κλειόμενα 33 ἀρετῇ] ἀδικίᾳ καὶ] οὐκ. A 29b: 1 καὶ πλεον.] πλεον. 2 ὅταν] οὐκ. 6 ἀπλῶς τὸ μὴ κακόν 10 τοῦτο γὰρ περιέχει καὶ κοινοὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ παραινῆσις ἦται ἡ ἀντιπάσης περιέχει πῶς αὖτε ἀδικίας καὶ κοινόν ὅτι πάσης ἀδικίας A τοῦτο γὰρ περιέχει καὶ κοινόν καὶ παραινῆσις τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ παραινῆσις ἦται ἡ ἀντιπάσης περιέχει πῶς αὖτε ἀδικίας καὶ κοινόν ὅτι πάσης ἀδικίας BC 12 παρὰ τὰ τὰ παρὰ 15 ἡ κατ' ἀρετὴν] οὐκ. 20 λέγει A λέγει BC 21 καὶ τὰ τοῦ . . . 22 ἐβρίζει] οὐκ. A 23 κατηγορεῖν A κατηγορεῖ BC but in C αὖτε is over an erasure καὶ] οὐκ. A τὰ] οὐκ. 25 χεῖρας τοῦτο 26 εἰς καὶ ἡ AC but in C καὶ has been added 28 ἴσμεν] ἴσμεν A 29 παραινῆσις A 30 πῶς ἀμαρτάνει 33 χρηστὰς 40a 2 ἀρχὴ 7 ἀλλὰ πρὸς 13 ἡ μὲν ἡ διακρίσις ἡ δ' 14 γὰρ] οὐκ. 18 ἀδικία A ἡ δ' κακός 20 τὸν τοιοῦτον τοῦτον 25 προσημασμένοι 26 μᾶλλον δόξαν εἶναι 31 αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ 30b 1 πάντα 6 αἱ διακρίσεις τὸ δ' καὶ A 8 δὲ] δὲ 10 μὲν οὐ] οὐκ. πρῶτον] πρὸς ἑτέρον 11 παρόντων πλέον 12 τὸ μὲν γὰρ . . . 13 ἀντιστ.] τὸ μὲν πλέον δεῦν ἀντιστ. τὸ δ' ἀντιστ. ἀντὶ τῶν πλέον 16 ὥστε καὶ] ὥστε 18 τοῦ] οὐκ. 21 δὲ] οὐκ. 23 προστατήναι 25 συμβαλεῖται A 29 ἀντ.] οὐκ. A 30 κατ' αἰτῶν 31a 2 ἀδικημάτων 7 προσημασμένη δολοπαιγία 8 αἰκίᾳ 9 κατηγορεῖ A 12 τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἀνισόν 14 μέσον καὶ τὸ τι ἀντ.] αἱ τι 16 μέσον . . . τισὶν μέσον τοῦ αἰσ καὶ ἴσον καὶ τισὶ καὶ πρὸς τι 18 ὅτι] οὐκ. 20 δι' ὅτι 21 ἰσότης ὅταν 22 καὶ ἀδικία A 23 μὴ ἴσα ἴσω 24 ἡ μὴ ἴσα] οὐκ. ABC, but in C a later hand has added the words in the margin 25 νομαίς 26 τοῦ] οὐκ. 27 ἐπὶ τῇ] οὐκ. 28 αἱ δ' ἐγγίνων] οὐκ. 29 ἀριστοκρατεῖται BC ἐνάλογον A 31 λόγων 33 ὡς] οὐκ. 32b: 1 οἷον] οὐκ. A 2 εἰς τὸ β' δις τοῦ 3 δόρηται 6 τὸ δ' A 8 ἡ κομὴ] οὐκ. ἡ δ' μὴ A ἡ δ' μὴ C ἡ κομὴ but ἡ οὐκ. over an erasure B σινοδαίει B σινοδαίει 11 τοῦ] τὸ 16 εἰς ἀμύμῳ ὅρα] ἐπὶ μέρους 17 τὸ παρὰ τοῦτο παρὰ A τοῦτο τὸ παρὰ BC 22 ὅταν . . . κακός] οὐκ. A 23 καὶ τὸ] τὸ δ' 27 πρότερον 28 δίκαιος] οὐκ. 29 ἡ] οὐκ. 32a: 3 αἱ δ' αἱ αἱ δ' αἱ but in A first αἱ is over an erasure AC αἱ δ' αἱ but αἱ is over an erasure B 4 πρὸς] πρὸ AB but εἰ is added by corrector in B βλέπει μόνον 6 χρηστὴ χ. . . τα A 8 εἰ μὲν] οὐκ. 7 περιέχεται ἰσάζει 11 οἷ] ἡ 16 ἀντιπῆσις . . . ἀντιστ.] οὐκ. A τὸ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ BC 20 ἴσται. τὸ ἴσται A ἴσται τὸ ἴσται BC 24 τὸ] οὐκ. 25 ἀνισόν 26 ταῦτ' A 27 καὶ] οὐκ. προσημασμένη] οὐκ. 28 ἔχει πλεονέκτης 32 δίκαιος A διχαστής] οὐκ. A 34 τοῦτων τὸ θάνατον 32b: 1 ἴσται] οὐκ. 2 τὸ] οὐκ. 7 ἀφῆρηται πρόσκειται ἐφ' αἱ 8 τὸ γὰρ καὶ τὸ γὰρ 9 τοῦ γὰρ A τοῦτο before καὶ 10 ἀντ.] οὐκ. ὅταν] ἰσται BC καὶ αἰσ] αἰσ AC In B corrector has added καὶ above the line. 12 τὸ] οὐκ. 13 αἰσ] αἰσ B 15 ἀντ.] γὰρ τὸ ὅταν] τοῦ 16 δόξα



18 ζημιωθήτω . . . τοὺς καὶ] om. A 19 τῷ πατρὶ καὶ] om. 23 ἀρξάντων 28 ἄλλω] om. 24 νεμητικόν 25 γε] om. A λέγει τοῦτο βασιμάνθους A 27 εἰ κε] εἰ καὶ A τὸ εἰ] τὸ ε' ε' ἔθελον] κείνη A κείνη BC 29 ἀρχοντες A 30 ἐν] ἐπὶ A 32 συνίσταται 34 ἡ γὰρ τῷ] τὸ γὰρ ἡ 33a: 3. χαρίτων ἱερῶν] χάριτος ἑτέρον 4 τὲ] om. 10 τοῦ αὐτοῦ 13 κρείττων] om. A θατέρων (1st)] θατέρων A 15 δρ] om. 16 καὶ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα 17 [ἐφ' ὃ] ἐφ' ὅ A ἐφ' ὃ BC 21 Ἀfter Ἰλλυφον ABC αὐτὰ μετὰ δηλονότι τὸ νόμισμα but in B the corrector has written over it περισσός 22 ἄρτα] om. 23 τὰ δὲ 26] ἐστι] οἱ ABC but in B corrector has written ἐστι over δρι 32 ὅπερ δὲ] 33 τὸ τοῦ περὶ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ A 33b: 1 δ' οὐ δὲ] ἀγνοῖ ἀναλογίαν 3 τὸ αὐτῶν 4 τὸ α' 7 κρεῖον A 8 ἄτερος ABC but it is corrected into ἑτέρος in B 9 οὐ ἔχει δέχεται τις] οὐ δέχεται ABC but in B corrector has written τις over οὐ δέχεται 10 ἐξαγωγῆς 11 εἰ] οἱ ἄρ 14 διὰ] διὰ A 15 δα] om. 16 μέτρον] μέτρον 21 νομίσματα 23 δὲ] om. 24 εἰ πέντε] εἴτη . . . A 27 εἰς] ἡ 31 ἔχει 34a: 4 τὸ πάλιν 8 τοῦ ἀφελήσαν . . . 9 Ἀλλὰ] om. 10 αὐτοῦ μὲν (2nd)] om. 13 ἐπὶ τὸ δόκιμον 22 οὐδὲ (1st)] οὐ 26 καὶ (1st)] οὐ τοῦτο . . . 29 δόκιμον] om. 29 Ἀλλὰ . . . 30 δόκιμον (2nd)] om. A 31 καὶ νόμισμα 32 ὅ] δ' 34 ἀγαθόν . . . 35 δα] om. A 34b: 7 ὅτω] οὕτω 15 οἷα] οἷος A τοῦ ἀρχίου καὶ] καὶ ἀρχὴ τοῦ 18 τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ] om. τὸ μὲν γὰρ 19 νόμισμα 20 οὐ τῷ] οὕτω A 21 διαφέρει αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν διαφέρει ABC but in B corrector has put α over διαφέρει and β over οὕτω. τὸ μὲν διαφέρει] Corrector of B notes in margin: οὕτω γὰρ α' ἀπεκαταστάται μετὰ τῶν ἀθηναίων συνάδεται ὡς μετρητοὶ ἀνδρομέδων. 22 ἡ] om. 23 τὸ θεῖον Βουτῆς] Corrector of B notes in margin: βραχέως γὰρ α' ἀμφεπολιτὶς τῆς αἰγῆς θένεται αὐτὸ νόμον 24 τῷ] om. A 29 ὡδαμῶς ἔχον 33 καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀρμό . . . A 35a: 4 ταῦτα πάντα A οὐδ' αὖ] οὐδὲ 5 ἀρίστη] ἀρετὴ 6 τὰ καθόλου 7 τὰ καθ' om. 10 αὐτῶν] ταῦτον 11 ἐπὶ] om. 12 Ἀλλὰ] ὁμοῦ BC add: οἱ οὕτω πρὸς τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπὶ 16 τῶν ἀδελφῶν 18 δόκιμον] ἀρμον A 19 συμβεβηκότων 20 αἱ 22 ὅν 25 μῆτε ὡς μῆτε ἢ μῆτε οὐ ἔκτετα] μῆτε ὃ (δ C) ὃ corrected into ὃν B) μῆτε ὃ μῆτε ὃν (corrected into ὃν B) ABC 26 κακίονος] κακίον] om. 27 τῶν A 29 τις] om. AC In B it is added above the line by a later hand 30 γνώσκω AC In B the final α is added by a later hand ὅτι δὲ πατὴρ] πατὴρ δ' 33b: 1 καὶ πῶς ἔχον καὶ πῶς ἔχον 2 γῆρας καὶ ἐπὶ 12 ὅταν μῆτε ὃ (δ BC) μῆτε οὐ μῆτε ὃν (δ BC) ἔκτα ABC but in B the corrector has inserted μῆτε ὃν after ὅταν and put β over οὐ and α over δ 13 In B the corrector has written ταῦτα over πρόξην 14 βῆλλαν ἡ οὐ ταῦτα ἡ οὐ ταῦτα ἔκτα] ἡ οὐ ταῦτα ἡ οὐ ταῦτα ἔκτα ABC but in B it has been corrected into: ἡ οὐ ταῦτα ἡ οὐ ταῦτα ἡ οὐ ταῦτα ἔκτα 14 ψήθη] ἐψήθη A 16 ψ] δὲ A but ε is an addition 20 μὲν] om. 26 κρείττων] γίγνεται 27 οὐδὲ] om. ABC but in B it is added above the line by a later hand 32 περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ABC, but in B the corrector has put ὅτι under δ 33 ἐπιβουλεύων 36a: 1 εἰ 3 παρὰ τῷ] om. δόκιμος] τὸ δόκιμον A τὸ δόκιμον BC 4 εἰ 6 ἐπὶ] ὅταν 7 ἀμνηστῶσι 9 ἀμνηστῶσι 10 δόκιμον A 12 τὸ πῶς ABC but in B ἀνέτως is written over it 13 αὐτῶν 14 βῆλλαν 16 πᾶν] ὅταν] κακίονος] ἀκοφθῶν AC; B has κακίονος but ι is over an erasure 17 πᾶν (1st)] ὅταν δόκιμον ἡ πᾶν 20 τὸ (2nd)] om. 23 τὰ ε' . . . A 31 οὐδ' οὐδ' A 32 ἀκροατὴς ABC but in B the corrector has struck out α 33 καὶ] αὐτῶν 36b: 1 ἐπὶ ἔχον 2 ἐκόντος] ἀδελφόντος ABC but in B the word has been crossed out in red and in the margin is written in black: ἐκόντος 3 τῷ] τὸ 4 καὶ ἐπὶ] om. τῷ] om. 6 οὐδὲν (1st)] οὐδὲ αὐτῶν 8 ὃ τε ἀκροατὴς οὐδ' ὃ ἀκροατὴς δαῖς] δαῖ A αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν AC; B has αὐτῶν but αὐ is over an erasure 12 οὐδ' is added above the line in A but by the original scribe 14 ἐπὶ] οἱ AC; B has ἐπὶ but ε is over an erasure δαῖ] δα A 15 τὸ πάλιν ἡ δ

ἔχω καὶ αἱ τὰ πλεον ἔχω εἰ AC: B had this originally but after ἔχω the corrector has a mark of omission and in the margin is written ὃ δ' ἔχω καὶ 18 ἐτέρω ἢ αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ ἐτέρω 19 ἐξῶ] ἔχω A οὐτος] οὐν 21 πλεονεκεῖ 22 καὶ] οὐν 26 καὶ ὅτι ὅτι καὶ 27 ἀδικεῖ] ἀεί 29 λαμβάνει 30 τὴν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κτήνη 31 οἰκίτης [κίτης A οἰκ' ἀδικεῖ μὴ] μὴ οἰκ' ἀδικεῖ ABC, but in B the corrector has put β over μὴ and α over οἰκ' ἀδικεῖ 32 τὴν τὸν A 34 τὸ (1st) τὸν A 37a: 2 καὶ διὰ] καὶ] οὐν. 3 τὸν ἀγρόν κρίνας] κρίνας τὸν ἀγρόν ὁ δίκαιος . . . A 7 ἄλλος γινόμενος B adds γινόμενος 9 ταῦτό τὰ δίκαια τὸ γινόμενον 11 οὐχ ἄλλος A ξυνοῖμαι 16 εἶμαι εἶμαι 17 δι' αὐτὸ διὰ ταῦτό 18 οὐδὲν (2nd)] οὐχ 22 δεῖ αἴτιον A τὸ ἀδικεῖν] ἀδικεῖν 23 ἀδὲ 24 αὐτὸ ἢ 25 αὐτὸ] οὐν 30 τοῖς δὲ] οὐν 35 ἐπιστοῖμαι A 37b: 4 ἐπιστοῖν ὅτι γὰρ ἢ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ ταῦτόν] οὐν ABC, but in B the corrector has added it in the margin ὁ δίκαιος . . . 9 ὅτι] οὐν ABC 10 σπουδαίων ὅτι 12 τὸ] οὐν 13 δεικνύει μωμῶν 15 ὅλον τὸ οἶσται 20 ἐπὶ ταῖς 21 ἔχει ἢ] ἔχει ABC but in B the corrector has added οὐ ὅπως 23 ἀρ] οὐν ἐκ] οὐν ἦδαι ἦδαι 24 ἀρ] οὐν βέλτιον 28 περὶ τιμῶν 30 οὐλοδομῶν 33 ὅτι τί τὸ δίκαιον βέλτιον 38a: 1 δ' μὴ] μὴ ὁ ἀρεβόδομος καὶ τερνέων 6 ἀρεβόδομος ἐστὶν ἐστὶν . . . τινά A: ἐστὶν ἀρεβόδομος BC ἢ βλάστηται 9 δὲ (1st)] οὐν A δι' ὀργῇ ὀργῇ 10 δ' ἢ] οὐν 13 ζητοῖ A 14 πῶς] πῶς A μόνος ὁ δ' ὁ μόνος 15 ὅλος] ἐπὶ 17 κατὰ ταύτην ἀδικεῖ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀδικεῖ A κατ' αὐτὴν ἀδικεῖ BC 18 τῷ αὐτῷ ἢ] ὅτι τῷ αὐτῷ ἀφαιρῆσθαι 19 αὐτὸ πᾶν A 22 πᾶν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα 24 ἀδικεῖ αὐτοῖς 25 ταχυνέτω A ταχυνέτω BC but in C καὶ is over an erasure 26 αὐτοῖς 27 καὶ κατὰ 30 ἔγνω . . . A: ἔγνω (v added by later hand) B, ἔγνω C 33 καὶ] οὐν πᾶν 34 ἀδικεῖ 38b: 1 εἶσαι] οὐν 2 μᾶλλον 4 ἢ] οὐν 5 ἢ] καὶ 6 οὐχ αὐτῷ 10 δι' αὐτῷ A 16 ἄλλος ταῖς A adds: ἀρεβόδομος ἢ δίκαιος εἰδήμιον β' δ' 1138b: 16 Τίτλος ἀρεβόδομος ἢ δίκαιος εἰδήμιον βιβλίον ε' A ἀρεβόδομος ἢ δίκαιος εἰδήμιον ε' BC 18 καὶ] οὐν 20 διόλου A 21 ἔστιν] πράττειν 25 ὅπως 27 μὴ] οὐν 28 π' . . . οὐν A 31 ἐστὶν ὅτι] οὐν 33 ἀληθὲς 35 δὴ] δε BC καὶ A 38a: 3 πᾶν 4 τῆς φυχῆς μέρη 8 ὅτι τὰ ἰδέσθαι] τὸν αὐτὸν ἰδέσθαι 18 ταῦτα A 19 τῷ τὸ 23 ἀρεβόδομος] ἔστι ABC but B has ἀρεβόδομος in the margin διὰ διὰ μὴ 25 καὶ τὸ ψεύδος 30 ἢ] οὐν 32 καὶ ὁ λόγος 34 ἔστιν] B has in margin ἀρεβόδομος 36 δὲ πᾶν 38b: 3 ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ 4 ἢ προαίρεσις] ἢ προαίρεσις AC but in C ἢ is written in red over ἢ: B has ἢ but II is over an erasure 12 ταῖς 13 ἔστι A αὐτὰ αἱ ἀρεταί 14 λέγομεν ABC but in C οὐ is written in red over ο 15 ἢ] οὐν 25 πᾶν] πᾶν ἢ 27 λέγομεν 28 δὴ] οὐν A 30 δ' οὐν. ὅτι αὐτὸ ὅτι] οὐν αὐτὸ ὅτι 32 προαίρεσις] οὐν A 40a: 7 ἢ οὐλοδομῶν] ἢ οὐλοδομῶν AC: οὐλοδομῶν but οὐ is over an erasure B 9 ἢ] ἢ BC 11 καὶ τὸ θεωρεῖν 16 ἀρχὴ] ἀρχὴ A 16 ταῦτα τῶν ταύτην ABC but in C α is written in red over η 18 τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα 23 ἔστι] ὅτι 24 λαμβάνει 27 τοῖς αὐτοῖς 28 ὅλος] οὐν 29 πρὸς τὸ τέλος 30 οὐλοδομῶν A 31 ἀρεβόδομος εἰν αὐτοῖς 35 ἔχει A 40b: 2 ὅτι 3 πρακτικῶν 4 δ' ἀρ' ὁ ἀληθὲς 8 οὐλοδομῶν φρονήματος 9 δόξα A 10 τῶν πολιτικῶν] πολιτικῶν 12 δε] οὐν 14 τὸ λυτῶν] λυτῶν 15 δὲ ὁ ἀρεβόδομος] ὅτι] οὐν A 15 φαίνεται ἢ] οὐν διὰ 21 ἀληθὲς 22 αὐτὸ ὅτι A 25 δ' ὅτι] οὐν διὰ τῶν 26 τῶν τῶν 27 ἔχει ὅτι καὶ 29 τῆς μὴ] μὴ τῆς 32 δ' αἱ ἀρχαί 35 γὰρ] οὐν 40a: 1 οὐδὲ δὴ] οὐδὲ ἢ 2 ἀποδοξίς 3 μηδὲν διὰ] μὴ διὰ ποτε 4 περὶ τὰ ἰδεσθόμενα ἢ καὶ μὴ ἰδεσθόμενα ἄλλω A 10 ἀποδοξίς ABC but in C ὁδὸς is over an erasure 11 πολυκαίρος A 11 ἀποδοξίς οὐδὲν οὐδὲν] οὐν 17 ὅτι ἢ] οὐν διὰ] οὐν 20 ἔχουσιν A 21 πολιτικῶν] οὐν 24 ταῦτα] τὸ αὐτὸ 25 τὸ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸ 26 τὸ] οὐν φαίνεται] φέσει



but an over an erasure A φέραι BC 27 φέραι φεραι αἶμα δὲ α 41b: 1 οὐκ τῷ  
φανερώνται 2 δὴ δὲ 3 διὰ καὶ ἀναξ. 7 εἰδέναι εἶμαι 9 ἔστιν οἷν. 10 βου-  
λευσασθαι 12 πρακτικόν 13 δ] οἷν. 18 αἴσθη 19 ὅποια ἀγνοῖ 20 ὁρίσθαι  
23 δὲ καὶ ἡ δ' ἡ 24 αἰτοῖς A 25 In A τὴν is added before πάλιν above the line in  
a later hand 27 καὶ οἷν. 33 διανοητικῇ] σποχαστικῇ 34 τὰ αὐτῶ 42a:  
4 ἀσφαλισμένοι 8 τὸ τοῖτον] τῶν τοῖτον A εἶμαι φρονίμως 12 κατ' 20 οὐκ] οἷν.  
21 τῷ] τὸ τὰ βουλευσασθαι 23 τὸ δὲ τὸ 25 πρακτικῶν ἀποληπτικῶν 27 αὐ] οἷν.  
οὐχ ἡ] οὐχ 28 οἷν] οἷα ἡ 30 ἡ] ἡ 32 θαλασσοῦ 33 εἰστοχία A 42b: 2 εἰστοχία A  
ταχὲ τὰ ταχυτήτος A ταχυτήτος BC 3 εἰστοχία A 4 δὲ A βουλευσασθαι A 5 βου-  
λευσασθαι εἶναι ἡ] εἶναι οἷδ' ἡ ἔρχιν... α A 7 δοξά καὶ ἡ 9 δὲ] οἷν. 11 διαφύσθαι A  
διαφύσθαι BC 13 αὐτῇ] αὐτῆς 14 οὐ] οἷν. 15 δ γάρ] καὶ γάρ δ' ἐκρηκτῆς  
29 δὲ] οἷν. 25 εἶναι 26 εἶναι... τεχνῶν] τὸ ἔστι πολλὴν χρόνον βουλευόμενον τεχνῶν εἶναι  
δὲ πολλὴν χρόνον βουλευόμενον τεχνῶν ABC 27 πω] π... A 28 δὲ καὶ οὐκ] δικαίως  
29 βουλευσασθαι A 30 τὸ ἀπλῶς... 31 τέλος] οἷν A τις δὲ] ἡτὶς δ' BC 31 βου-  
λευσασθαι A 32 ἡ κατὰ κατ' δ' A κατὰ BC 33 τὸ τέλος ἀληθὲς... 34 εἰσεναι]  
οἷν. A 34 καὶ ἡ ἀπονοστα 43a: 1 ἀνετίτοις 6 ἀπορρήτοις] ἀπορρήτοι A  
10 ξύνοσις ξύνοσις καὶ στυκτῶν καὶ γὰρ αὐ στυκτῶν 12 ξύνοσις 13 ξύνοσις  
16 καλῶς] καλῶς A 17 αὐ ἀνετίτοις A 21 ἐγγυμαστικῶν 25 αὐ τῶν αὐ 27 ἡδὴ]  
ἡ δὴ A 29 ἔκστα 30 στυκτῶς εἶναι καὶ 31 ἡ ἐγγυμαστικῶν] οἷν. 33 πάντα καὶ γὰρ  
... αὐτοῖς] οἷν. A 42b: 2 ἀπορρήτοις A καὶ τῶν πρώτων ABC but in C πρὸ τοῦ  
οὐκ an erasure πρακτικῶν 5 τὰ δὲ ἔχειν 11 προέχειν A 14 ἀρχίς 16 τὰ  
17 ἀρετὴ κατῆρας κατῆρας 19 θεωρῆσαι οὐδεμία A 21 εἶναι ἡ πῶν 24 αὐτὸ  
αἰδέναι 28 ἡτὶς 29 τὸ γινώσθαι οὐδὲν... 30 ἔχουσι] οἷν. A χρήσιμος BC  
30 αὐτοῖς 31 ἔχουσι α 35 δὴ] δὲ 44a: 1 λέγωμεν ἀναγκαστὶς αἰρετὸς αὐτῶν]  
αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαστὶς αἰρετὸς 2 γ' γινώσκει τοῦ] οἷν. 4 ὥς ἡ ἐκρηκτῆς 11 ἄλλας πρώτους  
ABC αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τῆς φύσεως ὁρῶντος 12 καὶ τὴν] δὲ αὐτῆς A 14 δικαίως] δικαίως A  
16 δὲ αὐτὸ ταῦτα 18 τῶς καὶ ἔχουσι 21 πῶς... A 23 τίς οἷν 24 ἐπιθέματα A  
26 ἐκινεῖται A 27 εἶναι 28 οὐχὶ τῆς δυνάμεως δυνάμει 30 ἡματι] δυνάμει ABC,  
but BC ἡματι in the margin γρ. ἡματι 31 π... οἷν. 36 αὐτοῖς] ὥς 44b: 1 δὴ] δὲ  
BC οἷν. A 4 ἡβικῶν 7 ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ 8 ἐσάρχα A 12 δὲ] οἷν. 13 αἴτια τῇ  
δυνάμει εἶναι 15 αἰδὴ] ὅδῃ αὐτῶ 16 δ' ἡ] δὲ 17 καὶ φασὶ τινες 19 φετοῖ] φετοῖ A  
αὐτ' BC 20 πῶς αὐτῶ 23 τῆς] οἷν. 24 δὴ] δὲ 26 αὐ γάρ] εἶναι γάρ οὐ 33 δὲ] ὥς A  
χωρίζονται 45a: 2 ἐπαρχαστῇ ἐπαρχουσι A 3 αὐ] οἷν. τοῦ] τοῦ 4 ἔστιν] ἔστιν  
B ὅρῳ] ἀπὸ A 9 ἐκείνῃ] ἐκείνῃ οὐκ] οὐ 11 A αὐτὸς ἀριστοτέλους ἡβικῶν ἐδὴμῶν  
τέλος Title of Book VII. ἀριστοτέλους followed by blank of a line and a half A  
ἀριστοτέλους ἡβικῶν ἐδὴμῶν ξ B ἀριστοτέλους ἡβικῶν ἐδὴμῶν ξ C 16 ἡδὴ] δὴ are  
over an erasure in A 18 ἀρετῇ A ἐγναῖστα A 24 τῇ] οἷν. A 25 ἀποθεμένη A  
27 τὸ] τὸν A 28 ἀκωνὲς φανὼν εἰσθῆαι 29 θέως φῶναι αὐτῶ 42b: 3 δὴ ἡ  
τα] δ' ἡ καὶ ἡ καρτερία 9 καὶ ἡ μάλας A 11 ἡμαρτυκῶς 12 πρώτοι διὰ πάθος]  
διὰ τὸ πάθος πρώτοι 15 πάτη 17 ἀτῇ] αὐτῶ A 18 δὲ] οὐδὲ A 22 μὲν 24 περι-  
θωπεῖ] περὶ A περι B περὶ... C 27 βέλτιον 29 δ] οἷν. 30 παθῶν A 31 δὲ] δὴ  
45a: 1 ἀπεικονίζουσαν A ἡβικῶν... α A 2 τὸ 4 ἀπεικονίζουσα A 6 δ' ὅς οὐδὲν  
7 ἔχουσι A 16 δόξ... A 19 τίς] οἷν. A αὐτῶ καὶ δ' 20 οὐκ] ὁ αὐτῶ... A 4 αὐτῶ BC  
24 γινώσκουσι 25 μὲν] οἷν. 26 ἐπαρχειν A 32 αὐ] οἷν. 33 ἐκινεῖται  
35 εἶναι πῶς 42b: 1 μὴ ἐκινεῖται 2 ἀλλὰ ABC but in C the accentuation  
has been put right in red 15 τῶν περὶ 16 λέγοντες ταῖς] δ' 17 δ' ἀρετῆς] οἷν.  
τῶν] τὸ 18 ἡ] οἷν. ἡβικῶν 21 τῇ] τὸ 23 οὐκ] αὐτῶ... A 26 δοξάζουσαν A ἀπεικονίζουσαν A  
29 οὐδὲν A 31 ἐπὶ δόξῃ] δόξῳ A 33 ἔχουσι μὲν μὴ θεωροῦντα δὲ] ἔχου( B)ν, τὰ  
μὲν μὴ θεωροῦν, τὰ δὲ καὶ θεωροῦντα AB ἔχου, τὰ μὲν, μὴ θεωροῦν τὰ δὲ, καὶ θεωροῦντα C

34 τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ θεωροῦντα] om. 4a: 4 τὸ καθάλου τὰ μὲν γὰρ 6 ὁ αὐτὸς  
 7 ἀλλ' οἱ τὰδε τοιοῦτοι] om. B 9 διὰ δὲ A εἶναι 11 ἐπὶ τῶν A 12 ὥστε] ὥς  
 14 γὰρ] om. 15 τοῖς] τοῖς A τοῖς BC but in B α is over διὰ σῆματι 22 σὺν-  
 φωνίᾳ] σὺνῶνι τοῦτο 24 καὶ] om. 26 ἤθε 30 ἐπὶ] om. 32 ἐν] ἐν ἡ  
 33 ἐν γὰρ 34 οἷς] om. 47b: 1 . . κρατεῖσθαι A 3 διὰ] om. A 4 οὐκ ἀκρατῆ]  
 om. A, but leaves blank space 4 τῶν] om. 11 ἡ 11 ἐπίσταται A 12 ὅ] om. A  
 14 τῶ καθάλου 19 . . κρατεῖσθαι A 23 οἱ οἱ μαλακοὶ A 24 οἱ καθ' αὐτὰ  
 28 τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μὲν οὐχί, ἀντὶ δὲ καθ' αὐτὰ] τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μὲν, οὐκ (χ BC)  
 αἰνέτα δὲ 31 τοῖς] τοῖς A οὐ] om. 35 καὶ 48a: 2 γὰρ] om. 3 ἡ] om.  
 4 μένος τι 6 τι] δε 10 πρὸς] ABC but in C πρὸν is written over πρὸ  
 16 τῶν] om. 16 ταῦτα 17 ἄλλοι μὲν A adda περὶ τῶν 20 προσηγορίας  
 ἐπιθῆναι καὶ . . A 23 τῶ τῷ γένει τῷ γένει A τῶν γένει BC 25 διαλογὴν  
 26 ταῦτα 30 καὶ ἀγαθῶν] ἡ ἀγαθῶν ὡ] ei 32 περὶ is added above the line in C  
 33 μένος . . . A 34 καὶ] om. 34 ὁ σφόδρος 48b: 1 ἐπεὶ . . λοιμοῖς A 4 καὶ  
 ἀμαρτήματα] om. 6 φανερόν A 9 οὐ] δὲ A 10 ὁμοῖος A 12 τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ ἀκολ.]  
 ἀκολοῦν 13 καὶ] om. 17 δε] δὲ 21 οἷς] οἷς 27 ἡ ἐξ ἑθῶν] ἐξ ἑθῶν αἱ  
 τῶν τριῶν 30 γυμνασμοῖς 31 ἡ φέρεται 32 αἰσιν οὐκ ἐπ . . οἷον A οὐκ ἐκτενέων  
 BC 33 ἐπίσταται δὲ] om. 42a: 1 τῶ 2 ἀκρατῶν 3 ἡ] om. 9 ἀφροδισίων  
 ABC, but C has in the margin ἀφροῦν 12 μῆνις ἡ 13 ἐνίστε μὲν 17 πρὸς  
 20 τῶν] om. μῶν] οἷον ἦν A; οἱ ἦν BC 25 ἡ τῶν] τῶν 32 ὅ] om. 34 δὲ] om.  
 47b: 3 αἱ] om. 5 οἷον 9 ἔπειτα 12 ἐκ] (οὐ A)σαι 15 ἀλλὰ φανερός] ἀλλ' ὁ  
 φανερός ABC, but in C φάνος is written over the word 16 ἀκολοῦσιν 17 ἐπὶ-  
 φασιν 20 οἷον ὁ δὲ ἀργῶν . . 22 λοιμοῖς] om. 23 ὡς] ὥστε A 24 ταῦτα] οὐ  
 28 ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ τῷ γ καὶ τῷ μ.] τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ γένει 29 π . . μῶνις A  
 31 μόνον] om. οὔτε ἀκόλαστα] καὶ ἀκόλαστα 33 σιντομοῖς 35 ὥστε] ἀπερ-  
 ὅτι: 2 βέλτιον 4 πότερον] om. 8 In margin of B ὥστε ὁ ἀπελγὴς φιλέλφος  
 9 τῆς δι] om. 11 μὲν οὐ 15 ἔπειτα 17 αἱ δ' οὐ καὶ] om. 23 μένος] μένος δὲ A,  
 μένος δὲ BC 25 διὰ τῶν] δὲ 26 ἡδονῶν A 28 εἶναι] om. 29 εἰ σφοδρὰ] σφοδρὰ A  
 εἰ μὴ] μὴ 31 οὐ] δὲ 33 ἀγνοεῖ ὁ ἀκρατὴς 47b: 2 ἀναισθητοὶ A 8 θανμασίων  
 ABC, but in C it is corrected over the line to θανμασίων ἀναισθητόν 10 ἀλώπη A  
 ἀλώπη BC 11 ἀσφοῖ 13 ἀναισθητοὶ A 15 διὰ γένος A 17 αἰσιν οὐ 23 προ-  
 σωπονοῦνται προσηγορίας A 28 ἀκολοῦσιν A 30 ἀμύνει . . μεταμαρτυρῶν]  
 om. 32 ἰατρὸς] ἰατρὸς A 51a: 2 μὲν ἔχοντες 3 ἡγεῖται A οὐκ ἀκρῶς] οὐκ ἀκρῶς  
 A οἷον] but leaves blank space ἡγεῖται . . τῶν A 8 γὰρ] τε A πρᾶξι A ἡγε-  
 δόμων A 10 ἀδικοῦσιν 11 μὴ διὰ τὸ διὰ τὸ μὴ 14 αἰσθητοῖς] μετὰ τισιν  
 A μετὰ τισιν BC 15 ἡ μετὰ τῶν] μετὰ τῶν 21 ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθος 22 λόγος] om. A  
 23 ἀναισθητοὶ 24 βέλτιον ὡ 25 οἷον δὲ 27 δὲ] δὲ ἀναισθητοὶ τῶν δὲ C 30 ἡ δὲ ἡ  
 31 μὴ ἡμεῖς] προσηγορίας] προσηγορίας περ (A μὴ BC) ἡμεῖς 32 μὴ] om. ἐπὶ ὅ τῇ  
 τῇ μὴ ἡγεῖται 33 ἀναισθητοὶ] δὲ ἡγεῖται . . A; δὲ ἡγεῖται BC 34 δὲ ὅ τῷ τῇ ἡγεῖται  
 προσηγορίας] τῇ προσηγορίας τῇ ἡγεῖται 47b: 1 αἰσθητοὶ A 2 κατὰ] om. A 6 οἷον] οἱ  
 ἀναισθητοὶ οὐκ] om. ἀναισθητοὶ 7 τῶ] om. 10 οἷον] 13 ὁ ἀγνοεῖ A  
 ἄλλοι ἀγνοοῦντες A αἷμα καὶ οἱ ἀναισθητοὶ 14 ἡγεῖται] ἐπερβολῆς 15 εἶναι] εἶναι  
 17 ἀναισθητοὶ A 18 τῶ Σφ.] τοῦ Σφ. A 20 πολλὰ ἡγεῖται 23 ἡ δὲ] ἡγεῖται  
 24 χαίρει ἡ] ὅ 29 φαίνεται 32 οἷον 52a: 1 ὁ ἀφροῦν] ἀφροῦν A 10 τὸ  
 δὲ αἷμα 13 κατὰ] om. A 18 ἡ μὴ τῶν A 23 ἐβούλετο μέλλει 25 τῶν ἡγεῖται  
 βάλων 28 ἀναισθητοὶ 29 βουλοσυναισθητοὶ 31 ὅτι μὴ τῷ 33 ἡμεῖς 52b:  
 3 ἀπλὸν ἀγαθόν 4 τῷ] δὲ A 10 τὸ αὐτὸ 13 φαίνεται καὶ A αἰσθητοὶ 31 καὶ  
 17 οἷον] om. 18 εἶναι] om. 21 αἰσθητοὶ A 22 οὐκ ἀναισθητοὶ 24 ταῦτα ἐπὶ σχεδόν  
 28 γένετας ἀναισθητοῖς καὶ 29 οἷον αἱ μὲν] om. 30 ἀλλ' αἰνέται . . 31 δ' οὐ]



om. 31 οὐθ' 34 ἡδύται) ἡ δ' εἶναι A 35 εἰσὶν οὗτοι αἱ ἡμετέρας ἐν ταῖς ἐπολέταις  
 53a: 2 χαίρουσι ἡδὲ εἰ ἡ δὲ χαίρουσι 4 καὶ om. A 12 τὴν om. καὶ om.  
 15 ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ τις 18 καὶ om. 22 ἐπὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ καὶ 26 ἀφαιρέσει 31 καὶ (λατ.)  
 om. 34 ἀκόλαστος (2nd) om. 53b: 2 πᾶν τῷ A 3 ἡ/ῆ, but in C the accent  
 is corrected in τῷ 4 ὁ ἀγαθός 5 λέγει λέγει 6 τὸ εἰσαίρειν 7 ἀρσενος δ'  
 19 αὐτῶν om. 23 αὐτῶν 24 οὐκ ἐστὶ In C it is over an omision καὶ A 27 φησὶ  
 (φημι A) 8 οὐ τις παρταρ λαοὶ ABC 29 οὐχί 30 αὐτὸ ἡδύται 31 αὐτὸ  
 33 ἀληθοῦς A 35 γεωμετρικός A 54a: 1 ἡ om. 4 οὐτ' ἀγαθὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ  
 αὐτὸν 5 φησὶ A φησὶ BC 6 αὐτὸ om. 10 ἀλλ' οὐχί αὐτὸ εἰσαίρειν εἰσαίρειν  
 11 μετὰ τῶν A 13 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ BC τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ A 14 ἐπεμβαλὴν A 15 ἡδύται  
 ἐστὶν ἐστὶν οὐ ἀγαθὸν ἡδύται 16 οὐκ A 19 τῆς ἐπεμβαλὴν . . . 20 ἐστὶν  
 om. A 22 τὰς δὲ αἰετῶν 26 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ A 30 αὐτὸ om. 31 αὐτὸ om. 32 ἡ om.  
 54b: 1 τελειοποιεῖ A τελειοποιεῖ BC 3 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ . . . A 5 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ 7 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ  
 λόγῳ om. 8 καὶ om. 9 μετὰ om. 11 διορίζεται ABC (αὐτὸ BC) 12 δὲ om.  
 13 αὐτὸ om. σφαιρικός ὁ ἡδύται 14 αὐτὸ om. 19 πρῶτοντος τοῦ πρῶτοντος 21 τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ A 22 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ 23 γλυκύτατον 34 καὶ om. A adda ἀριστοτέλει . . .

## APPENDIX B

I here give the collation of A and B with Susannil<sup>1</sup> (Lipsius, 1884) for the first, third, and eighth books of the Eudemian Ethics. A reading not followed by a letter is the reading of both A and B. Where the reading of A or B is given, it may be assumed that the other manuscript agrees with the printed text.

Title ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν νύκτων βιβλίου τῆς βιβλίου α- A ἀριστοτέλους  
 ἠθικῶν νύκτων α B 1214a: 1 ἐν Δηλῶ om. A 6 δ om. ἀρσενος 7 συγγραμμάτων  
 A 11 καὶ om. A 18 τῆς om. A 22 ταῦτα ταῦτα A 24 δαιμονία 25 πᾶσι  
 27 ἐπάρχει om. B 29 πρὸς τὴν πρὸς A 30 συγγραμμάτων δ' om. A 14b: 1 ἐν  
 βιβλίῳ A 17 αὐτὸ om. 23 περὶ πάντων 24 ἐστὶ τί 29 φαίνεται om. A  
 33 μεταβιβάζονται 154: 1 αὐτὸ 2 περὶ τῶν ἐπισκεπτέων μόνων A περὶ ἐπισκεπτέων  
 μόνων B 4 βίβλις 8 τὰ om. 10 τοῦ is put after καλῶς τῇ τὸ A 11 τῆς περὶ  
 om. A 19 τοῖς αὐτοῖς 6 τοῖς αὐτοῖς A αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς B 31 μετὰ τῶν B 31 ἀγορεύει  
 αὐτὸ ἀγορεύει A αὐτὸ ἀγορεύει B 32 πρῶτον B δ om. 15b: 9 ἐρώμενος 10 ἡ καὶ A  
 16 ἔχει A 19 δ' αὖ πρῶτον πρῶτον 21 αἰρεσις αἰρεσις 22 τὰ om. 23 ἐπὶ  
 μετὰ A 24 τὸ om. A Both have μετ 27 συγγραμμάτων 29 αὐτὸ om. 33 ποιῶν  
 24 οὐκ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ om. A 16a: 2 μετὰ τῶν δὲ om. A 3 τοῦ αὐτοῦ αὐτὸ  
 αὐτοῦ A 8 αὐτὸ om. 10 τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθόν A 16 σαρδανάπαλλον 18 τῶν  
 φαίνεται B 20 ὁμοῦ A 23 ἀληθὲς B 28 ἐπὶ is added above the line by a  
 later hand in B 29 τῆς om. A 33 καλῶς 34 μὴ om. A 35 ἐπάρχει A 39 τὴν  
 om. A 39 ἀγαθῇ ἀλλῇ A 16b: 2 αὐτὸ λογιζέται A αὐτὸ λογίζεται B 18 τοιοῦθ'  
 τοιοῦθ' A 19 γεωμετρίας γεωμετρίας A 23 καὶ om. A 25 τῆς ἔξω . . . ἔξω om. A  
 30 αὐτὸς A αὐτὸς B μεταβιβάζονται A 30 μὴ om. A 37 ποιῶν A 17a:  
 10 καὶ τὸ χωρὶς added in margin in B 16 τῆς om. A 17 δὲ om. A 18 αὐτὸ  
 om. λέγοντες A 20 ἐπὶ τὸ σφαιρικός ἐπὶ σφαιρικός A 31 λέγοντες 33 μετὰ A 36 καὶ  
 αὐτὸ δὲ A 37 τῆς om. A 17b: 1 τὸ om. A τσαχῶς λέγεται 2 φασι μὲν γὰρ  
 B μὲν om. 5 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν 6 ἐπάρχει ἀγαθόν 8 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ corrected in

αὐτὸν ἰσὺ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ B 9 λέγεται A 13 ἔχω A τὸ ὑστερον A 14 χωριζόμε-  
 νον 20 λέγωμεν μὲν| οὐκ A εἶναι δε- A εἶναι ἰδὸν B 21 ὅσοιτε A κοινῶς  
 22 πολλοῖς αἰσθῆναι ἄδουε line in B 23 εἰ καὶ| εἰς A 26 τὸ ἀγαθόν| ἀγαθόν 27 ἀν-  
 αλ A 33 τὸ διδ-| διδασκόμενον 34 περὶ| περὶ A περὶ connected into παρὰ B  
 39 ἡμετέρας καὶ γυμναστικῆς A 40 ἔπειτα 184: 1 σχολῆς, line in B 79: 1a over  
 αὐτὸν εἰσάγει γε| τε 3 ἀρίστην| πρῶτον γάρ, πρῶτον γάρ τὸ γάρ A 16 ἡ ὅτι| πῶς  
 δαίμονι A 17 ἀμολογούμενον 20 ἐπὶρχον ἀγαθόν 23 τίς τις 26 ἀρίστη (2nd)  
 ἰφύεται A λέγεται 27 τῶς 28 τίς τις A 35 εὐξεία| εὐξεία A 156: 2 ἐπαρξέ-  
 ῃ αὐτῷ 3 δὲ| οὐκ B 4 πτωχὸς 7 αἰδῶ 11 τούτων A 14 γάρ| δι A 15 τοι-  
 αῖτας A πτωχόν B 8 οὐκ A 18 τὸ οὐ 19 τὸν 20 ἐγείναι A 21 ἀλλ' οἱ τὸ  
 22 οὐ δυνάμειται οὐδ' ὅτι A ἡ| οὐκ B 23 ἡ| οὐκ A 25 ἀνθρώπων A 27 μετὰ  
 ἀρχῇ οὐκ B λυβότες A A αἰδῶ ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐξεία βιβλία 2 βιβλία  
 πρῶτον BOOK III: Title ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐξείων βιβλίων γ' A ἀριστοτέλους  
 ἠθικῶν εὐξείων γ B 284: 23 τε| οὐκ A τῶς| οὐκ 24 αἰ| οὐκ 26 δὲ αἰσθῆναι  
 αἰσθῆναι line in B 28 εἰ τῆς διαγραφῆς B εἰς| οὐκ A 29 φόβος A φόβος B  
 33 αἶσος| ὁ τοιοῦτος B 36 παραγωγίμων A εἰς τὴν ἀνδρεία 286: 1 πλὴν ὡς αὐτὸ B  
 2 ὁπλόν ὁ αὐτὸς B 3 μετ' καὶ| μετ' A 10 πρῶτον| οὐκ B αἰτῶ 11 οὐδὲν A 12 αὐτῶ  
 αἰτῶ A πολλὰ| οὐκ A 13 εἰ ἂν| οὐκ B 15 ποιῆσθαι A 16 φόβος 17 τὰ γὰρ  
 18 ἔγω-  
 γος A 20 οὐ ἀγαθὸν| ἀγαθὸν A 21 ἀφελῆμα 26 φοβερὰ| οὐκ A 28 ὡς| ὡς A  
 29 2 ἀναισθησία A 3 τούτων 16 τὸν βουλήται A 17 μετέμειον A 18 φεο-  
 ρῶν φόβος A 19 κατεντεχόμενος A 20 ἀπείκας B 22 καὶ| ἡ 23 ἀπαιτῶν B  
 25 ὅπως A 26 αἰσθῆναι A 27 ὡς| οὐκ B 28 ἀντιπῆγος B 33 τὸ κοινῆς| οὐκ A  
 35 φθαρτικῶς A ἄλλος B 36 ἐξῆς A 37 λῦπη εἴται 38 ἡν οἱ| ἡν A ζητούμενος  
 A 39 οὐ ἀσχετόμενος| ἀσχετόμενος B 288: 1 καὶ οἱ φόβος B 2 καὶ δὲ καὶ|  
 οὐκ δὲ A 4 περὶ| οὐκ A 12 φαίνεσθαι| φαίνεται 14 ἵστα A φθαρτικῶς 16 καὶ|  
 οὐκ B 19 ἀναισθησία A ἀναισθησία B line in 1a over αὐτὸν εἰσάγει γε| τε  
 ἀναισθησία 24 ἀναισθησία A ἀναισθησία εἴται, (line) ἀναισθησία A 25 ἵσταται ἀπαι-  
 τῶν A ἀναισθησία αἰσθῆναι in margin in B 27 τὸν μετ' αἰσθησίας A ὁμοίως  
 35 ἀναισθησία A 37 ἀναισθησία A 38 πῶν, εἴται A 40 αἰσθῆναι 384: 8 τῆς  
 ἀναισθησίας B 10 αὐτῶν B 17 αἰσθῆναι 20 ἀναισθησία ἀναισθησία B 21 αἰσθῆ-  
 ναι B 24 ἀναισθησία A 25 αἰσθῆναι B 26 οἴτε 27 ἀναισθησία| οὐκ A 28 ἔχω  
 οὐκ 37 ἀναισθησία A 39 ἀναισθησία 288: 2 ἀναισθησία A 3 εἴται| οὐκ A 4 καὶ  
 οἱ αὐτὸν αὐτὸν ἀναισθησία B 12 εἴται B ἀναισθησία| ἀναισθησία B τὸν γὰρ, line in A  
 τὸν 1a over αὐτὸν εἰσάγει γε| τε 15 ἄλλος A τῶν τῶν 16 εἴται πολλὰ B 19 αἰσθη-  
 δαίμονι 23 πῶν B ἀναισθησία| οὐκ A 28 ἀναισθησία, line in B εἴται 1a over  
 αὐτὸν εἰσάγει γε| τε ἀναισθησία A 32 αἰσθῆναι B 35 ἀναισθησία B ἀναισθησία A 37 ἄλλος A  
 ἀναισθησία| οὐκ B μῶν A 39 ἀναισθησία A 384: 4 ἀναισθησία A 5 ἀναισθησία A τοῦ A  
 6 αὐτῶ A 8 αἰσθῆναι| εἴται μὴ 17 εἴται εἴται A 18 εἴται B 19 γὰρ| οὐκ A 22 ἀναισθη-  
 23 ἀναισθησία B 30 οὐ καὶ A 32 καὶ ἀναισθησία .. ἀναισθησία| οὐκ B 37 εἴται| οὐκ  
 37 εἴται B 384: 2 τὸ γένος A 3 καὶ ἀναισθησία| οὐκ B 6 τὸ πρῶτον A  
 21 αἰσθῆναι αὐτῶ B 23 αἰσθῆναι| οὐκ αἰσθῆναι B 26 τὸν (2nd)| οὐκ A 29 ἀναισθησία  
 (1st)| ἀναισθησία A 30 χαίρειν μᾶλλον A πῶν A 31 ἀναισθησία A 35 τῶν A  
 39 ἀναισθησία τοῦ χρέματος A χρέματος τοῦ ἀναισθησία B 384: 4 ἀναισθησία 6 εἴται δε  
 8 καὶ γὰρ .. ἀναισθησία| οὐκ A 13 ἀναισθησία| ἀναισθησία 16 ἀναισθησία| οὐκ A  
 ἀναισθησία B 20 αἰσθῆναι 21 τὸν ἀναισθησία 24 ἀναισθησία 25 ἀναισθησία  
 27 εἴται| ὡς A 28 B 35 εἴται τὸν ἀναισθησία A εἴται τὸν ἀναισθησία B 36 ἀναισθησία A  
 384: 1 ἀναισθησία| οὐκ A 4 τῶν αὐτῶν 8 ἀναισθησία| οὐκ 12 ἀναισθησία  
 13 χαίρειν μᾶλλον .. ἀναισθησία| οὐκ A 14 τὸ 16 ἀναισθησία B 5 18 ἀναισθη-



ἴων A 21 τῷ τιμῶν τῷ μίαν A 25 ὁμοῖς] ὁ μὲν A περὶ 28 ἀγαθῶν δὲ] δ' ἀγαθῶν  
 ἔστι 30 καὶ] om. A ζητητέον 33 τῆλικούτων A 36 ἀξίων A ἀξίωσι B βλά:  
 2 ἀξίως δὲ 7 τὸν μεγαλόφρονος 8 ὅ] om. A 10 τῷ 14 διὰ δικαίῳ A 20 μεγάλων  
 (2nd)] μεγάλων 31 μὴ] om. μεμπτής] τιμωτός A, the τ being added later 25 οὐκ]  
 om. εἶπε 37 εἰ] ἢ 28 ἔτι ἱλασσόμεν ἡ] om. A 33b: 3 ἀγαθοδαιμονισσῆς  
 4 οὕτως A 5 ἱεῖνος 14 Βαλὴ ἡνὸς ὅ 15 ὡς εὐαθέρως ὅταν εὐαθέρως 17 τὰ  
 μὲν γὰρ 18 ὅ] om. A 31 ἀνόντων A 26 θεῶν B 27 μηδενίως] μίας 35 ἀκατα-  
 φρονητικῶς 34a: 1 κατ' αὐτοῦ 2 καὶ] om. A 6 παρὰ 9 προσίσθαι 11 τοῖ]  
 om. 25 αἱ ἐναντίαι] ἐναντία καίαι] om. A 29 φέσει καὶ] φενικαὶ 34b:  
 1 τῷ] om. A 9 τε] δὲ 10 δ] expressed in A ἐναντιώτατος(ω) A τῷ τὰ A 11 ἐναν-  
 τιώτερον 12 τὸ θάρρος πρὸς τὰ θράσος 14 λέξεσσι BOOK VIII: Title.  
 Ἀριστοτέλει . . . A Ἀριστοτέλους ἡθικῶν εἰδημένων θ B 46a: 26 φίλῳ χρη-  
 σινοῦν A 27 ἡ καθ' αὐτὸς ἢ] αὐτὸς ἦδον 28 εἰ] ἢ 33 τῷ] om. 34 τοῦ ποτε]  
 δευτέρι A 35 ἀρχουμένους A ἀρχουμένους B εἰ δὲ] ἢ δὲ A ἡδὲ B ἀριστοι  
 36 αἷ] αἰ] εἶποι A εἶπε B 37 εἰ δίκης εἰ 46b: 6 τούτοις 7 ἢ 9 τροφὴν  
 13 πῶς 14 ἡδὲ 15 In A there is a gap between ταπεινὰ and ἀφρονεῖν: in B  
 between ταπεινὰ and ἀφρονεῖν 16 ἐν μὲν] μετ' ἐν ἀγνοῖα] . . . νοῖα A: ἀνοῖα B  
 17 τῷ δικαίῳ A 19 τῆς . . . ἀρετῆς 20 ἐκ τῷ ἀλόγῳ] μετ' τῷ λόγῳ τρέφει 21 ἀνοίας  
 23 φρονίμων 24 εὐλασιν δὲ 25 εἰ τε 27 οὐδενίως 28 τρέφει 31 σῶμα κρατικόν  
 A σῶμα κρατικόν B 35 ἐπιτηγμένη . . . καὶ οὐκ] om. A 36 ἐλλογνῶς 38 ἀρετὴν  
 47a: ὁ ἔτι] εἰ πολὺ] πολλοὶ ὅ] om. A 7 οὕτω 14 οἱ δ'] οὐδ' A πράττει B  
 15 ἔστι 16 μὲν] om. 18 δοκῶ 19 πλέον πεινηκότες λιγῶν A 20 ἰτίως  
 21 αἱ διεσπασμένοι] ἡδονοῦνται A 25 ὁμοῖος A 27 εὐτυχ . . . A εὐτυχ B 29 το βίλ-  
 τωτον A 32 τῷ] om. A 35 ἢ] om. τὸ πολὺ] πολλὸ A 36 αἱ οἱ] ἢ τοῖς δὲ A:  
 τοῖς δὲ B 47b: 2 οὐκ] ἢ 3 αἰτίαι] ἐτι 7 ἀπαλογον ἀπὸ 9 ἐπειδὴ 10 ἀλλὰ]  
 om. 2e om. 10 καὶ πάλιν repeated 11 τούτοις ἀλλ' ὅταν] αὐτὸ πᾶν τ' ἂν 13 ἢ  
 14 εὐτυχίῃ 17 οὕτως τοῖς εἰς μακρῆς 22 ὁδῶν A ὁδῶν B 23 οἱ] οὐ  
 24 καὶ τότε] ποτὶ καὶ οὐ δαί] om. A 25 καταρθῶνται 26 αἱ] αἰ 31 Both omit  
 ἐν οἷς καταρθῶνται τε 32 ἐβούλοντο 34 οὐ ἰδοῖ] οἱ δαί A οὐ εἰ B 36 ἠρῶς  
 47c: 1 ἐξω . . . εν A ἐξωθεν B 48a: 2 ἐκείνη 3 ἢ] ἢ B 6 ἰδοῖτο 7 δὲ] δαί  
 οὐτα 10 τούτων 14 αἰδῶν] οὐδ' 15 ὡς οὐ δοκῶ A 16 ἂν] Affix this a gap of  
 thirty letters in A 18 δὲ] om. 21 σπουδῶν 22 ἢ] αἰ 24 τῷ] τὸ τὸ τούτων  
 δευτέρῳ 26 αἱ] πᾶν 28 αἷ] καὶ τῷ πλῆ] εἶποι πάλιν A εἶποι πλῆν B 30 εἰ]  
 om. καταρθῶν 31 βούλονται 32 βουλήσονται 33 ἐνθουσιασμοὶ 34 ἀπονευχόμεν-  
 ον 40 ἀπολυμένους τοὺς λόγους 48b: 2 ἀρεταῖς] εἰρημίας τῷ ἐρρωμενίστην]  
 om. 3 δα 5 διαρθωτικός . . . 6 ὁρμήν] om. A 10 ἐαυθέρως A 13 οὐδὲ  
 16 ἔχει A 17 κατ' αὐτὸ A κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ B 20 ἐφ' 22 καὶ γὰρ αἰ 24 ἢ] καὶ  
 ἀλλὰ τὰγαθὰ 26 ἀπαγωγῆς A 31 οὐδὲν ἂν] οὐδ' 33 τοῖς τῇ A τῆς B 36 αὐτῶν  
 38 αἰ . . . A οἷος B ἀκρον 49a: 1 ἀγρῶν 2 εἰ] γὰρ ἐπάρχειν οὕτοι A  
 3 αὐτὰ ὅ τὰγαθὰ A 5 πνέτωσι πνέει ἢ 9 πλούτω 10 τῷ] om. 13 τῷ δ'  
 ἀγαθῷ 14 αὐτὸ 15 ἔχει A 19 ὅ] om. 21 3 22 σῶμα 3 A 49b: 1 τῆς  
 αἰρήσεως] αἰρίζεται A περὶ φεγγῆς χρηματῶν 2 πῶν A 3 οἷν] om. A ὅ] om. A  
 5 εἶποιεν 9 τῶν] om. 11 δὲ] δὲ 16 ἱεῖνος A 7e] τε 17 μάλιστα αἷ] αἷ  
 19 αἰ τις 22 ὁ ἄριστος τὸ αἰσθάνεται ἀλλοιῶν

# SOME RECENTLY ACQUIRED RELIEFS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLATE III.]

IN the following paper, certain reliefs are described and illustrated, which have been added in comparatively recent years to the collection of the British Museum.



FIG. 1.—VOUVE RELIEF OF ZEUS STRATIOTES.

(1) *Vouve-relief of Zeus Stratiotes.* This relief,<sup>1</sup> which was acquired in the summer of 1914 from a private owner, is of exceptional interest

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from a Paper read at a general meeting of the Hellenic Society, Feb. 8, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Foucart, *Mon. Phil.* xviii. p. 145; also in *Ann. religionist* (1873) p. 106; Roscher;

z. v. Stratiotes; Meuzer, in *Röm. Mitt.* xxi. p. 294; *Lit.* v. 2, No. 89; Marshall, *B. M. Inscr.* No. 930.



as an addition to the Museum which contains the remains of the Mausoleum.

The relief is of white marble, and consists of a sculptured panel 35.5 cm. wide, and so far as extant, 21 cm. high. It is surmounted by a pediment, with acroterial ornaments. The whole subject measures 49 x 45 cm.

In 1868 it was in the court yard of a house at Piali (Tegea) in the neighbourhood of the temple of Athena Alca. It had been found on the spot with some other antiquities. So M. Foucart, who has recently discussed the relief at length in the *Monuments Piot*.

In the middle of the relief, distinguished by the inscription above his head  $\Sigma\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  we have the figure of the Zeus Stratiotes of Labranda. He



FIG. 2.—ZEUS STRATIOTES ON COINS

carries the double axe over his right shoulder, and has a spear in his left hand. Immediately above his head a small piece of marble, filling the space between the head and the edge of the panel, suggests a calathos such as is shown on the coin of Mylasa (Fig. 2c), and stephanos. The figure wears a long, sleeved tunic, and a mantle which passes over the left shoulder, round the thighs under the right elbow, and is gathered up in thick folds over the left fore-arm. The god stands stiffly to the front like a temple image. In what is extant there is nothing to suggest that either leg was bent. The general impression conveyed by the figure is that both legs were straight.

# RECENTLY ACQUIRED RELIEFS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM 67

With this exception the figure so far as we have at present noted, is closely akin to the figure of Zeus on the coins of the Hecatomnids<sup>1</sup>

Coins of the Hecatomnid princes are shown in Fig 2 a, b, c.

**Mausolos.** *AR*. Tetradrachm, Rhodian standard.

*Obv.*

Head of Apollo, nearly to front; laurel wreath and chlamys.

*Cl. B.M.C. Caria, Pl. 28, No. 2.*

*Rev.*

ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ. Zeus standing to r. with axe and spear. Under the r. elbow Κ (retrograde).

Fig. 2 a = *B.M.C. Caria, p. 181, No. 7.*

**Idrieus.** *AR*. Tetradrachm, Rhodian standard.

*Obv.*

Head of Apollo, nearly to front; laurel wreath and chlamys.

*Rev.*

ΙΔΡΙΕΥΣ. Zeus standing to r. with axe and spear. Between his l. foot and the spear Ε.

Fig. 2 b.

*B.M.C. Caria, Pl. 28, No. 5.*

**Pixodaros.** *AR*. Didrachm, Rhodian standard.

*Obv.*

Head of Apollo, nearly to front; laurel wreath and chlamys.

*Rev.*

ΠΙΞΩΔΑΡΟ[Υ]. Zeus standing to r., with axe and spear.

Fig. 2 c.

*B.M.C. Caria, Pl. 28, No. 13.*

The coins of Hecatomnos himself bear a very similar figure of Zeus Stratos, but with a lion standing, in place of the Apollo. (*B.M.C. Caria, Pl. 28, No. 1*). Those of Orontobates are similar to the coins of the Hecatomnids, except that Zeus carries a sceptre (*ibid.* Pl. 45, No. 4).

The distinctive mark of the figure on the relief is the group of six protuberant objects in the middle of the body, suggestive at first sight of the monstrous breasts of the Ephesian Artemis. They have, however, no relation, even of a monstrous kind, to the anatomy of the body; they are clearly on the top of the drapery of the tunic. Above them is an object like a large circular necklace or torc, far more definite in its outline and formal in its shape than the vague edges of drapery on the

<sup>1</sup> It may be convenient to state the dates of the Hecatomnid dynasty. Hecatomnos was made satrap of Caria 357 B.C. Mausolos reigned 377-353 B.C., Artemisia, his wife and sister, 353-351 B.C. The surviving brother

and sister, Idrieus and Ada, reigned jointly 351-344 B.C. Idrieus died, and Ada reigned alone 344-340 B.C. and, after an interruption (by her brother Pixodaros 340-334 B.C.) again 334-323 (?) B.C.



two human figures. It would seem, therefore, that Meunier<sup>4</sup> is right in interpreting the objects in question as a pectoral ornament, only accidentally suggestive of human breasts.

This view is confirmed on the whole, by the more antiquarian rendering of the statue on the Roman coins.

### Euromus. Æ.

*Obv.*  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ. Heads of Augustus  
and Livia confronted.

*Rev.*  
ΕΥ [ΡΩ]ΜΕΩΝ. Zeus standing to  
front, with double axe and spear.  
Eagle at his feet.

Fig. 2 *d*. Hogarth, *Ephesus*,  
Pl. 52, Fig. 10.

*B.M.C. Caria*, Pl. 17, No. 8.

### Mylasa. Æ.

*Obv.*  
ΠΟ ΣΕΠΤΙ ΜΙΟΣ ΓΕΤΑΣ. Bust  
of Geta to r., bearded, wearing  
cuirass and cloak.

*Rev.*  
ΜΥΑΣΑ ΚΕΩΝ. Tetrastyle shrine  
with shield in pediment. Within,  
Zeus to front, with calathos, double  
axe, and spear.

Fig. 2 *e*. Hogarth, *Ephesus*,  
Pl. 52, No. 14; *B.M.C. Caria*,  
p. 133, No. 37. Pl. 22; Fig. 5.

The two Roman coins evidently represent archaic temple images. Both are of a stiff columnar form, and hold out axe and spear, but in detail there are considerable differences. That of Euromus (Fig. 2 *d*) has a broad girdle, and protuberances at regular intervals from the shoulder downwards. That of Mylasa<sup>5</sup> wears a calathos. The body from the waist downwards is swathed in crossed bands. Long knotted fillets, similar to those of the Artemis,<sup>6</sup> hang to the ground from each elbow. In the middle of the breast there seems to be a pectoral ornament similar to those of our relief.

A figure not unlike that of the coin of Mylasa, but beardless and without the fillets, was seen by J. T. Wood, in the garden of a Turk at Mylasa.<sup>7</sup> It is not known what became of it.

We have to deal therefore with three types of figure: (1) the temple image of the coins of Euromus and Mylasa, and Wood's Mylasa relief, (2) the comparatively free standing figure of our relief, with the pectoral ornament, (3) the freely treated figures of the Hecestomid coins.

<sup>4</sup> *Rom. Mus.* xxi. p. 296. Compare

Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 240.

<sup>5</sup> An enlarged drawing of the figure is given by Foucart, *Mon. Piot*, xviii, p. 102, from the *Traité de Numismatique, Cat. Mythologique*,

p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> On the 'fillets' of Artemis, see Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 231.

<sup>7</sup> Wood, *Ephesus*, p. 250, reproduced by Foucart, *l.c.* p. 163.

The more weight one attaches to the archaeological accuracy of the imperial coins, the more difficult it is to suppose that they are representations of the same figure, although the coins are separated by an interval of some two hundred years, which might account for some changes in the accessory details.

The standing figures of our relief, and the figures of the Hecatomnid coins differ altogether from the Roman coins but have curious resemblances with each other.

These would be explained if we suppose a more advanced type at Halicarnassos, rendered on the relief with its traditional pectoral ornament; and on the coins with greater freedom of movement and without the pectoral. Another alternative would be to suppose that the sculptor was acquainted with the coin types, and possibly had one in his possession, but this would not account for the sculpture being less advanced than the coin.

It is time to turn to the two other figures on the relief, identified by the inscription as  $\text{ΙΔΡΙΕΥΣ}$  Idrieus and  $\text{ΑΔΑ}$  Ada. These must without doubt stand for Idrieus and Ada, son and daughter of Hecatomnos, brother and sister of Mausolos, who were reigning jointly between 351 and 344 B.C., and who are here shown on each side of the chief patron god of their family and of Mylasa. It will be remembered that Hecatomnos was sprung from a family long settled at Mylasa, and there began to rule.

Ada stands to the front with both arms bent at the elbows, and wearing a long tunic and a mantle which passes as a veil over the back of the head, and falls over each shoulder. The part which passes over the right shoulder passes round the legs, and is gathered under the left arm. The similarity to the figure commonly known as Artemisia from the pyramid of the Mausoleum is striking, and seems to furnish good evidence that the figure so named is in fact a human portrait statue and not, as some have held, a deity. I am informed by Mrs. Strong that a very similar figure occurs on a votive relief, believed to be from Halicarnassos, which is now in the Museum of the American Academy at Rome.

The figure of Idrieus is a bearded figure, with a mass of hair in loose locks. He wears a long tunic, and a mantle which passes only round the hips and over the left arm. In the left hand he carries a spear. Here also there is some analogy to the Mausolus, though the resemblance is less striking than that of the Artemisia.

The relief, as mentioned above, was found at Tegea. The missing half of it probably contained an inscription which gave a clue to the occasion of the dedication. Scopas, one of the sculptors of the Mausoleum, had been occupied on the pediments of the temple of Athena at Tegea, at some undetermined time between 395 B.C. and the time of his work on the Mausoleum. It does not seem too far-fetched a theory that one of the subordinate craftsmen, one of those men whose modest wages are recorded in the inscriptions, went to Halicarnassos with Scopas, and returned home to dedicate our relief, on which he commemorated the chief deity and the two ruling princes of Halicarnassos.





accretions, and no inscriptions were visible. After cleaning two inscribed names were found, a little below the handles.

*Left* ΜΕΛΑΝΘΗΣ Μελάντης.

*Right* ΜΕΝΑΛΚΗΣ Μενάλκης.

The clear space below the names may be supposed to have been occupied with painted figures of Melantes and Menalkes.\*

The distinguishing feature in this relief to which I have not been able to find a parallel elsewhere,<sup>9</sup> is the pair of doves, naturalistically treated, which have alighted on the lip of the vase, and seem to be sipping rain water.

The vase in relief is a representation of an actual vase in the round, of which many have been found in the Athenian cemeteries, and it seems to me natural to suppose that the artist who executed the relief had noted and had taken pleasure in two actual doves sipping real rain water from a real sepulchral vase. That birds resorted to the sepulchral vases for water, on occasions, is not only probable in itself, but may be confirmed by an epigram of Bion in the *Palatine Anthology* (ix. 272):

εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ὄρνει ἐν τυμβῷ γεγλυμμένον ἄγχι θεασάμενον  
καὶ ζητοῦντα ἐν αὐτῇ ἔδωκε.

Καρφαλὸς δῖψαι Φοῖβου λάτριν εἶτε γυναικὸς  
εἶδεν ὑπὲρ τυμβου κρωσσίου ὀμβροδόκου  
κλέγξεν ὑπὲρ χεῖλους κ.τ.λ.

The poet tells how the raven was inspired by Apollo to fill up the vase with pebbles in order to bring the water into reach. Pliny (*H.N.* x. 60) also tells the same tale of the raven collecting pebbles in *situlam monumenti*, in *quo pluvia cupia dardat*, and *quae attingi non possit*. Here, however, we need not assume any such display of animal sagacity.<sup>10</sup> Such a sepulchral vase as that on which the doves are perched would not be hollowed out, but its spreading lip would serve admirably for a bird's drinking bowl.

\* Marshall *R.M. Quart.* No. 1153. For the faded figures compare *Coinc.*, Nos. 674, 694-5, 1316, 1317 a-c, 1453 a, b, c, 1715.

\* A more conventional use of two doves occurs on the relief, *Coinc.*, 1291, 1292.

<sup>9</sup> The story of the pebbles appears in various forms. The two doves above alone connect it with a vase on a tomb. Philarch. *De Solertia Animalium*, ix. 8, tells the tale of crows in Africa, and of a dog that had been seen on shipboard taking advantage of the absence of the sailors to put pebbles into an oil jar.

He compares it with stories of bees in Crete that carry pebbles for ballast in a wind, and of geese in Cilicia that carry large stones in their mouths when they cross the Taurus, that by their self-imposed aliveness they may escape the notice of the eagles. Aelian (*De Nat. Animalium*, ii. 48) tells the story of Libyan ravens, and jars of water put on the tombs. See also Aelian, *Fab.* 27; but he only speaks of an 'ingenious urna' without further circumstances.



Some interpreters may be inclined to find a mystic meaning in the pair of doves above the tomb,<sup>11</sup> but to me it seems unnecessary to suppose any deeper intention than is apparent on the surface. It is instructive to compare the intense reserve with which the Greek has treated his subject, with the freedom and abundance of detail which marks the two pillars, surmounted by pairs of birds, from the Tomb of the Haterii.<sup>12</sup>

(3) Fragment of a grave relief (Fig. 4). Ht. 86.5 cm., w. 55 cm. Bought in 1903.



FIG. 4.—GROUP OF SEPULCHRAL VASES.

This rather fragmentary work gives parts of a highly symmetrical composition. In the centre is a large vase, not unlike that described above. The lower part of the handle that remains terminates in a small volute. On each side stand smaller vases; of that on the left only the foot and a part of the belly are extant. Below the three vases is a conventional design. A central acanthus springs up, from spreading acanthus leaves. To right (and left) acanthus scrolls fill the angles of the relief. A pair of winged lion-gryphons stand, turned outwards, their fore-paws

<sup>11</sup> For the later association of the dove with the soul, cf. Winkler, *Seelenopfer*, p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Wickhoff, *Römische Art*, pls. 7, 8.

(one only is preserved) resting on the ananthes scrolls, and their tails forming a sort of volute pattern, in front of the feet of the large central vase.

There is a small group of sepulchral vase reliefs, in which the sculptor seems to have felt the need of accessory decorative forms in his foreground. For this purpose he naturally resorted to the fabulous animals, immemorially employed for decorative offices. In some examples the form is treated as if it were a part of the decoration of the vase.<sup>17</sup> In others, the fabulous animals are, if the phrase may be permitted, shown



FIG. 3.—RELIEF OF STRATOS. BOY WITH BIRD.

as alive.<sup>18</sup> Nowhere, however, do they show such vigorous life as here.

Reliefs with the single human figure.

(4) Grave relief of Stratos.<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 3.) Ht. 57 cm., w. 44 cm. Bought in 1907.

<sup>17</sup> Compare the relief of Archidamos and Polimnithos (*B.M. Sculptors*, No. 693; Marshall, *B.M. Inscri.* 1132; Conze, No. 1007) and the relief, Conze, No. 1347.

<sup>18</sup> Conze, Nos. 1074, 1348, and the present example.

<sup>19</sup> Marshall, *B.M. Inscri.* No. 940.



Within a distyle *hormon*, surmounted by the side view of a roof, a boy stands to left, wrapped in a large mantle, and holding out a bird in his right hand.

Inscribed on the acchitrave  $\Sigma\Gamma\text{Ρ}\alpha\text{Τ}\text{Ι}\text{Ο}\Sigma \Sigma\text{τ}\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\text{ι}\text{ος}$ . Some part of the foot of the relief is wanting, so there is some uncertainty as to the motive. In a large number of reliefs,<sup>10</sup> where the pet bird is held out like this, the object is to excite the pet dog. There are, however, a few<sup>11</sup> where the dog is not present, and the condition of the present relief leaves the spectator free to choose. It appears to me that the object of interest to which the attention of the figure is directed is



FIG. 6. — RELIEF OF A GIRL WITH A MIRROR.

farther away than the bird, and that the balance of the composition demands the dog.

(5) Relief of a girl with a mirror. (Fig. 6.) Ht. unrestored, as in figure, 62 cm., w. 36 cm. Bought 1909.

The relief has now been restored as a distyle shrine, surmounted

<sup>10</sup> See Conze, Nos. 954, 956-7, 959-61, 963, 967-72, 977-81, 982-85, 987, 989.

<sup>11</sup> Conze, Nos. 938, 940, 962. The matter

is doubtful in the case of Nos. 910, 944, 974-6, 986.

by a pediment. A girl, with a long, sleeved tunic and a large mantle, stands to the front, holding up a mirror<sup>18</sup> in her left hand. The waves of hair occur on some of the fourth century mirror cases, and the relief seems to be of that period.

(6) Fragment of a relief of Hierokleia<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 7). Ht. 37 cm., w. 49 cm. Found before 1888, at the works of G. Grypaos in the street τῆς Πηγᾶδος, leading to the Garden of the Piræus. Bought 1907.



FIG. 7.—RELIEF OF HIEROKLEIA

Within a distyle shrine surmounted by a pediment with small acroterial ornaments, is the head of a girl. The architrave is inscribed:

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙΑΝΑΥΣΙΝΙΚΟΥΕΚΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΝ

Ἱερὸκλεια Ναυσινίκου ἐκ Κεραμέων.

The figure seems to have been a single standing figure and is so classed by Conze, but this cannot be decided with certainty.

(7) Fragment of the relief of Kleopatra<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 8). Ht. 37 cm., w. 44 cm. Bought 1916.

<sup>18</sup> The use of a mirror as a feminine attribute on the relief is less frequent than might have been expected. See Conze, *Nos.* 157, 310, 300. The mirror in the Villa Albani relief (Müller-Wies, II, Pl. 24, No. 257) appears

to be modern.

<sup>19</sup> *Berliner Philol. Wochenchr.*, 1888, p. 163, No. 0; Conze, No. 868; *I.G.* II. 2430 h; Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 236.

<sup>20</sup> Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 937.



Within a delicately-finished distyle shrine, surmounted by side acroteria, and a central acroterion with a nude Siren, is the head of Klearete. Inscribed on the architrave,

ΚΛΕΑΡΕΤΗ Κλεαρέτη.

Mr. Marshall notes that the feminine form of the name seems to be new.

The figure was no doubt standing. Seated figures are usually less central, and the head is lower in the composition. A near parallel may be found in the head of Aristarete, Conze, No. 863. The Siren, usually with one hand raised to its head, is of course a very frequent addition to



FIG. 8.—RELIEF OF KLEARETE.

the reliefs.<sup>22</sup> The curve of its spreading wings is decoratively treated, to conform to the outline of the acroterion.

The next relief is an example of the group of two figures.

(8) Relief of Melitta<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 9). Ht. 94 cm., w. 41 cm. Presented by Messrs. Cubitt, 1909.

The relief is surmounted by a simple pediment, with acroterial

<sup>22</sup> Conze, Nos. 1065-1070 *a*, and the sculptured examples enumerated *ibid.* text, iii, p. 335. *C.I.G.*, 808; Kailsh, 48; Conze, No. 130; *I.G.*, ii, 2729. For further ref. and for literature see Marshall, *B.M. Ins.*, No. 942.

<sup>23</sup> Walpole, *Musaeum*, ii, p. 365, No. 27.

ornament. Within a panel a draped woman, seated to r. on a chair with footstool, holds out a hand to a girl standing before her. The girl holds out some object. Mr. Marshall suggests a flower, but a doll is more usual on the reliefs.

Inscribed on the sunk panel,

ΜΕΛΙΤΤΑ Μέλιττα.

presumably the name of the foster-mother, also indicated by the word ΤΙΤΘΗ (τίτθη) immediately below the seated figure. We learn from the epitaph that the child is Hippostrata. Melitta is further described as

ΑΡΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ Ἀρολλοδώρου  
ΙΣΟΤΕΛΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ Ἰσοτελοῦ θυγάτηρ.



FIG. 2.—RELIEF OF MELITTA.

Below is an epitaph, roughly inscribed, and in very indifferent verse. The lines seem to be divided as follows, but they cannot be reduced to the due number of feet.

ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τίτθην κατὰ γαῖα καλὶπτει  
Ἰπποστράτης, καὶ νῦν π[οθ]εῖ σε.  
καὶ ζῶσαν σ' ἐφίλουν τίτθη καὶ νῦν σ' ἐτι τιμῶ  
οὖσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆ[ος] | καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ.  
οἶδα ἔξ σοι ὅτι καὶ κατὰ | [γ]ῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἔστιν.  
πρώτῃ σοι τιμῇ | τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόρῃ Πλούτωνι τε αἰνέται.



For a *τίθη* cf. *Conze*, Pl. xxi. No. 42 (where the word may perhaps be a proper name) and Pl. xxii. No. 43.

This inscription was once in the collection of Lord Guilford, now dispersed.<sup>20</sup> It had found its way to a builder's yard, and was presented by Messrs. Cubitt.

#### Reliefs with family groups.

(9) Relief of Aristais (Pl. III. Fig. 1).<sup>21</sup> Ht. 110.5 cm. w. 73 cm. From E. Attica. Bought 1910. Restorations: part of r. side of pediment, lower r. corner with part of chair, and base.

Within a distyle shrine surmounted by a pediment with acroterial ornament is a group of three persons. A woman seated to left on a chair with a foot-stool clasps r. hands with a woman standing before her. Both are fully draped, with long tunics, large mantles, and shoes. Between them is seen a bearded man, wearing mantle only, with hands joined in front of his body. His look is directed towards the seated figure.

The relief is inscribed, below the pediment,

ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΣ ΕΠΙΧΑΡΟΥΣ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ . . . Η ΕΠΙΧΑΡΟΥΣ ΓΥΝΗ

'Αρισταίς Ἐπιχάρου θυγάτηρ . . . ἡ Ἐπιχάρου γυνή.

The inscription tells us plainly that the two women are the daughter and wife of Epichares, the daughter being Aristais, and the name of the wife being lost. We may reasonably suppose that the man in the middle is the twice-named Epichares himself.

The work of the relief is rather rough and hasty, but the face of the wife is carefully finished and very pleasing. The group seems to be of the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Though not a work of the first merit, it is a typical Attic composition, and (with the relief described below of Archagora) it fills a serious gap in the national collection.

(10) Fragment of relief (Fig. 10), with a figure of an old man. Ht. 39 cm., w. 20 cm. Bought 1907.

In this fragment we have the upper part of an old man, with beard and shaggy hair, looking directly to his front. His left hand is under his beard. His mantle passes over the left shoulder, across the body under the breasts, and is wrapped round the left fore-arm. The figure is evidently the upper half of the central person in a sepulchral relief, seen in half length, like the person whom we have named Epichares in the previous relief. A closer parallel in style is supplied by the fragments *Conze*, Nos. 1263, 1264, and by the central figure in the group, Fig. 11 *infra*.

<sup>20</sup> For the history of the Guilford marbles, see *Michailis*, *J.H.S.* vi. p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> *Guide to Department of Greek and Roman*

*Antiquities in B.M.* (1912), Pl. 7, Fig. 2; *Marshall, B.M. Inscr.* No. 388.

(11) Group of Anshagora (Pl. III, Fig. 2).<sup>25</sup> Ht. 171 cm., w. 92 cm. From Attica. Bought 1911. Restored; r. side of pediment and part of pilaster; l. lower corner with man's leg below knee, r. foot of woman, and part of the footstool, part of brow and nose of man, and nose of seated woman.

Within a distyle shrine, surmounted by a pediment, with acroterial ornament of a double Sphinx, is a woman seated on a chair to l., with footstool. A bearded man stands on l., and the pair clasp right hands. Between them is a woman standing, seen in half length. The two women are fully draped



FIG. 10.—FRAGMENT OF RELIEF

with tunics and mantles; the man has only a large mantle which leaves his right shoulder bare.

Inscribed under the pediment, near the centre.

ΑΡΧΑΓΟΡΑ Ἀρχαγόρα  
ΘΥΓΑΤΗ θυγίτη(ρ).

There is no inscription on the left, over the man, and there are no traces so far as the state of the marble allows a judgment, over the woman. One

<sup>25</sup> *Guide to Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in B.M.* (1932), Pl. 7, Fig. 1; Marshall, *B.M. Inventory*, No. 939.



must suppose that the sculpture was designed for a family group, and that the daughter Archagora died first, and had her name inscribed. For the others, the inscriptions were never completed.

The double Sphinx is a common scheme, where a conventional and strictly symmetrical ornament is required. It is easily understood, whereas in the case of a tripod foot, both sides of the animal are partially in view together; compare the Sphinx under the vase of Archiades and Polemonikos.<sup>25</sup> It is a natural development of the same idea to employ it when the two sides are practically in one plane as here, and in Conze, No. 860.

The pose of the middle figure is strikingly similar to that in the background of the relief of Dumasistrate (Conze, No. 410), and there are



FIG. 11.—RELIEF OF METAGOROS AND PHILOMENE

other points of resemblance between the two reliefs. In this relief of Archagora, as in that of Aristola, the work is not of the highest class—but we have a good typical example of a fourth-century relief, with its careful composition and gentle sentiment.

(12) Upper part of a relief of Metagoros and Philomene (Fig. 11).<sup>27</sup> HL 41.5 cm. w. 49.5 cm. Bought, 1915.

This relief if it were only more complete, would make an interesting companion to the two preceding.

<sup>25</sup> *B.M. Sculpt.* i. No. 603; Conze, No. 100A.

<sup>27</sup> Marshall, *R.M. Jour.* No. 939 n.

Within a distyle shrine, surmounted by a pediment with small acroteria, and a vase in the middle of the field, are three figures. On the left a seated woman is looking to the right. Her veil falls from the back of her head. We see three fingers of the left hand raised to hold the edge of the veil.

Facing her, and looking towards her, is a standing figure of a young woman. She has flowing hair, and a long tunic with a belt, and cross bands meeting in a central boss between the breasts. It is likely that she clasped hands with the seated figure. In the middle of the group is an old man, looking to the front, with drapery over l. shoulder, and about l. wrist. His right hand under his chin rests on his left, and the left may be supposed to be supported by his stick.

Inscribed on the architrave:

ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΗΣΕΠΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΥΣ

*Μεταγένης Ἐπιγένοῦς*

*Κυδαθηναίος*

The man is necessarily Metagenes, suggests that the standing woman is Philoumene. In that case we may suppose, with Mr. Marshall, that she was daughter of the unnamed sitting woman, and step-daughter of Metagenes.

It is possible, however, that the inscriptions concern the two principal figures in the composition, and that their position in relation to the figures need not be too closely considered. In that case the seated woman is Philoumene, wife of Metagenes.

For a very similar composition see Conze, Pl. 77, No. 332.

In the class of sepulchral reliefs, partaking of a votive character, we have the following example.

(13) Fragment of a relief (Fig. 12). Standing warrior. Ht. 76 cm. w. 35 cm. Found in sinking a well, at Rhodes. Bought 1905.

An armed warrior stands before a lofty cippus, surmounted by a vase, and with a serpent coiled up at its base. The figure is heavily armed with plumed helmet and cuirass. He has a fine tunic

HS.—VOL. XXXVI.

ΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΗΤΗΛΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΩΣ

*Φιλουμένη Τηλοκλέους*

*Κυδαθηναίως*

The position of the inscription



FIG. 12.—WARRIOR AND SEPULCHRAL SERPENT.



beneath the cuirass, and a small scarf over his arm; both scarf and tunic terminating in characteristic folds, treated in the archaistic manner. He also has socks, and sandals treated with minute rendering of the details, consisting of a framework round the heels, laced in front with a thong. In the right hand he holds a spear, carried on the right shoulder. The point is downwards, and although the pose of the figure would suggest that the spear is needed as a support, the point seems to be in air, in front of the serpent.

The relief is an interesting addition to a well-known group, one of which has long been in the Museum and is exhibited in immediate proximity. (See No. 14.)



FIG. 12.—LIBATION SCENE. WARREN AND SEPULCHRAL SERPENT.

(14) Votive relief. (Fig. 13.)<sup>20</sup> Standing warrior before a trophy (helmet, cuirass, greaves on a tree stem), and a woman pouring a libation to a serpent coiled about the trophy. On the right a groom with a horse.

The whole in a distyle shrine. Ht. 65 cm., w. 113 cm. Brought from Greece by Topham in 1725. Presented by Sir Joseph Banks and the Hon. A. C. Fraser in 1780.

Besides having the relief on its face, the stone is also inscribed on its upper and lower edges with a series of names in the dative, with their ethnics, e.g., Φάλαξ Κυθιμύχων Προξένω. The older editors have connected the inscription with the relief, and supposed a list of the fallen in some engagement. Mr. Marshall points out that the list is probably a list of Proxeni, analogous to that from Oreos in Enboes<sup>21</sup> . . . τοῖςδε ἔδωκεν ὁ δήμος προξένων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγίνους κατὰ τὸν νόμον. Ἰδὲ Δρακίλου Ἐχινάϊον κ.τ.λ.

<sup>20</sup> *B.M. Sculpt.* I. No. 790, and *coll. ibid.*, Marshall, *B.M. Inscri.* No. 1154.

<sup>21</sup> *Dittenberger, Syl.* II, 494.

The inscription and the relief are therefore quite independent of each other, which is a satisfactory conclusion, in view of the fact that it is impossible to devise an arrangement which would allow of their use together. It then becomes necessary to examine the evidence to ascertain whether inscription or relief was first on the stone, and the result of such an examination is to leave no doubt that the inscription preceded the relief. The inscription is on the upper and lower edges of the relief, its beginning being towards the right hand side of it. There are two dowel holes (C and D in Fig. 14) on the lower edge of the relief, on which the stone was bedded, when the relief was in use, and there are two dowel holes (A and B) on the left hand edge, serving the same purpose for the inscription.

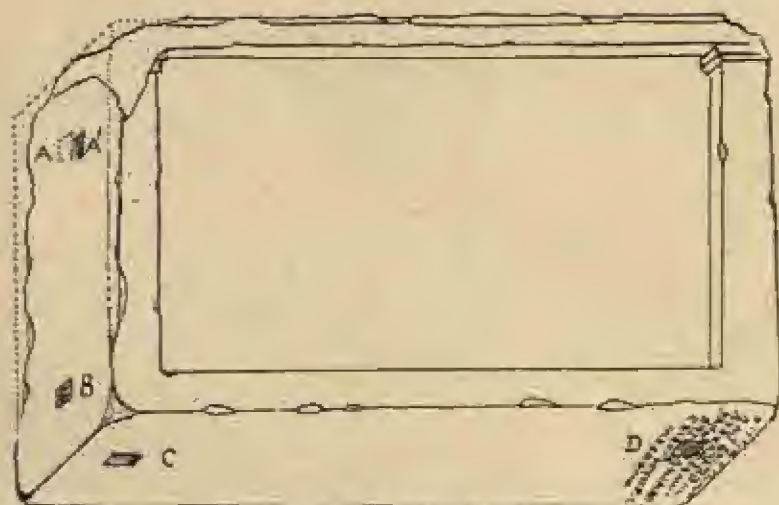


FIG. 14.—YONIVE RELIEF = FIG. 13.

One of the dowel holes (D) on the base of the relief is sunk in the inscription, making lacunae in lines 31-34, and is clearly posterior to the cutting of the inscription. On the other hand the two dowel holes (A, B) at the base of the inscription are clearly anterior to the cutting of the relief. The outer side of the pilaster has a decided lean or batter. The top, immediately below the capital, is 12 mm. inside the base. When the stone was bedded on its end, to suit the inscription, the end must have been square to the inscribed edges, and two approximately equal dowel holes were sunk in it. (See the dotted lines in Fig. 14.) The lower hole is 44 mm. deep. When the relief was carved out of the stone, and the pilaster took shape, a part of the upper hole was cut away, so that it is now only 26 mm. deep (see A in Fig. 14). Further if we examine the hole, we see that what is left is its bottom only. The lower hole (B) shows smooth sides for half its depth, and beyond that the marks of drilling; the top hole (A) has marks of the drill in nearly all the part that is extant. The reworking of the stone can also



be traced. About 11 cm. of the distance from the bottom has not been reworked, then the side of the pilaster is 'crippled' and the inclination begins. The evidence is therefore clear that the stone was first bedded on its short end, and inscribed on its narrow sides. It was subsequently bedded on its long side, the inscription being mutilated for the purpose, and the previous bed being in considerable part cut away to give the pilaster its desired shape. The pilaster on the right side of the relief would not have been at the top of the inscribed stone, if the inscription has a heading such as that on the inscription of Oreea. It is worked uniformly throughout, and with uniform tooling.

The inscription is assigned to the third-second centuries B.C., and the archaistic relief is therefore later—a conclusion which would agree with the supposed date of such archaistic work.

The leading examples of the subject in its various modifications are:—

A. Louvre. Relief. Palladion on column, about which the serpent is entwined. Shield at its base. Warrior on right, Victory with aphlaston on left. (Mueller-Wies. II. Pl. 14, No. 48, Arndt, *Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg*, text, p. 27, Fig. 10).

B. Dresden. Fragment of relief, with Palladion on a column, about which the serpent is entwined. Remains of the aphlaston held by the Victory (which is wanting), and most of the warrior. Herrmann, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 171.

C. Our relief, Fig. 13. Trophy instead of Palladion. Woman not Victory, pouring libation for snake. Horse and groom on r.

D. Our relief, Fig. 12. Warrior only. Vase on cippus.

E. Relief at Mantua. Warrior and horse. Warrior holds a cup for serpent twined round altar, and shaft (supporting a votive tablet). Lalus (*Museo di Mantova*, iii. Pl. 7. Arndt, *loc. cit.* p. 27, Fig. 12).

F. A relief in the Jacobson collection at Ny-Carlsberg. The warrior alone on one of the three panels of a triangular base. Arndt, *loc. cit.* Pl. 18.

To complete the series, reference should be made to (G) a disk at Naples (*Mus. Borb.* x. Pl. 15), where the Victory with aphlaston and the warrior (helmet in hand) occupy the two sides; and (I) to a relief at Ince (Gerhard, *Abh.* Pl. xxiii. Fig. 6. Victory and Palladion much modified).

The variations of type enumerated above show clearly that a celebrated type became a stock piece of the sculptors, and received very various applications. In its earliest form, the subject would seem to have been a votive relief in honour of an Athenian naval victory. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 202) suggested that it might be connected with the name

of Callimachos, the master of minute finish, and with the Palladion offered by Nicias on the Acropolis. However this may be, the naval associations occur in *A*, *B*, and *G*. The warrior was dissociated from his naval character, and appears as the heroified soldier in *C*, *D*, and *E*. The horse is introduced in *C* and *E*, but in *C* it has the air of an interpolation. It is feeble and mechanical, and spoils the balance of the original composition. In *E* the female figure is suppressed, and cippus, man and horse make a new composition. Finally, in the Jacobsen base, the warrior alone is introduced purely as a piece of decoration. The incompleteness of *D* makes it difficult to place exactly in the series. The vase crowning the cippus is a favourite incident in the late landscape reliefs, and seems later in feeling than the trophy of arms of *C*.

I conclude with a Roman relief.

(15) Panel of a Roman sarcophagus (Fig. 15).<sup>50</sup> Ht. 24 cm., w. 50 cm. Bought 1911, from a private owner. Formerly in the possession of Séroux d'Agincourt. Restorations: face of Mars, r. arm of bridegroom.



FIG. 15.—PANEL OF A SARCOPHAGUS. MARRIAGE SCENE.

The subject is plain enough. It is a Roman wedding. In the middle is the *dextrarum iunctio*, the bride and bridegroom joining their right hands. The *promula*, seen between them in the usual scheme with a hand on the shoulder of each, draws them together. Whether she is a mortal *promula*, or Juno herself we cannot certainly decide. The headdress and costume here as on several other marriage reliefs, suggest Juno.

On the left is the *patruus* or best man, a fully dressed Roman gentleman. Next him, but looking much out of place at a Roman wedding

<sup>50</sup> Quatrem, *Mém. Épigraphique Romains*, V, p. 23, and Pl. Brunn, *Annali d. I.* 1844, p. 103.



in his heroic stark nudity is Mars. At the other end are Victory with wreath and palm-branch, and Fortune with rudder and cornucopiae. There is an interesting little class of these Roman marriage reliefs, in which gods are present as allegorical symbols. They attended the weddings of Cadmus and Harmonia, and of Pelous and Thetis. But on the Roman sarcophagi they are mere shadows of their former selves.

There is a curious sarcophagus<sup>21</sup> found some years since near Rome, showing the wedding of a man who had made a fortune in the African corn trade. Besides the bride and bridegroom, the *promoter*, and the best man, we have personifications of the island of Pharos carrying a big model of her lighthouse—of the city of Alexandria—of Fortune with all her attributes, and a corn measure—and of Africa with her corn.

Here in the same way we have the attendant figures of the personified qualities of Valour, Victory, and Good Fortune.

I do not think that the wreath of Victory is meant to mark the bridegroom as a successful suitor. Victory may greet the soldier, the athlete, the charioteer, the musician, and she sometimes accompanies Aphrodite, to mark her conquests, but I do not think she would mark out the bridegroom as the brave who has won the fair. It is rather the soldier than the bridegroom, for whose career victory, fortune and valour are indicated as hoped-for accompaniments. A Victory places a wreath in the same way on the head of the elderly bridegroom on the Campana sarcophagus at Petrograd<sup>22</sup> '*per mostrarlo come nemo insigne per vittoriose imprese.*'<sup>23</sup> This is brought out still more clearly in some of the sarcophagi,<sup>24</sup> showing other events in combination with the wedding. In those cases, the Victory attends her hero where he is posing as a conquering soldier, and not as a bridegroom.

The subject is in fact nothing else than a war-wedding, celebrated under the most distinguished and fortunate patronage.

A. H. SMITH.

<sup>21</sup> *Bull. Arch. Com.* t. Pl. 12.

<sup>22</sup> *Mém. d. l. iv.* Pl. 3; *Wien. Vorlages-Halter*, 1888, Pl. 9, Fig. 3 v.

<sup>23</sup> *Braun. Ann. d. J.* 1844, p. 159.

<sup>24</sup> See the Mantua sarcophagus, *Wien. Vorlagesblätter*, l.c. Fig. 1 s; the Praxitei sarcophagus, *ibid.* Fig. 2 a; and the Uffizi sarcophagus, *ibid.* Fig. 3 a.

## PTOLEMAIC SEAL IMPRESSIONS.

[PLATES IV., V.]

THE seal impressions here described were obtained in 1906 by Mr. C. T. Currelly for the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, from a native dealer in Egypt, who stated that they had been found in a large pot at Edfu. This account of their finding is possibly correct. The impressions are on lumps of clay, which have evidently been used for sealing rolls of papyrus: in most cases the back of the clay shows the traces of the papyrus fibres, and nearly all the lumps have longitudinal holes through them, in which calined remains of papyrus binding can sometimes be discerned. Presumably these impressions are the remains of a collection of rolls similar to those found at Elephantine,<sup>1</sup> which were bound round and secured by lumps of clay placed on the binding and sealed with signets: the rolls have been burnt, and thereby the clay was baked and the sealings preserved. As regards the find spot being Edfu, this is to some extent corroborated by the internal evidence of the types, more especially those of the Egyptian class, as will be seen below.

There are in all 330 sealings: of these sixty-eight, showing fifty-six different types, bear either hieroglyphic inscriptions or figures of gods or sacred symbols of distinctively Egyptian character. These specimens were described by Miss M. A. Murray in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xliv. (1907), pp. 62 ff.: the remainder, which are of Greek or Græco-Egyptian style, are catalogued here.

The Egyptian group, though comparatively small, gives valuable evidence with regard to the history of the whole collection. One (No. 11 of Miss Murray's list) bears the cartouches of Ptolemy X., Soter II., and so supplies an approximate date as a starting-point for determining the period of origin. Others (Nos. 2—10) have cartouches of a more unusual character: the names appear to be those of human beings, and therefore should be of kings: but the names are not those of any known kings, and the titles by the cartouches, where legible, are of priests of Isis and

<sup>1</sup> See Rubensohn, *Elephantine Papyri*, pp. 3 ff. and Pl. I. Perhaps the find of several hundred sealings mentioned by Rubensohn in his note (2) on p. 9 refers to this collection: it was reported to him as discovered at Edfu,

in a pot, in the winter of 1905-6; he describes it, however, as belonging to the Roman period, which is a difficulty in identification, unless he had not had an opportunity of examining the sealings.



Hapi. It seems not impossible that in the later Ptolemaic period, when the Thebaid was in a state of perpetual unrest, and not infrequently in open rebellion against the central authorities, the heads of some of the great priestly corporations may have arrogated to themselves the use of the cartouches allowed by custom to gods and kings; and no body would be more likely to do this than the priesthood of Isis at Philae. It need not, however, be argued that the frequency with which mention occurs of priests of Isis, who is definitely described on two sealings (Nos. 21 and 24) as Isis of Abaton and Philae, is a ground for supposing that the whole group belongs to Philae rather than to Edfu, since the priests of Philae had extensive interests far down the river, and would be quite likely to be concerned in contracts at Edfu. On the other hand, in support of the reference of the sealings to Edfu, it may be noted that several (Nos. 43—47) show the distinctive hawk-and-harpoon symbol of Edfu; and whereas most other types are represented by a single example each, there are four specimens of 47 and two each of 44, 45, and 46.

The nearest parallel to this find is the group of Elephantine papyri already mentioned. The five papyri of Rubensohn's 'Fund I,' the latest of which is dated in 284-3 B.C., are sealed with lumps of clay each of which bears several impressions; altogether there are thirty-five examples, nearly all from different signets. In 'Fund II,' dated to 223-2 B.C., there are only three sealings, all single. The other published finds of clay sealings from Egypt have very little in common with this collection: they are the Fayûm examples, probably of the second century A.D., which I described in this Journal in 1906 (pp. 32 ff.), and which seem to have been placed on parcels rather than on papyri, and the Thmuis find of the latter part of the third century A.D., of which an account is given by G. C. Edgar in *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, viii. pp. 154 ff.

In the following list I have grouped the types according to their subjects: the order is—*genre* (1-14); Greek mythological (15-35); Graeco-Egyptian mythological (36-60); male portraits (61-187); female portraits (188-213); grouped portraits (214-224). The sizes of the impressions are given in millimetres and the character of the workmanship of the signets is indicated, so far as possible, by a letter: G. = good, F. = fair, M. = moderate, P. = poor, C. = coarse; but in some cases the impressions are too imperfect or damaged for any definite verdict as to the style of the signets from which they were derived to be reached. A star before a number signifies that the type is not illustrated: the types not so marked will be found arranged in numerical order on the two plates.

- |   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. Horse r. feeding: near foreleg raised.   | Circular: 011. M. |
| *2. Similar. (Convex die)   | Circular: 010. F. |
| 3. Dog with forepaw raised and tail in air leaping r. on gazelle fallen r. with head turned back. | Circular: 012. C. |

- \*4. Eagle standing l., wings closed. . . . . 018 x 014. M.
- 5. Similar. . . . . 017 x 011. M.
- \*6. Hawk standing r., wings closed. . . . . 018 x 014. M.
- 7. Hawk standing r., with crown of disk and plumes, wavy fillets across field: wings closed. (Convex die.) . . . . . 010 x 007. F.
- 8. Owl standing r., head to front wings closed, on amphora with cover lying r.: below, thunderbolt horizontally. . . . . 013 x 011. G.
- 9. Bee r., wings closed: below, bunch of grapes. . . . . 015 x 011. G.
- 10. Griffin seated r., with erect serpent-tail and long wings curled upwards: behind, transversely, cross-headed sceptre. . . . . 017 x 012. M.
- 11. Griffin seated r., with erect tail and short wings curled upwards. . . . . 014 x 011. G.
- 12. Ear of corn upright, with two leaves at each side. . . . . 013 x 010. F.
- 13. Corinthian helmet r. with (horsehair?) crest and cheek pieces. . . . . 014 x 011. G.
- \*14. Winged thunderbolt. . . . . 015 x 011. G.
- 15. Head of Apollo r., wearing taenia: hair long. . . . . 014 x 011. G.
- 16. Similar: hair in formal curls. . . . . 015 x 011. G.
- 17. Bust of Athene r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis: hair falling at back of neck. . . . . 015 x 011. M.
- 18. Similar. . . . . 015 x 011. M.
- 19. Head of Athene r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet. . . . . 014 x 010. F.
- \*20. Similar. . . . . 014 x 011. P.
- \*21. Similar. . . . . Circular: 010. P.
- \*22. Similar. . . . . 013 x 009. G.
- \*23. Bust of Athene r., wearing helmet without crest and aegis. . . . . 017 x 013. F.
- \*24. Similar. . . . . 010 x 011. M.
- 25. Bust of Athene to front, wearing crested helmet with snakes' heads round rim, chiton, and aegis: hair falling at sides of neck. . . . . 012 x 009. M.
- 26. Head of Aphrodite (?) r., hair rolled over diadem and knotted at back. . . . . Circular: 010. F.
- \*27. Hermes (?) standing to front, wearing chlamys buckled over r. shoulder: r. hand resting on staff, l. raised (possibly holding some object). . . . . 023 x 021. F.
- 28. Head of Herakles r., bearded, hair. . . . . 014 x 010. G.
- 29. Head of Dionysos r., crowned with (ivy) locks of hair falling by neck. . . . . 017 x 015. G.
- 30. Similar. . . . . 014 x 011. F.
- \*31. Similar (?) [broken]. . . . . 017 x 013. G.
- \*32. Bust of Dionysos (?) to front, crowned with (ivy) (?) wearing chlamys: by l. shoulder, thyrsos. . . . . Circular: 013. M.
- \*33. Two masks of bearded and horned Pan conjoined: lower part formed into a third, youthful mask. . . . . 013 x 011. F.



- \*34. Winged Nike advancing r., wearing long chiton, holding wreath with both hands. .014 x .009. M. ?
- \*35. Similar. .014 x .010. P. ?
36. Bust of Ammon to front, with long horns curling outwards, wearing taenia and disk, himation over l. shoulder. .014 x .011. F.
37. Sarapis standing l., wearing himation, r. hand outstretched l. resting on sceptre. .015 x .012. M. ?
38. Busts jugate r. of Sarapis, laureate, with small atef-crown (?), and of Isis with diadem and crown of disk and plumes. .017 x .013. M.
- \*39. Busts jugate r. of Sarapis, with taenia and disk, and of Isis, with disk, both draped. .015 x .011. P.
40. Busts jugate r. of Sarapis, with taenia and atef-crown, queen (?) with stephane and, above, star of eight rays, and Isis with wreath of corn and crown of horns, disk, and plumes; all draped. .016 x .012. F.
41. Bust of Isis r., draped and crowned with disk: hair in three plaits: below, crescent upwards, with star at each end. [10 exx.] .014 x .012. P.
- \*42. Similar, but with crown of disk and horns. .012 x .010. M.
43. Similar, but without crescent and stars. .014 x .011. P.
- \*44. Similar. .010 x .008. P.
- \*45. Similar. .011 x .009. M.
46. Similar. .013 x .012. M.
47. Similar. .013 x .011. P.
- \*48. Similar. .015 x .011. P. ?
- \*49. Similar. .013 x .010. C.
- \*50. Similar. hair bound with taenia. .015 x .011. C.
51. Similar: mark behind head. .015 x .011. C.
52. Similar. .014 x .010. P.
53. Isis seated r. on low throne, draped, crowned with disk and horns, suckling infant Harpocrates, crowned with skhent: to r. hawk on standard r. .014 x .011. P.
54. Similar, without hawk: Isis seated on modius instead of throne. .015 x .013. M.
55. Isis-Demeter standing r., wearing chiton and peplos, crowned with disk and horns, holding in r. hand two ears of corn and two poppies, in l. sceptre transversely. (Convex die.) (Circular: .014. M.
- \*56. Similar (?) [Head lost.] .019 x .016. M.
57. Bust of Herminubis r., wearing taenia with lotus-petal in front and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder. [2 exx.] .013 x .010. F.
- \*58. Bust of Horus r., hawk-headed, crowned with skhent. [Double impression.] .012 x .009. P.
59. Bust of Horus (?) r., wearing taenia with atef-crown, and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: long lock of hair (?) falling down back of head. .013 x .012. F.

- \*60. Bust of Harpocrates r., wearing taenia, draped: hand to mouth.  
014 x 012. M. †
61. Male bust r., wearing narrow diadem and aegis (? horn of Ammon on head).  
017 x 014. G. †
62. Male head r., wearing narrow diadem: short curly hair.  
012 x 010. F.
63. Male bust r., wearing kausia and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder.  
016 x 012. F.
64. Similar, with aegis on chest: radiate markings on kausia.  
015 x 012. F.
65. Similar, without radiate markings: traces of beard (?).  
014 x 011. F.
- \*66. Male bust r., wearing radiate diadem with lotus flower in front, chlamys fastened over r. shoulder and aegis: hair rather long.  
013 x 010. F.
67. Similar.  
013 x 010. F.
68. Youthful male bust r., wearing narrow diadem with lotus petal in front and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: behind shoulder, caduceus hair in short formal curls.  
014 x 011. F.
69. Similar.  
015 x 012. F.
70. Similar.  
013 x 010. M.
- \*71. Similar.  
013 x 010. G. †
72. Similar.  
013 x 010. F.
- \*73. Similar (?). [Broken.]  
012 x 010. M.
- \*74. Similar (?).  
014 x 010. P.
- \*75. Similar (?).  
011 x 009. M.
76. Youthful male bust r., wearing broad diadem and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: hair short.  
015 x 012. G.
77. Similar. [3 exx.]  
015 x 012. F.
- \*78. Similar.  
014 x 011. M. †
79. Similar: details of diadem shown. [3 exx.]  
020 x 017. G.
- \*80. Similar (?).  
018 x 015. G. †
- \*81. Male bust r., wearing broad diadem and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: slight beard.  
017 x 014. F.
82. Similar.  
015 x 012. F.
83. Similar.  
014 x 011. F.
- \*84. Similar.  
016 x 012. M.
- \*85. Similar (?).  
016 x 013. F. †
- \*86. Similar.  
017 x 014. F.
- \*87. Similar (?).  
016 x 014. F. †
88. Similar.  
016 x 013. G.
89. Similar bust, but without beard: older type.  
018 x 015. G.
- \*90. Similar.  
011 x 009. F.
91. Similar.  
015 x 012. F.
92. Similar.  
013 x 011. F. †
93. Similar.  
014 x 011. G.



94. Male bust r., wearing double crown with uraeus in front and pendant behind, and Egyptian cuirass. 016 x 012. F.
95. Male bust to front, head slightly turned to r., wearing helmet with high crest plume at each side, and cheek pieces, and decorated round rim with lotus, and cuirass: in front of l. shoulder, spear obliquely, behind, shield. [4 exx.] Circular: 020. G.
96. Male bust r., wearing broad diadem with lotus-flower in front and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder. 014 x 013. G.
97. Similar, but with star on diadem. 013 x 011. G.
98. Similar, without star: slight beard. [3 exx.] 015 x 012. F.
99. Similar: caduceus behind shoulder. 015 x 012. F.
- \*100. Similar, without caduceus. 014 x 011. F.
101. Similar: beard more marked. [2 exx.] 015 x 012. F.
- \*102. Similar (?). 015 x 012. F. ?
- \*103. Similar: beard indistinct. 014 x 011. F. ?
104. Similar. 015 x 013. F. ?
- \*105. Similar. 015 x 012. F.
106. Similar. 018 x 015. F. ?
- \*107. Similar. 018 x 015. F.
- \*108. Similar (?). 015 x 012. M. ?
- \*109. Similar (?). 016 x 013. F. ?
- \*110. Similar (?). 015 x 013. F. ?
- \*111. Similar. 015 x 012. G. ?
- \*112. Similar (?). 017 x 013. M. ?
113. Male bust r., wearing broad diadem, cuirass, and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: short beard: in field,  $\Sigma$  A. 016 x 013. G.
- \*114. Similar without letters. 016 x 013. F.
- \*115. Similar. [2 exx.] 016 x 013. F.
116. Similar. 015 x 013. F.
- \*117. Similar. 014 x 011. F.
118. Similar. 013 x 011. F.
- \*119. Similar. 012 x 010. F.
120. Similar. 020 x 016. F.
121. Similar. 015 x 013. F.
122. Similar. 015 x 012. F.
- \*123. Similar. 011 x 009. M. ?
- \*124. Similar. 015 x 012. F.
125. Similar. 012 x 010. F. ?
126. Male bust r., wearing double crown with pendant behind, and Egyptian cuirass: slight beard. 018 x 014. F.
- \*127. Male bust r., wearing radiate diadem and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: short beard. 018 x 015. F. ?
- \*128. Similar (?). 014 x 011. F. ?
- \*129. Male bust r., wearing broad diadem, cuirass, and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: short beard. 018 x 015. F.
- \*130. Similar. 018 x 014. F. ?

*131. Similar.	013 x 011.	M.
*132. Similar.	012 x 010.	M.
*133. Similar (?)	012 x 010.	F.
134. Male head r., wearing broad diadem and lion's scalp drawn over back of head: short beard.	015 x 013.	G.
135. Similar.	020 x 016.	F.
136. Male bust r., wearing broad diadem, cuirass, and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: short beard.	015 x 012.	F.
*137. Similar.	015 x 012.	M.
138. Similar.	017 x 014.	F.
139. Similar.	017 x 014.	F.
140. Similar.	014 x 011.	M.
*141. Similar.	015 x 015.	F.
142. Similar.	015 x 012.	M.
143. Similar.	014 x 013.	M.
*144. Similar.	014 x 011.	F.
*145. Similar.	014 x 012.	F.
*146. Similar (?).	015 x 012.	F. ?
*147. Similar (?).	014 x 012.	F.
*148. Similar, with laurel-wreath on diadem.	016 x 013.	G.
149. Similar, without laurel-wreath.	017 x 012.	M.
*150. Similar.	012 x 010.	F. ?
151. Similar (?).	012 x 010.	F. ?
152. Similar (?).	016 x 014.	F. ?
*153. Similar (?).	011 x 009.	M. ?
154. Similar (?).	011 x 009.	M.
*155. Similar (?).	013 x 012.	M.
*156. Similar (?).	011 x 009.	M. ?
*157. Similar.	013 x 011.	M.
*158. Similar.	010 x 008.	M.
*159. Similar (?).	010 x 008.	M. ?
160. Male head r., wearing broad diadem and lion's scalp drawn over back of head: traces of beard.	020 x 016.	G.
161. Male bust r., wearing radiate (?) diadem and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder.	017 x 014.	G.
162. Male bust r., wearing broad diadem with two ears of corn in front and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder.	017 x 015.	F.
163. Male bust r., wearing broad diadem, cuirass (?), and chlamys fastened over r. shoulder.	016 x 013.	F.
164. Similar.	017 x 014.	G.
165. Similar.	014 x 011.	M.
166. Similar (?).	015 x 013.	M.
*167. Similar (?): traces of beard.	014 x 012.	M. ?
*168. Male bust r., wearing broad diadem and chlamys (?).	[2 xxx.] 020 x 016.	M. ?
*169. Similar: chlamys fastened over r. shoulder.	018 x 014.	M.



- \*170. Similar. 014 x 011. M. ?
- \*171. Similar. 012 x 010. F. ?
- \*172. Similar. 018 x 013. P.
- \*173. Similar. 010 x 009. M. ?
- \*174. Similar (?). 012 x 010. P. ?
- \*175. Male bust r., wearing narrow diadem and chlamys (?): caduceus behind shoulder. 014 x 011. M.
176. Male bust r., wearing kausia and chlamys. 013 x 010. F.
- \*177. Male bust r., wearing diadem and chlamys: short beard. 011 x 009. M.
- \*178. Male bust r., wearing diadem, cuirass, and chlamys (?). 012 x 009. P.
- \*179. Male bust r., wearing diadem and chlamys (?). [Double impression.] 013 x 010. P. ?
- \*180. Male head r., wearing narrow diadem. [Broken.] 013 x 012. F. ?
- \*181. Male bust r., wearing diadem (?) and chlamys. 013 x 012. M.
182. Male bust to front, head slightly r., laureate, wearing chlamys fastened over r. shoulder: traces of beard. [3 exx.] 019 x 016. G.
183. Male bust r., wearing himation: long straight hair. 012 x 009. F.
184. Male bust r., wearing himation: short curly hair, short beard and moustache. [2 exx.] 015 x 012. G.
185. Male head r., wearing narrow diadem. 017 x 013. G. ?
186. Male bust r., wearing chlamys: short beard and moustache. [Broken.] 010 x 012. G. ?
187. Male head r. [Broken.] 013 x 011. F. ?
188. Female bust r., wearing vulture head-dress and crown of disk and horns: and necklace of three rows of beads. [3 exx.] 018 x 015. F.
189. Similar: (necklace obscure). 011 x 009. M.
190. Similar. 013 x 010. M.
191. Female bust r., wearing chiton; hair in knot behind; crowned with corn: sceptre behind shoulder. 020 x 017. G. ?
192. Female bust r., wearing chiton, earring, and necklace: hair bound with narrow diadem and fastened in knot behind. 013 x 011. G.
193. Similar, with broad diadem: (earring and necklace obscure). 012 x 012. F.
194. Similar. 013 x 010. F.
- \*195. Similar, with narrow diadem. 009 x 007. F. ?
196. Similar. 009 x 008. F. ?
197. Similar. 009 x 007. M.
198. Similar. 008 x 006. M.
199. Similar. 009 x 007. M. ?
200. Female bust r., untraped (?), wearing vulture head-dress and crown of disk and horns. [3 exx.] 015 x 011. F.
- \*201. Similar. 012 x 011. M. ?

202. Similar. 016 x 012. F.  
 203. Similar: star behind head. [2 exx.] 016 x 012. F.  
 204. Female head r., wearing broad diadem and crown of disk and horns flanked by two ears of corn: hair falling at side in three thick curls. 015 x 011. F.  
 \*205. Similar: crown indistinct. 016 x 012. F.?  
 \*206. Similar (?). 015 x 012. F.?  
 \*207. Similar (?). 014 x 011. M.?  
 208. Female bust r., wearing chiton, hair wreathed with corn (?) and fastened in knot at back. [2 exx.] 013 x 011. F.  
 209. Female bust r., wearing chiton, earring, and necklace: behind shoulder, quiver: hair bound with narrow diadem with uraeus in front, and rolled under diadem, with one thick lock at side brought over it. 016 x 012. F.  
 210. Female bust r., wearing veil and chiton: hair wreathed with corn (?). 018 x 014. F.?  
 211. Similar: behind, downwards,  $\Lambda\text{K}\Delta\text{I}\Theta\Phi\text{A}\text{I}$ . 015 x 011. G.  
 \*212. Female bust r., wearing chiton: hair in twisted plait at back. 013 x 011. F.?  
 \*213. Female bust r., draped. 011 x 008. M.  
 214. Male bust r., wearing cap of elephant skin and chlamys, with slight whiskers shown, and jugate female bust r., wearing chiton and crown of horns, disk, and plumes. 020 x 016. M.  
 215. Male head r., wearing cap of elephant skin, and jugate female head r., crowned with corn (?). 020 x 017. F.?  
 216. Male bust r., wearing lion's skin head-dress knotted round neck and skhent, and jugate female bust r., wearing crown of horns, disk, and plumes. 019 x 016. M.  
 217. Similar. 020 x 017. F.  
 218. Male head r., with horn of Ammon, wearing skhent (?), and jugate female head r., wearing crown of horns and disk (?). [2 exx.] 016 x 012. P.  
 219. Male bust r., draped, wearing broad diadem, and jugate female bust r., draped, wearing stephane (?). 012 x 012. P.  
 \*220. Similar. 013 x 011. M.?  
 221. Similar. [3 exx.] 013 x 011. M.  
 \*222. Similar. 014 x 011. M.  
 223. Male head r., wearing narrow diadem, and jugate female head r., wearing stephane: above each head, star. 014 x 011. F.  
 224. Three busts jugate r.: male, with horn of Ammon, wearing skhent: female (?), wearing atef-crown (?): and male (?), wearing plumed head-dress. [3 exx.] 020 x 014. M.

A review of the types described above shows as the outstanding characteristic of the collection, especially in comparison with the other groups of Egyptian sealings mentioned, the very large proportion of portrait



heads or busts, nearly all of which are obviously of royal personages. The Elephantine papyri have no examples of this class of types: there are a few heads, but nothing that suggests a portrait, and certainly no royal ones: all the specimens may be described as mythological or *genre*. The Fayûm sealings are almost all mythological: in the three or four which may be portraits there are no representations of Roman emperors. And the Thinnis group is even more markedly mythological in character: it includes nothing that is not, so far as can be made out, either a figure of a deity or a divine animal or attribute. It is tempting to suppose that the royal portraits were used as the signets of government officials, as was probably the case in Roman times: the Edfu papyri would then have comprised a large proportion of documents executed by or on behalf of the government; and, from the Egyptian types included amongst the sealings, the priests of the local temples would appear also to have been considerably interested.

The few examples of *genre* types do not afford much material for discussion; for the most part they are of fair or moderate Greek workmanship, such as might be expected about 100 B.C. Some of them might be supposed to have been brought into Egypt at an earlier date: 8, for instance, might well be dated to 200 B.C., and its type suggests an Athenian origin—but the type occurs elsewhere, notably on Seleucid coins approximately contemporary with these sealings. Similarly 1 and 2 may be connected with the Troad, and 9 looks Ionian. The only markedly Egyptian types are 7, 10, and 11; but it should be remembered that the group catalogued by Miss Murray includes such as are purely Egyptian.

Amongst the mythological types, the Greek and Graeco-Egyptian deities are about equal in popularity. In the former class the most noticeable feature is the preponderance of representations of Athene; but Athene was always one of the most widely worshipped of Greek divinities in Egypt. The signets with Athene types look as if they might be of local Egyptian execution in almost all instances, as they are of a distinctly inferior class of work, while most of the others are good or fair Greek work. The absence of personifications, except for the two figures of Nike, is rather remarkable, in view of the fondness of Alexandria in the Roman period for such types: perhaps the fashion had not yet been introduced. The Graeco-Egyptian deities of the Sarapis cycle are mainly represented by busts of Isis: if the assumption made above as to the interests of the priests of Isis at Philae shown by the Egyptian sealings is correct, this, coupled with the general popularity of Isis-worship, may explain the preponderance of her types.

The long series of portraits offers the most interesting problems in connexion with these sealings. Most of them are clearly royal, and the natural presumption is that they represent various members of the Ptolemaic house down at any rate to Soter II. Unfortunately we know hardly anything of the portraiture of any of the Ptolemies after Philometor: the regular series of coins were struck with the head of the founder of the dynasty on the tetradrachms, the same head or a Dionysiac type on the lower denominations of silver, and mythological types on the bronze;

and it is not till the time of Cleopatra VII. that a portrait recurs. Consequently the identification of many of the persons shown on these sealings offers a wide field for conjecture. The different specimens have been grouped, so far as possible, placing together those which bear most resemblance to one another; but it must be remembered that some of the seals are only of moderate workmanship, and in the process of identification it is necessary to allow for a considerable amount of variation in the representations of any individual. The wide range of modification possible in portraits executed by Alexandrian artists at this period can readily be seen from comparison of even a few Ptolemaic tetradrachms bearing the well-known head of Soter I. struck in the first century B.C.

There can be little doubt that 61 represents Soter I.; although it is in poor condition, it is fairly clear that it agrees closely with the earlier coin-portraits. At first sight, 62 has little in common with it: the head is much more youthful, and has not the strongly marked lower jaw of Soter I. But it has the narrow diadem which is characteristic of the earlier Ptolemies, and there is no known portrait amongst them to whom it could be referred: on the whole I am inclined to think that it is meant for Soter I. 63 resembles Soter I. in the general lines of the profile; and 64, which has a common characteristic with 63 in the unusual type of *kaniskia* worn, probably represents him also.

There is a third bust—65—with a similar *kaniskia*, but the face is very different, and comes nearer to 66 and 67, which show a portrait with prominent eye, heavy chin, and small nose making a slight angle with the forehead: the diadem is radiate, with a lotus-flower in front. Except for the nose-angle, these correspond fairly closely with the coin-portraits of Philadelphus.

The next group comprises 68—75 and gives a series of youthful portraits, with a round head, rather full cheek and chin, and small nose almost in a line with the forehead: they have a narrow diadem, with a lotus-petal in front, and a caduceus behind the shoulder of the bust. Some of the specimens are in poor condition, and can only be placed with hesitation: but 68 and 72, which are about the best in workmanship and condition, are sufficiently near to the accepted portraits of Philopator to allow of their ascription to him, and they may carry the rest of the group with them.

The five succeeding types—76 to 80—are classed together with some doubt. The portraits are all of a youthful type, with a broad diadem: the head is long, and the nose rather prominent and slightly hooked. 77 and 78 may almost certainly be taken to represent the same individual, and the like may be said of 79 and 80: and each of these pairs has some resemblance to 76, though not to one another, so far as can be asserted in view of the damaged condition of 79 and 80. If they are all intended as portraits of one person, it is difficult to say who this may be: the profile of 76 in particular is more of the Seleucid than of the early Ptolemaic family type, and this suggests that it should belong



to one of the descendants of Epiphanes, whose marriage first introduced a Seleucid strain into the Egyptian royal house.

The following series, from 81 to 93, may probably be taken together. The sealings included in it, if they are all portraits of the same individual, represent him at different ages: the common characteristics are a long head, high forehead, hooked nose, rather deep-set eye, and heavy and prominent chin: in the more youthful ones, such as 82, which show a man in middle life, there are traces of a beard, which are not discernible in older heads, such as 89 or 92. The bust with the Egyptian double crown (94) and the remarkable full-face helmeted bust (95) appear to belong to this group. If the whole of the series belong together, the portrait should be of Euergetes II. or Soter II., as the older heads show a man of an age which was not attained by any other of the later Ptolemies; as will be seen later, another group may be ascribed to Euergetes II., so that this series may be taken with some probability to represent Soter II., of whom no likeness has previously been identified.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the youthful heads of the preceding group (76—80) should be classed with these; but on the whole I am inclined to think they belong to the group 100—106.

The next four sealings give a head of somewhat similar type, but with a much straighter nose. The workmanship, at any rate of 96 and 97, is too good for them to be taken as portraits representing the same individual as the last group, but spoilt by the want of skill of the engraver; neither can they be connected with any probability with the following group. At present they remain a problem.

The seven examples 100 to 106 have some family likeness to the group 81—95, but can be distinguished by the shorter head, less aquiline nose, and less prominent chin: the beard also is more marked in some instances, notably 101 and 102, though it is entirely absent in 106. The profile is very like that shown on a coin (Svoronos, 1507, Pl. LII. 7, 8), which is probably of Euergetes II.: like 106, the coin, which is of year 33 of the reign, has a beardless face: the bearded heads of 101 and 102 would doubtless be later in date.<sup>3</sup>

The six specimens 107 to 112 are in poor condition and cannot be definitely identified as belonging to any group: they might be connected with any of the last three.

With 113 we come to a series showing a portrait quite distinct from any of the preceding, with a round head, prominent nose at a marked angle to the forehead line, rather deep-set eye, low forehead, and short rather straggly beard: usually the bust is represented with a cuirass. It is fairly clear that 113 to 125 are of the same individual, and 126, which

<sup>2</sup> The Ny-Carlsberg head (cf. *J.H.S.* xxiv, p. 283, Fig. 2) might very well be a portrait of the same person as this group.

<sup>3</sup> The battered head from Athribis published by Perrot (*Memphis* I, Pl. XLV.) as of

Euergetes II. is too much damaged to be used as a guide for identification of his portrait, even if it were certain that it is actually meant for him.

is in Egyptian dress, has a very similar profile: the poorly preserved examples 127 to 133 are probably of the same group. A number of other specimens show like general characteristics, though some distinction may be found in the sharper nose and hollower cheek: it is not improbable that these give a younger portrait. This series includes two—134 and 135—with the lion's skin head-dress and the following numbers down to 159: the last eleven are all of inferior workmanship. The portrait given by this group is not at all of the type of any known Ptolemaic one, but it bears a very close resemblance to that of Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus as shown on his coins (*eg.* *B.M.C.*, Pl. XXIV. 7 for the younger and XXV. 5 for the older type). As the reign of Antiochus IX. was partly contemporary with that of Soter II., there would be no difficulty, so far as the date is concerned in accepting the head on these sealings as his: and there might have been a group of Syrians concerned in the transactions to which the documents which originally bore the sealings related who would use the portrait of their king for their signets. But it is very unlikely that Antiochus IX. would be represented in Egyptian royal dress, as on 126; and the Ptolemaic and Seleucid houses had intermarried so much in the second century B.C., that it would not be surprising to find a Ptolemy who closely resembled his Seleucid cousins. If the portrait is that of a Ptolemy, and the identification of the heads of Euergetes II. and Soter II. suggested above is granted, the natural candidate for this group would be Alexander I.: as some of the likenesses of Soter II. must belong to the end of his reign, it is to be expected that types from the interpolated reign of Alexander would be found. The identification with Alexander I. is perhaps supported by the occurrence of the lion's skin head-dress on 134 and 135: as the Seleucids who bore the name of Alexander appear on their coins with this head-dress, which does not appear on those of any other members of their house, so the Ptolemaic Alexander may have been represented with the same lion's skin which was commonly associated in art with the greatest bearer of the name.

There remain a number of royal heads which cannot be placed with any certainty in the preceding groups. The fine portrait 160, with lion's skin head-dress, might conceivably be an idealized head of Alexander the Great. 161 is of Ptolemaic type, and has some affinity with the coin-portraits of Euergetes I., but is heavier in the chin and longer in the head; also it has the broad diadem, which suggests that it is later in date than his reign. The profile of 162 is very distinct, and not at all of the normal Ptolemaic kind, but the head-dress with two ears of corn looks Egyptian. The following specimens down to 181 might be Ptolemaic; but 163 and 164 are the only ones where the portraits are sufficiently marked to give any help in identification, and the last ten are in hopelessly poor condition.

There are also a few sealings which appear to bear non-royal portraits. The laureate head 182 does not look Egyptian in treatment, and may be from abroad. 185 may be royal, as it seems to have a narrow diadem; but



its condition makes this uncertain: it has some resemblance to some of the coin-portraits of Antiochus IV. 183 and 184 presumably belong to the class described in the lists of seals used at Oxyrhynchus as 'philosophers' (e.g. P. Oxy. 492, 21); and the same may apply to the damaged specimens 186 and 187.

Amongst the female portraits, the busts 188 to 190, with the Egyptian royal head-dress and the crown of Isis, seem to belong together, and may represent the same individual as 191 to 199, which are of Greek style. The profile is rather angular, with a straight and prominent nose and sharp chin, and suggests Seleucid rather than Ptolemaic blood: the portrait might well be of one of the earlier Cleopatras.

The next group comprises 200 to 207, all of which have Egyptian attributes: the first four wear the vulture head-dress and crown of Isis, the others the crown of Isis flanked with ears of corn. 208 may be intended for the same person, but is damaged; 209, which presumably represents a queen as Artemis, and the veiled busts 210 and 211, probably also belong to this group. The profile is of Ptolemaic type, with a short nose almost in line with the forehead, heavy chin, and rather deep-set eye. The same portrait appears to recur on 214 and 215, where it is associated with the head of a king who is almost certainly Euergetes II.: in view of this it may be accepted as representing Cleopatra II., and 211, which is dated to year 20, would show her as wife of Philometor: this date would suit no other amongst the later Ptolemaic queens except Cleopatra Berenice, wife of Alexander I. If this is the portrait of Cleopatra II., it has a close resemblance in profile to that of her father Epiphanes as given on his coins.<sup>4</sup>

The two remaining female heads, 212 and 213, are too damaged for identification.

The grouped portraits are unfortunately in most cases of inferior work, and so give little help for identification. As already mentioned, 214 and 215 probably represent Euergetes II. and Cleopatra II.; the male head bears an even closer resemblance than the group 190-196 to the coin-portrait of Euergetes II. quoted in connexion with that group. The damaged sealing 216 might belong to the next pair; but the female head on 217, which is also in poor condition, is unlike any of the portraits of queens among the foregoing ones: what remains of the male head seems to resemble 134 and 135, and if these are correctly assigned to Alexander I., the jugate heads would be his with that of Cleopatra Berenice. The next five examples are too poor to be worth much attention, but 223, which is slightly better, may perhaps be taken for Philadelphus and Arsinoë II.; the male head has the narrow diadem of the earlier Ptolemies, and the portraits though

<sup>4</sup> The Ptolemaic bronze coins which are sometimes described as having portraits of Cleopatra II. or III. (e.g. *Syllogue* 1382 and 1381) certainly do not represent any queen:

they were probably struck for about a century with identical types, and Svoronos is right in calling the heads on the obverse Isis and Alexandria.

on a small scale and not well executed, bear some resemblance to those on coins.

The triad on 224 seems to show two male heads and one female: the further male head has not a royal crown, and may therefore be a prince. The king and queen, so far as can be judged from the rather inferior portraits, might be meant for Euergetes II. and Cleopatra II.; but this is very uncertain.

In the discussion of the portraits above I have referred to Ptolemaic and Seleucid types, and for the earlier part of the period covered by the two dynasties there is little risk of confusion between the two. The portraits of the first five Ptolemies are known, and show a fairly strong family likeness in the general shape of the head and profile, though there is sufficient difference between the individuals to make distinction possible: the type is probably Macedonian, as the mothers of the second, third, and fourth kings came from Macedonian houses,<sup>5</sup> and Epiphanes, alone amongst the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt, was the offspring of a marriage of brother and sister. On the other hand, the Seleucid type is equally marked through the first few generations of the family, beginning with Antiochus I., who bears no likeness to his father: Seleucus I. has the shape of head and profile regarded as Macedonian, and it may be suggested that his descendants derived their very different family type from his wife Apama, and that it is really Iranian. With Ptolemy Epiphanes the intermarriage of the Egyptian and Syrian royal houses began<sup>6</sup>; and the cross relationship of the next two generations might be expected to produce some approximation of types. Philometor does show an affinity to the Seleucids in his profile: unfortunately the portraits of his successors are quite uncertain, though, if the identifications suggested above are correct, Euergetes II. and Soter II. had a Seleucid nose with a Ptolemaic jaw, while Alexander I. was quite Seleucid in appearance. The only certain portrait amongst the later members of the Ptolemaic house is that of Cleopatra VII., which is not in the least degree of the early Ptolemaic type, and has very little likeness to the Seleucid: it is rather Semitic in appearance. However, as it is quite unknown who was the mother of Cleopatra, or the mother of her father, her racial affinities may be left as an insoluble problem.

The condition of many of these sealings makes it impossible to secure any satisfactory reproduction, although Mr. R. C. Murray has spared no pains in the endeavour to get the best results from very difficult material in his photographs: consequently, though it might appear desirable to illustrate all the types, only a selection of rather over half is given in the plates. Complete sets of photographs will be deposited with the Hellenic Society for reference.

J. G. MILNE.

<sup>5</sup> Berenice, the wife of Euergetes I., had some Iranian blood derived from her grandmother; but her portrait shows the regular Ptolemaic type.

<sup>6</sup> The marriage of Antiochus II. with Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, may be disregarded so far as any question of effect on racial types is concerned.



## THE IONIAN CONFEDERACY.—ADDENDUM.

In my recent article on the Ionian Confederacy<sup>1</sup> I omitted to mention an important piece of evidence relating to the League in its most critical days. It has been shown by Prof. P. Gardner that during the Ionian Revolt a monetary convention was established among a group of insurgent cities.<sup>2</sup> Several Ionian towns, whose number cannot at present be shown to have exceeded nine or ten, but may be extended by further research,<sup>3</sup> issued a set of electrum coins with an identical reverse pattern on the same standard of weight. The common type would appear to have been derived from Chios: the standard of weight is that of Miletus.

The affinities between these pieces are sufficient to prove some sort of political *entente* among the Ionian cities. Yet they fall far short of constituting a proper federal coinage. They bear no name or mark of a federal issuing authority, and their obverse types are unmistakably those of the several federating towns. It is evident that the coins were the product of various municipal mints, a fact which goes a long way to disprove the existence of a federal mint.

The coins aptly illustrate the arrested state of development in which the League stood at the time of its first dissolution by the Persians. Compared with the money of the Chalcidian and Aetolian, and even that of the Boeotian and Achaean Leagues, they proclaim that the Ionian Confederacy was a merely inchoate union.

M. O. R. CASPARI.

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<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* 1915, pp. 173-189.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* 1911, pp. 152-156.

<sup>3</sup> A *priori*, it is more than likely that the monetary convention was joined by Miletus, the ringleader in the Ionian Revolt. The

inclusion of Priene in the convention, which Prof. Gardner considered probable on general grounds, has since been proved by a fresh find of coins (*J.H.S.* 1912, p. 106).

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Homer and History.** By WALTER LEAF. Pp. xiii. + 367. 8 maps. London: Macmillan and Co., 1905. 12s.

In his new book Dr. Leaf continues the work so well begun in his *Troy*. Starting with the assumption that Homer preserves the faithful picture of a historical society, he proceeds to test that assumption; and finding that with only one notable exception it survives the test, he concludes that on the whole the assumption is justified. What the whole evidence leads him to believe is that 'We are within our rights if we say that the foundation of the Greek Epics was contemporaneous with the impulse of the Greek migration; that it dates from the century or so which, according to tradition, passed between the fall of Troy and the full tide of settlement in Asia Minor. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* faithfully represent this period, because it is the period in which they actually came into being—in the germ at least, if not in their present shape' (p. 290 f.).

The notable exception is the Greek Catalogue in B. To this document Dr. Leaf devotes a great part of his book in chapters which are an extraordinary masterpiece of destructive criticism. To the present reviewer (who shares a little of Dr. Leaf's disappointment at the result) he proves beyond reasonable doubt that the Catalogue not merely contradicts, but grossly misunderstands, the rest of Homer. No doubt some answer will, or rather must, be attempted by unitarians. It will be interesting to see what form it takes.

For a man seeking history in Homer it is disconcerting to find that the chief professedly historical part of the Poem is wildly unhistorical. Yet this would not be a fatal, nor even a very serious, weakness in Dr. Leaf's case, if the rest of Homer formed a consistent whole answering to an actual state of things at a time which can be determined.

Now it seems to me that Dr. Leaf does succeed in showing that Homer (minus the Catalogue) is consistent with himself; and that the picture we find there broadly agrees with the picture we get of 'heroic' society from other sources; while in some points the agreement is very striking. In this reconstructive work Dr. Leaf's learning, his gift of historical imagination, and his remarkable argumentative power combine to make him extraordinarily persuasive; so that I for one am, on the point of believing that Loukas is Homer's Ithaka, that Corinth is 'post-Homeric,' that Tiphos is Corfu and Scherie Crete. But when I ask myself how much exactly is proved, I can only say that Homer is now definitely thrown back to a great antiquity. I cannot be sure of anything more. For, even if a poet had invented the whole story of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, he must have given it a plausible appearance of historicity for his audience. Take Penelope. Dr. Leaf is disposed to regard her as the creation of some poet's brain. Yet her setting is as 'historical' as that of Odysseus. Even granting that Odysseus was an Achaian chief, how much of what Homer says about him can we accept as fact? The *Odyssey* may be as grossly unhistorical as Teutonic poetry is about Theodoric or the *Chanson de Roland* about Hroldandus.

Coming to less general criticism, one may find something to caviil at in Dr. Leaf's use of the word 'Achaian.' I gather from his Appendix (p. 324) that he now regards



the Achaian speech as 'north-western'. Why then speak of the 'Achaian Epos'? Homer must be composed (with whatever later modifications) in the language of the pre-Achaian population of the Argolid. Therefore Homer is pre-Achaian. Here the parallel worked out by Dr. Leaf between the Achaians and the Normans has a special aptness. Homer is no more Achaian than the *Chanson de Roland* is Norman, but he reflects Achaian society as the *Chanson* reflects the age, not of Charlemagne, but of much later—in fact, Norman—times. My own view (which is that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are Traditional Poems) allows me to believe that the Achaian Conquest had a stimulating and transforming effect on the pre-Achaian Epos; and that this effect is plainly visible on our Homer and gladly concedes to Dr. Leaf. But how North-Westerners could have composed or started Homer in a speech they never learned is more than I can understand. Perhaps Dr. Leaf thinks that the Achaians did learn the speech of the conquered race. And forgot it again!—In any case a poem is classed by the language in which it is written. Dr. Leaf would not call *The Blessed Demeter* an Italian lyric.

For the rest, *Homer and History* is so moderate in statement, so fair in controversy, and written in such good English, that it is not only scholarship but literature.

*Les mystères d'Eleusis.* By PAUL FOUCAULT. Pp. 308. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1914.

The belief in the derivation of the Eleusinian religion from Egypt has so much attraction for M. Foucault as once for Plutarch. It has already served as his theme in three brilliant monographs—*I. Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des Mystères d'Eleusis* (1895), *II. Les Divinités Mystères d'Eleusis* (1900), *III. Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique* (1904). It is pleasant to recognise in the present volume, in what is presumably their final shape and with the addition of much that is new, theories which have long been reckoned epoch-making. M. Foucault speaks with regret of the ample room for preconceived theory and personal impression which his subject affords; yet now, as before, he argues that Demeter is Isis and Dionysos Osiris, finding fresh support for his view in the abundant traces of Egyptian influence revealed by the Angean civilisation in the second millennium before our era. But in this reassertion of his favourite doctrine does not M. Foucault underestimate once more the fact that not a goddess and her consort but a goddess and her daughter are the central figures of the Eleusinian worship, and that their acknowledged supremacy seems to exclude Osiris-Dionysos as their co-equal and co-eval partner at Eleusis? Though M. Foucault has not succeeded in convincing us that he has yet discovered the true origin of Eleusinianism, it is his great merit to have disentangled the religion of Demeter from a mass of false and even contradictory analogies, and to have traced in a masterly manner the gradual transformation of an agrarian religion into one of national importance, through the incorporation of Mysteries which promised a Blessed After Life to their initiates whether bond or free. The transformation reached its culminating point in the seventh or perhaps as late as the sixth century B.C., to which date the Homeric Hymn to Demeter is commonly attributed, its object being to present the religion in its final form as a divine institution of its essence immutable (p. 262). This is a most important point, since it follows that Eleusinianism once invested with the authority of a revealed religion preserved intact its body of dogma, jealously guarding it from every extraneous influence. This, according to M. Foucault, is what bestows upon the religion of Demeter its unique character and a power of life that enabled it to retain its predominance during the first four centuries of the Empire, long after other Pagan creeds had begun to fail. In denying all Orphic influence at Eleusis (p. 272), M. Foucault might, I think, have laid greater stress on the widely different doctrines of the Eleusinian and Orphic eschatologies: the former promising after-world felicity to all its initiates without distinction of good and bad; the

latter, with a profound sense of the consequences of sin, meting out ultramundane punishments and rewards. In his partiality for Kleos M. Foucart writes of Orphism—surely one of the noblest creeds of antiquity—with an animus that savours of *odium theologicum*, holding the Orphics guilty not only of changing the ancestor of the Eumolpids into a Thracian and a son of Musaios, so as to forge a link between their own sect and the religion of Demeter, but of inventing the ugly stories of Haëtes and of the union of Demeter and Kabeas, which, it seems, never gained acceptance in the Eleusinian circle (p. 404 ff.).

A few more points may be briefly noted.—P. 148. 'Eumolpos,' hitherto taken to mean the 'good singer,' is to be interpreted as the man who sings or intones in tune; accuracy of tone being an essential quality in a priest, since a false note, a lowering or raising of the prescribed pitch, might imperil the whole magic of the ritual, in other words, of the *incantation*; hence (p. 312) the exclusion from the Mysteries, along with unclean persons and criminals, of all whose voice was unintelligible.—P. 95 f.: The mild and gracious Eleusinian couple Korn-Ploutos are not more euphonic or homophile epithets given to underworld deities whose name no man might pronounce with impunity, but originate in an independent conception of the underworld destined to supplant the sombre Hades and Persephone of Homer, and gradually to relieve mankind of the haunting terrors of death.—P. 116 ff.: p. 120: Iachos, identified by most mythologists with Dionysos, loses his status of god, mainly on the ground that there is no evidence monumental or epigraphic for any cultus status of him, and returns in the hands of M. Foucart to the humbler rôle of *deimon* of the procession (Strabo, x 3, 10).—P. 198: Rites of initiation, Foucart reminds us, were shrouded in so impenetrable a mystery, that it is in vain to look for illustrations of these on ancient monuments; representations interpreted as illustrations of either *pôgnis* or *erectria* should be regarded rather as scenes from preparatory rites of a purificatory nature, like those on the long-famous urn from the Esquiline in the Museo delle Terme (Hellag<sup>1</sup> 325) and the more splendid rendering of the same scene on the sarcophagus discovered not long since by Rizzo at Terra Nova (recently expounded afresh by Dr. Eitrem, *Opferfests*, p. 180).—P. 373: The *ἀπαρχὴ βοῶν* is explained as signifying that the young men had to catch the bulls before these were sacrificed (cf. Cumont in *Rev. Archéol.* v, 1905, i, p. 28 s., on the catching of the sacred bulls of Amida).—P. 379: In the passage of Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* ii, 21, 2) describing the ceremonies of the *pôgnis*, M. Foucart adheres to Lobbeck's emendation *ἐπαρχαίων* for the *ἐπαρχαίων* of the MSS., but is hardly fair in stating that it is accepted by every scholar save Charles Lenormant, since as a fact none of the more recent authorities favour it: Gruppe keeps to the MS. reading, so does Dieterich (*Mithras-Liturgie*, p. 125), who is followed by Eitrem in his recent *Opferfests* (p. 206), where the word seems rightly translated by *handhaken* ('to handle').—P. 432 f. In discussing the central ceremonies of the *erectria*, revealed in a passage of the *Philosophumena* of S. Hippolytus, M. Foucart returns to his Egyptian theories, and sees in the ceremony of the 'Elevation of the ear of corn first cut down,' the symbol of Dionysos, of Osiris cut off, like the corn, in his prime. The theory fails to carry conviction, primarily because M. Foucart does not persuade us that Dionysos is Osiris, and in the second place because it is hard to believe that at Eleusis corn could be associated with any god Demeter. The exact meaning of the passage *ἐκδοκῶντος τοῦ ἐρῆου καὶ ἀπαρχῆς* . . . *ποτῆτος* is *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρῆου καὶ ἀπαρχῆς* has long been disputed; M. Reinach in his brilliant interpretation of the whole ceremony (*Revue des Etudes grecques*, xix 1906, p. 342 ff.) defended the more grammatical combination *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρῆου καὶ ἀπαρχῆς*, and explained that the cutting of the mystic corn must, from the redoubtable character of the operation, have been accomplished in profound silence. It is satisfactory to find so eminent an Hellenist as M. Foucart inclined to construe, at the risk, as he puts it, of convicting S. Hippolytus of doubtful Greek, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρῆου καὶ ἀπαρχῆς*, since it is obviously better sense to speak of an ear of corn exposed or elevated in silence than of an ear of corn cut down in silence. The common belief that the high antiquity of the growing ceremonial of the *erectria* is



proved by its august character is by no means, as it noted in passing, borne out by parallel instances where historical evidence may be invoked. The Eleusinian 'Elevation of the Corn' has been more than once compared, at least by implication, to the Elevation of the Christian Mass; but what has been justly called the ritual centre of the great drama of the altar, when one of the Elements is raised on high in a hushed silence, broken only by the tolling of the bells, was only introduced into the Church in the 13th century (see Herbert Thurston in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. 'Elevation,' A. Fortmeu, 'The Mass,' p. 320 f.; S. Reinach, *Orphens*, Engl. Ed. p. 289). It might therefore be asked whether, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the 'Elevation of the ear of corn' at Eleusis may not have been likewise of late introduction, the supreme moment of a ritual long time in evolution, not the primitive act out of which the later ritual was evolved!

A few points call for correction in a second edition. P. 110: So important a book as Erwin Rohde's *Psyche* should not be quoted from the first edition of 1894 when a fourth edition appeared as long ago as 1907; nor should (p. 426) Comperetti's *Lamnette Orfiche* (1910) be cited as the latest edition of the Orphic tablets without reference to Diehl's edition of 1912 (*Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3rd ed., II. p. 176 ff.).—P. 280: The first identification of the statue of a boy holding a pig preserved in several replicas (see the list given in Hellug, *Fiches*, 3rd ed. No. 908) as a *canis agh' Ieriac* is due to Dr. Amelung, whose theory appeared as far back as 1907 in the *Disertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana* (Series II. vol. ix. p. 117 ff.) under the title of *canis agh' Ieriac*! In the many passages relative to Osiris we might expect some reference to the late Mr. Scott Moncrieff's paper on Plutarch's *de Iside et Osiride* (*J.H.S.* 1902, p. 79 ff.) and to the same writer's *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, where M. Foucart would have found criticism severe as his own of the Frazerian view of Osiris as a corn god. A more serious fault is the omission of any preface, index or bibliography, and an especially rare a complete conspectus of the epigraphical evidence for the cults of Eleusis, on which M. Foucart is one of the greatest living authorities; the inclusion of these in a second edition would double the debt of European scholarship to the learned author.

In spite of a few blunders to which it is only right to call attention, M. Foucart has done valuable service in reaffirming the solemn and exalted character of the Eleusinian mysteries. Nearly twenty years ago Sir Samuel Dill wrote that 'the drama of the Eleusinian godliness, if we could witness it, would probably be a poor and tasteless show, without spiritual content' (*Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire*, 1898, p. 71). Those of us who continued to believe the contrary will be grateful for the justification of our faith afforded by Foucart's inspiring book. At a time when the ancient religions are daily being traced back to so many petty magical formulae it is good to find a writer who steadily keeps in view the transcendental nature of all religious experience. In this respect he comes nearer to the view of Dr. Hatch (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1890, p. 288 ff.) among English scholars than to those of Lang, Frazer or Farnell: indeed he has a profound mistrust which he is at no pains to disguise for folklore and anthropology and all that he pleasantly describes as *la couverture agricole de la prière*. Enough has been said to show why the doctrine that myths are born of ritual rarely finds favour with him: in his eyes rites such as the fasting, and the partaking of the contents of the sacred cistae not only commemorated Demeter's wanderings, but fast and the breaking of the fast, but also gave grace to the faithful to do whatever the goddess had done, in token of their union with her. M. Foucart writes of these things (p. 262) as though the Greeks had believed—as they doubtless did—that the Eleusinian religion

\* As this interesting manuscript has more than once been misquoted and overlooked, I will add here for the benefit of English students that the *Disertazioni* (sometimes referred to as *Atti*) exist both in the Library

of the British Museum (Ac. 2636) and in that of the Victoria and Albert (P.P. 46 A); and, I believe, also at Oxford in the Bodleian and at Cambridge in the University Library.

rested on an apostolic tradition of its own, which recorded how its first adepts had heard the godless say *This do in remembrance of me*. In the same spirit he explains the Eleusinian hierogamy (p. 475 f.) not as a rite of sympathetic or imitative magic to ensure fertility, by exerting a direct influence upon the powers of nature, but rather as a compelling force applied to the divine personages who have these powers at their sovereign disposal. And to the fashionable doctrine of *taboo*—Farnoll's theory, for example, that the Eleusinian law of secrecy was imposed because the 'sacred things' were charged with perilous religious currents—he prefers the old explanation of Scylax (i. 3, 4) that 'the secret of the Mysteries gives a majestic idea of God, and recalls the nature of the Divinity which otherwise escapes our senses.' It may perhaps be urged that M. Foucart's wise conservatism seems to desert him when he repudiates all symbolical explanation of the Great Mysteries (p. 443). He rightly insists on the reality which what they saw possessed for the initiated, but when he declines to admit that for many among its Faithful much of the ritual might have a symbolic value, is he not narrowing symbolism, as is too often done, to the mere equivalent of arbitrary or conventional expression? But as a modern writer well puts it—'It is a pity we live, as many of us, forgotten that the proper term for the formula of belief is *symbol*' (J. N. Figgis, *Fellowship of the Mystery*, p. 63). If we restore to symbolism this wider significance, it will be found to fit the holiest mysteries of all religions.

I have already far exceeded the limits of a notice, and will only allow myself to say in conclusion that the book is written in a style worthy of the best traditions of French scholarship. Student and layman alike may enjoy the author's power of vigorous argument and of trenchant criticism, relieved by an irresistible humour that reminds one of Renan.

J. E. S.

**Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer.** By S. EITZEM. (Videnskabselskabet's Skrifter. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1914, No. 1.) Pp. 493. Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad, 1915.

Elaborate as is Dr. Eitzem's work, it deals with comparatively but a restricted field of the Greek and Roman sacrifice, while it includes much that is outside the field of sacrifice proper. It is a careful examination of the employment in Greek ritual, in magic, and in medicine of circumambulation, water, fire, smoke, barley, the throwing of stones and the erection of cairns, the offering-basket, salt, hair, and blood, and of the substitutes for these things. The author in dealing with these questions shows himself familiar with a wide range of literature both ancient and modern, and makes in some matters considerable additions to the stock of material already available; but, unfortunately for himself, he has failed to realise the benefit which would have accrued to his subject from the use of the collection in Dr. Farnoll's *Culte of the Greek States*, a mistake which is the more unhappy in that he makes extended use of English work on anthropology and religion. The use, however, of the material collected is rendered less easy than should be the case by the practical absence of any orderly system of arrangement of topics, by the indiscriminate citation of Greek and Roman sources of the most various age and place, and by the citation in detail of parallels from other religions in cases in which mere reference to the standard and not inaccessible authorities would suffice. Unhappily, writers on specific fields of religion do not yet appear to have appreciated the fact that divergations into general anthropology are not necessary or even appropriate.

Apart from the collection of facts, the most important aspect of the work is the systematic and ingenious effort to deduce the practices of the ritual from the worship of the dead. The author has accepted the view of the origin of religion suggested by Tylor, and has applied it, under the influence of the views of Stengel, to explain the real significance of the curious ritual of the Greek sacrifice, the consecration of the lateral waters by solemnly carrying them round the altar, the plunging into the water of a lighted brand from the altar-fire, the cutting off of hairs of the victim and hurling them into the flame,



and the casting forward of the barley shreds. In every case he finds a collection of practices once invented to please the dead, dating from a time when the dead were regarded with affection and not with fear. The fire in origin was used to warm and comfort by its heat and light the dead; the blood was spilt to give them a beverage beloved of primitive men, and one which restored to their faint shadows some degree of life and strength; water was their natural drink, while honey and wine, often a substitute for the earlier use of blood, were other forms of nutriment, barley giving them solid food. The case of the hair is slightly different: it is not in any sense a substitution for the life, but is primarily due to the desire to be free from the contagion of death, while at the same time it serves as a gift to the departed. Stoning in the ritual is originally an act of honour and comfort to the dead, which develops into the pillars which mark boundaries. From this primitive root of religion there are diverse developments: on the one hand the dead come to be regarded with fear rather than with affection, hence rites originally 'hilaric' become ecstatic and apotropaic; on the other hand there are developed chthonic deities, of which the chief is the earth, while, as a result of the adoption of the practice of cremation and the belief that the soul takes flight in the smoke of the pyre, there grows the belief in the Olympian gods, whose worship is necessarily based on the rites paid to the dead. But even when the sacrifices were given to the Olympians much of it was really still directed to appease the spirits of the dead, especially the preliminaries of the offering. The same principle can be used to explain all the problems of religion. The sacrament in which the god and his worshippers eat together is a relic of the funeral feast at which primitively the dead man was present, though in later times the feast took place after his burial or before it. The golden fleece was a rain spell: as the Indian practice of offering the fringe of a garment to the dead indicates, a fleece was an ideal abode for spirits, and when presented to those spirits which controlled the weather it resulted in rain. Athene bears the name, for she is intimately connected with rain.

The author supports his thesis with great ability, readily admitting the intermixture of other ideas derived from magic. He directs no systematic criticism against other views, but incidentally he shows disbeliever in animistic explanations, and expressly (p. 482) refuses to believe in Sir James Frazer's theory of killing a deity to encourage its institution. To Stengel's theory<sup>1</sup> that the earth was the recipient of the farm-offerings he objects that there is no proof, despite Dieterich's researches, of the importance of earth in early religion, while in the ultimate resort the conception of the earth spirit is that derived from the conception of the innumerable spirits of the dead who people the earth *anulus loca sine genio*. But it is obvious that there is lacking much to make good the contention of the author, and a mere reference to Tylor is not adequate to take the place of reasoned argument.<sup>2</sup> Even if we can show that in many cases behind the Olympian is to be found the figure of a hero, i.e. the spirit of a dead man, the thesis would be far from proved. In the first place, the explanation might be that a religion which was based on the worship of spirits had superimposed on it a worship of another race: the author, though conscious (pp. 457, 478) of the ethnic problem, ignores its bearing on his argument because of its complexity. In the second place, even within the same race we might meet the phenomenon of two perfectly distinct sources of worship, the regard paid to the spirits of the dead, and the reverence paid to high gods, the offerings made to the former being improperly transferred to the latter. Andrew Lang's theory<sup>3</sup> of primitive high gods rests on a very respectable array of anthropological evidence, and has not been disproved on that head, apart from the fact that the question transcends the limits of any science. In the third place, there is no means of proving that the presentation of food to the gods is derived from the presentation of food to the spirits of the dead: the Iranians and the Indians before their separation clearly presented to the gods offerings of all kinds by the mere process of placing them

<sup>1</sup> *Hieros*, xii. 236 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Making of Religions and Modern Mythology*.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Mackay's animistic theory he ignores, presumably because he does not know it.

on the sacred grass to which the gods came to partake of the essence of the food and drink.<sup>6</sup> Precisely the same essential form was gone through in the case of the dead. Which was the origin of the other there is nothing whatever to show, and probability suggests, therefore, a common psychological origin for both, not the derivation of one from the other. Similarly, the view that it was burning by fire that created the belief in the Olympians is open to the obvious counter-theory that the practice of burning by fire was due to the belief in Olympians and in the sky as the dwelling of the dead; for this theory can be cited the fact, which the author overlooks, that in Vedic religion the soul in every case, whether the body is exposed, or buried, or burned, is deemed to have its abode in the sky.<sup>7</sup> It is perfectly easy to argue that this belief in the sky abode of the spirits arose from Olympian worship;—there is no *a priori* difficulty in seeing why the sun should be a very present deity to primitive man—and that it became usual to burn the dead to facilitate the passage of the spirit to the sun. More generally, the theory does not take any sufficient notice of the facts of sacramental communion in Mediterranean religion.<sup>8</sup> Not only can all the facts of the fore-offerings be explained from the view that the altar is filled with the divine spirit, but this view best accounts for the tasting of the entrails of the victim. By eating the barley, after laying it on the altar, upon the victim the animal is filled with the divine spirit, and the tasting of the entrails constitutes a communion between the worshippers and the god. The Attic ritual of the Bomphania similarly presents elements which the theory cannot effectively deal with. Nor, it may be added, is Dr. Eitrem sufficiently ready to accept explanations based on fertility magic: all aschrologia he treats as apotropaic merely, despite the clear evidence that it serves directly ends of fertility, and he insists that the katachysmata on the newly acquired slave must be treated as offerings to the spirits of the dead, and not merely, as Manohar thought, as a piece of fertility magic.

Of the many points of interest raised by this work mention may be made of one or two on which Indian religion throws light. The practice recorded by Serrus (*Ann.* xii. 119), *conspicuum ante sacrificium et de sacrificio*, is not to be regarded as a record of a grass-offering: it is a previous relic of the Indo-Iranian strew of grass, which at first served as the altar, and which in India was preserved beside the fire on the altar ground, while in Iran it became a bundle of twigs. The *corona graminea*, the sign of gratitude bestowed on a deliverer, can only be explained when it is brought into connexion with the grass carried by the *beati* of the Roman people (*Fest.* p. 321) and compared with the early Indian records; which show that the taking up of grass was a regular symbol of a defeated man pleading for mercy. For Pliny's ingenious effort (*N.H.* xxix. 8) at explanation we must substitute the fact that the Indian animal victim whose life is spared is bidden to eat grass: by taking up grass the conquered signifies his prayer to be placed in a similar position, or the envoys manifest their non-existing condition. The conjecture (p. 435) that the practice of placing vessels of water before the victims to be sacrificed is explained by the fact that the blood is more copious when an animal has drunk water before slaughter (Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 223) gains greatly in plausibility when it is remembered that in the Indian ritual great care is taken to secure that the victim shall be made to drink before the sacrifice.

It is to be regretted that the work is supplied with a most inadequate Index, and that there is no detailed Table of Contents: both defects are inexcusable in a work whose chief value must lie in its presentation of facts.

A. B. K.

<sup>6</sup> Odenberg, *Religion des Veds*, pp. 241-3.

<sup>7</sup> *Rigveda*, i. 15. 14; *Atharvaveda*, xviii. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Farnell, *Hobart Journal*, ii. 207-22;

*Greece and Babylon*, pp. 225-40.

<sup>1</sup> Preuss, *Sitzungsber. Akad. Berlin*, 1908, pp. 492 ff.



**The Origin of Attic Comedy.** By FRANCIS MACDONALD CORNFORD. Pp. xii + 252. London: Edward Arnold, 1914. 8s. 6d. net.

**The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races in special reference to the Origin of Greek Tragedy, with an Appendix on the Origin of Greek Comedy.** By WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Sc.D., F.R.S. Pp. xv + 448. 92 Illustrations. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1913. 45s.

There is an appropriateness in rejoining these books together beyond the circumstance that both deal with the origin of Drama. Their guiding principles, their methods, and their conclusions are so different that each book serves as a criticism of the other.

Mr. Cornford's method is to analyse the extant plays of Aristophanes so as to reveal in them a curiously limited number of motifs or situations. The most significant of these are the *Agon*, the sacrificial Feast, the *Gamos* or 'Marriage' of the victor in the *Agon*, and the *Komos*. They are the *exempla* of Comedy referred to by Aristotle (*Poet.* 5), and were inherited from a ritual drama which, when reconstructed, resembles that postulated by Prof. Murray for the development of Greek Tragedy so closely that it must be near skin. Again, too, must be the Folk Play, of which a form survives in northern Greece. The primitive ritual mummery, presupposed by the stereotyped plot-formulae of Attic Comedy, represented a conflict between a good and an evil spirit (Summer and Winter, Life and Death). In its hypothetical complete form 'the good spirit is slain, dismembered, cooked, and eaten in the communal feast, and yet brought back to life. . . . Finally comes the sacred Marriage of the risen God, restored to life and youth to be the husband of the Mother Goddess.' The *Parabasis* derives from the contest of the two opposing parties whom we may suppose to have taken part in the old ritual; the play proper (which the *Parabasis* merely interrupts) derives from the contest between the leaders of the two parties. Mr. Cornford seeks to strengthen this conclusion by showing that the characters in Comedy conform to certain fixed types or 'masks,' which originally were those of the leading performers in his primitive religious drama.

This hypothesis may be challenged on the ground that too much is made of certain, often very minor and natural looking, incidents in the Comedies. Somebody eats a sausage on the stage; Mr. Cornford calls this a relic of the ritual *Doxis*. Somebody else kisses a courtesan; he is unconsciously involving himself in a *Hieros Gamos*. This kind of criticism can be used with considerable effect against any play taken separately. But it does not seem so effective when one remembers that Mr. Cornford's argument (like Prof. Murray's in *Thais*) is cumulative. What he thinks he has shown is that *Agon*, *Gamos*, etc., regularly occur and in a definite order, not in one or two, but in all the extant Comedies. This, he says, cannot be accidental; and I feel bound to agree.

But, if we grant Mr. Cornford his traditional plot, we may still object that his evidence is all internal. That, of course, is not his fault, and he is quite right to neglect the kind of critic who 'wants more evidence than there is.' But the lack of historical evidence remains a weakness in his case. The 'phallic songs' to which Aristotle is evidently referring in his account of the origin of Comedy were not (if we may judge from the *Acharnians*) dramatic enough to be in themselves the germ of a Drama; and although the ritual-play, which Mr. Cornford regards as the source of Comedy, is analogous to the *gallades* of Dikelpolis, it is not identical with it. Still, the analogy is there and real enough; and I am more disposed to regret the absence of a more thorough discussion of such points as the interrelations between Comedy, Tragedy, and the Satyr Play, and the nature of the *Komos*, which must be the heart of the whole business. We trust Mr. Cornford will resume the subject, as he hopes to do, and that the sequel will be as good as the First Part, which, I may add, is written with a really masterly facility.

The title of Prof. Ridgeway's new book sufficiently indicates its contents. His researches extend from China to Peru, from Java to Uganda; and everywhere he believes he finds the germs of Drama in the worship of the dead. If he is right, this confirms and indeed (by so powerful an argument from analogy) goes very far to prove.

the theory set forth in *The Origin of Tragedy*. The chief arguments for this theory are recapitulated in a long Introduction, which also contains a great deal of rather truculent criticism, of which I can find nothing to say except that the polemical instinct in Prof. Ridgeway seems to make it almost impossible for him to understand an opponent. An Appendix is added, stating a new hypothesis concerning the origin and development of Attic Comedy.

Prof. Ridgeway's book contains an invaluable collection of material, much of it new and all of it handled in a way that gives it a new bearing and interest. It is clearly impossible within the limits of a review like the present to do justice to a work of this range and diversity. One's praise is apt to seem disproportionately small compared with one's adverse criticism, because some attempt must be made to justify objections. That unfortunately seems unavoidable; although, in fact, I can put my main difficulty in a sentence. I do not understand how the dramatic dances, from which Prof. Ridgeway derives the Drama, can have originated in the worship of the dead. How could they, on Prof. Ridgeway's own principle, which is obviously right, that 'what a man or a woman loved in life, they loved in death' (p. 6)? The reader can think it out for himself. But, if this objection seems a reasonable one, it is of course fatal to Prof. Ridgeway's whole hypothesis.

Least I should be thought to ignore Prof. Ridgeway's arguments against the theories which run counter to his own, I may add that the gist of his criticism, as I think he would himself allow, is expressed by saying that Vegetation Spirits, the Eubantos Daimon, and the like are mere abstractions, and the worship of abstractions cannot be primary. They are, of course, abstractions only in the sense that they are class-names like 'Hera.' But, apart from this, who ever said that the worship of the Eubantos Daimon was primary? Not Miss Harrison, nor Prof. Murray, nor Mr. Cuculford. They say the Eubantos Daimon was projected from rites much older than himself. And as for 'abstractions,' what about ghosts?

In the Appendix Prof. Ridgeway argues that Aristotle did not regard the phallic songs to which he refers the origin of Comedy as in any sense religious, but as *lampoons*. We used to think that Aristotle had in mind the Rural Dionysia and songs like that of Dikampolis which is, of course, religious. According to Prof. Ridgeway again, it was in Sicily that 'Comedy first took its real shape.' The common view is that Comedy first took its real shape in Athens, and that what Epicharmus wrote were not strictly Comedies at all, but *Mimes*. Moreover, Prof. Ridgeway admits the existence at Megara and Athens of 'some sort of rude comic mimics' (p. 466) before the importation of the Sicilian *Mime*. But how can mimics come out of lampoons? Elsewhere (p. 466) he speaks of Comedy developing 'out of ritual abuse, gross buffoonery and pantomime.' Pantomime, however, happens to be a dramatic form, and as such, according to Prof. Ridgeway himself, has its origin in religion. All this, I confess, perplexes me exceedingly. It is, of course, almost impossible to state a novel hypothesis for the first time in language no one can misunderstand. We can at least keep our minds open. What is certain is that the Appendix, like all Prof. Ridgeway's work, has the dynamic and stimulating quality which is almost the rarest gift among scholars.

**Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djerabis. Part I. Introductory.**  
By D. G. HOSART, M.A., F.B.A. 1914. 4to; iv + 29 pp.; 28 Plates and 3 Maps.  
Oxford: University Press.

This volume is a first instalment of the official Report on the excavation of Carchemish, which, like all other work of the same character, has been rudely interrupted by the war. As Sir Frederic Kenyon states in his preface to this volume, it is in no sense a final report on the results achieved up to date. Before that can be contemplated much work must still be done both in the field and in the laboratory. The finds already made, on



the mound itself and in several cemeteries of the neighbourhood, have rendered it possible to work out provisionally a pottery sequence and a rough system of chronology. But these will undoubtedly be modified as more of the ancient portions of the site are examined. Moreover, it has not yet been possible either to clean the smaller objects recovered, or to arrange and classify them for purposes of study. When war broke out, they were still stored upon the site under the supervision of the Turkish authorities, and one can only express the hope that since then they have escaped the hands of pillagers.

But it has always been the policy of the Trustees of the British Museum to place their discoveries at the disposal of scholars in general at as early a date as possible, rather than to reserve them until all problems and uncertainties have been cleared up. And fortunately one class of the Carchemish discoveries lent itself readily to immediate publication. The remarkable series of inscribed and sculptured slabs, lining the walls and entrances of the late Hittite palace below the Acropolis mound at its south-eastern end, belongs to a recognized class of monument; and however our views as to their date and origin may eventually be modified when the inscriptions are deciphered, the publication of the monuments themselves will not be affected. The new hieroglyphic inscriptions, here made available for study, should materially hasten that moment, for they afford decipherers a wealth of fresh material on which to test their systems of interpretation. Several of the reliefs themselves, in particular those of the "King's Gateway," representing a local monarch and the Crown Prince followed by the royal family, have revealed an entirely new aspect of this late Syrian art, which we may still provisionally term Hittite-Aramean.

This first part of the Report was completed before the war, and in it Mr. Hogarth, with the co-operation of his lieutenants, Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence, has issued the opening plates of two series devoted to inscriptions and sculpture. The three pages of commentary relating to the plates are here wisely confined to details as to site and measurements: full discussions will come later. Meanwhile Mr. Hogarth gives us, in two very interesting chapters, a description of the mound of Jerabis, an account of earlier examinations of the site, a review of the evidence for its identification with Carchemish, and a sketch of the history of the city so far as it has yet been recovered.

The site of Carchemish has given rise to much discussion, and even now there is no positive proof of its identity with Jerabis. From the time of Benjamin of Tudela till about 1870 it was usually identified with Circium; Hincks in 1862 had placed it at Bitoujik, while others, including Maspero (1872) and Sir Charles Wilson (1884), were in favour of Membij. Noldeke, recognizing the necessity for a site on the river, suggested (1876) Qalat en Nejm, some twenty miles east of Membij. That both Maspero and Noldeke should have ignored Jerabis is to be explained by the fact that no early traveller had recognized the site as that of a town earlier than the Seleucid or the Roman period. Hittite remains were first recognized there in 1874 by W. H. Sturge, the British Consul at Aleppo, and two years later both he and George Smith, who had been sent out to prospect for sites by the British Museum, agreed that the site must be that of Carchemish. This view is now generally adopted, and has been accepted with reserve by Maspero. For the Assyrian and Egyptian records definitely prove that the city must be sought on the right, or Syrian, bank of the Euphrates, within about a day's march north or south of the mouth of the Sajur. As Mr. Hogarth points out, this stretch of the right bank has been well explored throughout, and the only site of pre-Christian times sufficiently large and provided with the necessary citadel and fortifications is Jerabis. The point will of course be decided when the hieroglyphic inscriptions are finally deciphered; the fact that, according to more than one system of interpretation, the name has been already read on different local monuments cannot yet be cited in confirmation of the current view.

Another of the problems which Mr. Hogarth discusses is the identity of the Romano-Syrian city, of which some of the streets could still be traced even before the excavations. Here again he gives strong reasons for accepting the current view, which would identify

the later city with the Syrian Europos. The classical references certainly indicate that this was a strong place on the Syrian bank of the Euphrates, at some point to the south of Birejik and north of Mendij. In accepting the identification, Mr. Hogarth points out that it only involves an easy emendation of a figure in the 'Pentinger Table,' giving the Roman mileage from Zeugma (Birejik) of an unusual point which probably marks the station of Europos. Moreover, the name *Jerubis* (written by some *Ajeribis*) may well be identified with *Aghropos* or *Aghripas*, the Syriac name of a town almost certainly identical with the Hellenistic and Roman *Europos*. The name *Jerubis*, as Capt. Thompson and Dr. Cowley have both suggested, may perhaps be a degradation of *Gurgumma*, the original form of the name *Carchemish*. As for the form *Jerublas*, which is used locally only as a tribal name, Mr. Hogarth may well be right in thinking it may have been transferred from Mendij (*Harrupolis*) with some shift of population, whether Christian or Moslem. It was never a local place-name, but it bids fair to oust the true name *Jerubis*, since it has been adopted under the form *Jerablus* by the Baghdad Railway Company for the name of the place.

The issue of this first part of the Report, with its admirable reproductions of some of the Hittite texts and its series of the bas-reliefs, demonstrates the soundness of Mr. Hogarth's view as to the productivity of the site. Our thanks are due to the anonymous benefactor whose liberality rendered the excavations possible, and we can only hope that after the war the work, so well begun, will be brought to an successful conclusion.

L. W. K.

**Antiquities of Ionia** published by the Society of Dilettanti. Part the Fifth, being a supplement to Part III. Folio. Pp. xii+36 and 46 Plates. London: Macmillan and Co., 1913.

It was at the Star and Garter, on the 17th of May, 1764, that a Committee of the Society of Dilettanti signed the instructions to the members of their First Expedition for the exploration of Ionia. The last part of *The Antiquities of Ionia* has been issued in the Spring of 1914, and it is probable that there are few literary undertakings, except the *Acta Sanctorum*, that have been speed over a longer interval of time between their first inception and their conclusion. It must be added, however, that a part of that term was due to pure forgetfulness.

The Part now issued contains the conclusion of the results of the Second Dilettanti Expedition, of Gell, Gandy, and Bedford, which visited Greece and Asia Minor in 1812-1813. The results of that expedition already issued consist of the *Unedited Antiquities of Athens* (1817), certain additional materials introduced in the second edition of Part I. (1821) and Part II. (1823) of the *Antiquities of Ionia*, and Part III of the *Antiquities* issued in 1840. A second volume of Part III was at that time in active preparation. But William Wilkins the architectural editor died in 1839, the attention of the Society was soon turned to Penton's work at Athens, and the conclusion of Part III. was lost just made and then forgotten. Its rediscovery was due to Prof. Leathby, who was asked to identify certain pieces of engraved plates in the Society's archives, and who pointed out that the engravings in question were unpublished. Search being made, the metal plates were found in the safe custody of a long-established firm of copper plate printers, and the present volume, edited, as was only fitting, by Mr. Leathby, is the result.

Although plates prepared before 1840 to illustrate an expedition of 1812 are necessarily somewhat out of date in 1914, everyone will be glad that the Society of Dilettanti should have decided to round off the history of their classic expeditions with the issue of the present Part. They will also sympathize with the hope expressed by the editor that the distinguished Society will continue to make contributions to classical archaeology.



The first chapter is a narrative of the first and second expeditions. The second chapter is devoted to the temple of Artemis Leukophrys at Magnesia. A curious incident in the history of archaeological method brought about that no ground plan of the temple is supplied among the plates. The observations of the explorers made it pretty clear that the central intercolumniation was some 30 per cent. wider than the rest. This was not in accordance with the fixed ideas of Wilkins, who insisted on altering the plan and elevation to equalize the intercolumniations. The elevation, thus modified, is given in the volume, but the plan is wanting. The editor does not say whether an copperplate of the plan was found, or whether he thought it better to suppress it.

Apart from this eccentricity, it is interesting to compare the old elevation with the results obtained in Humann's excavations of 1891-1895, as published by Kolbe and Wasminger (1904). The square bases of the columns, which were not recognized by the earlier investigators, materially affect the appearance. It is not surprising that they did not find the large central window and two small windows in the tympanum of the pediment. These, though strange to the eye, serve to relieve the large space of the tympanum, which is a recurring difficulty with the large Ionic temples, such as that of Artemis at Ephesus. The decidedly florid architectural ornaments are also due to the later researches. The finely engraved plates of architectural detail in the old style are worked out in greater detail than those of Humann. They are not always in agreement, but it is clear that a considerable latitude of variation was permitted in the execution of the different columns.

The expedition of 1812 also visited the coast towns of Lycia, and a chapter is given to the theatre and rock tombs of Myra. This site was not reached by Chandler and the first expedition, but (under the erroneous title of "Patara") two views of the theatre of Myra by L. Mayer, Sir Robert Ainslie's draftsman in the East, were inserted, without comment, as Plates 56, 57 of Part II. (1797). The rock tombs of Myra are also shown in an interesting series of plates, followed by others of Tainosara, Antiphelina and Phellus. The fourth chapter deals with Lindus and Cnidus. There is a plate of the large tomb at Lindus with Doric facade, and two vignettes are given of graveyards in the walls of Cnidus, originally designed for Part III.

The editor's fifth chapter deals with the Society's Third Ionian Mission, that of Pullin to Priene, Teos, and the Samothrace, and gives additional materials gathered from Pullin's notebooks and reports. This is quite in place in a volume which sums up the Society's work in Asia Minor. On the other hand, it is difficult to see the relevance of pp. 11-21, which consist of miscellaneous notes on the Xanthian sculptures found by Fellows on ground never reached by the agents of the Society of Dilettanti.

**A History of Babylon.** By L. W. King. London: Clarendon, and Winkles, 1915.  
Price 18s.

This is the second volume of Dr. King's celebrated work *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, of which the first volume, called *Sumero and Akkad*, created such widespread interest. Produced in the same grand style and of no less abiding interest, it takes up the story of Babylonia at the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, when, under the Amorite kings, Babylon itself rose to be the metropolis of the empire.

But its chief use is for students of ancient history, and among them specialists like Assyriologists. When the war has died out even Germans will recognize that there are still Englishmen from whom it is possible to learn. It is true that the chief exploration of the ruins of Babylon has been done by Germans; but there is no account of their work to be found at once so intelligible and intelligent as Dr. King's review of Dr. Koldewey's excavations. The dryest details of the German reports are made a living story. The toil expected was enormous, the time spent was long, the maps and plans are exact and painstaking, every detail was recorded and its significance shrewdly conjectured.

The result, however, was bewildering and even disappointing. Now it is set out in readable form, and if this book gave us nothing else we should owe a great debt to the author, who has seized the important points and given us a well-proportioned picture of the whole.

In the introductory chapter the writer estimates the significance, for the whole world of Nearer Asia, of the Babylonian language and literature. Its cuneiform method of writing was adopted or adapted for many countries, from Elam to the Mediterranean, in Cilicia, Armenia, Palestine, even Egypt; by Aryans, Hittites, Medes and Persians. After a chapter on the recovery of the site and its excavation, the author devotes a chapter to the chronology. He there attacks the vexed question of the relation of Rim-Sin and the kings of Babylon to the fall of the 18th Dynasty, and, making use of a new discovery of Dr. A. T. Clay's and the work of Dr. Kugler, he is able with the utmost probability to fix the date of Hammurabi, the great law-giver of Babylon, and thereby to carry accurate chronology back to 2339 B.C. This is a great advance on the conjectural schemes which have hitherto done duty for chronology. It in no way detracts from the merit of Dr. King's performance that the result is due to the discovery of new facts, for the essays of many scholars show that facts are by no means easy to deal with, especially when they do not fit theory.

The history passes in review all the most prominent events from the First Dynasty of Babylon down to the end of the Neo-Babylonian Empire with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. It is certain that every statement may be accepted as reliable, and foot-notes everywhere give the latest authority. The penetration of the West Semites into the south of Babylonia even before they rose to supremacy in the north is established with certainty, and may lead to some revision of ideas as to their origin. These hardly came from Palestine into Babylonia; they are as much Amorites as the First Dynasty monarchs, and the claim to rule Amarru may prove to be based on a conquest of South Babylonia as well as an invasion of Syria. The remarks upon Genesis xiv. deserve pondering.

The proof of a Semitic occupation of Assyria settles a long-vexed question as to its early civilization. Some Assyrian characteristics may well be due to the Mitannic conquest.

The age of Hammurabi and its impress on the later civilization are well discussed. What the Amorites forced on the older population is carefully worked out.

The Kassites ruled for nearly 600 years, but made small impression on the life of the people. The rise of the Hittite power and its relations to Babylonia and Egypt receive an ample and well-deserved discussion. The relations with Assyria form a long chapter, filled mostly with wars and a struggle for independence on the part of Babylonia, but the domestic life of the latter seems to have been little disturbed as a whole. Whether Babylonia could have dealt with other invaders after the fall of Assyria seems doubtful, but she received fresh blood and an access of power from the Chaldeans of the Sea-land, and under Nebuchadnezzar II. attained a position of importance which impressed the early historians as unrivalled. After a short discussion of the history of Babylonia under Persian and Greek kings, the book closes with a chapter on the cultural influence of Babylonia on Greece and Palestine.

The work is well written, clear, full, and judicious. It must long remain the standard. It is well illustrated by pictures of the objects referred to, enriched by an excellent index and a valuable map of Babylonia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, on which one can really find most of the important places.



**The History of Miletus down to the Anabasis of Alexander.** By ANNELORE GARRY DUNHAM, M.A. Pp. ix + 132, with four Maps. Holder and Stoughton, for the University of London Press.

This little book is a revision of a thesis which was approved for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of London. The writer describes her main object as being to trace the influence of geographical and economic conditions on the development of Miletus before Alexander's time; with its later history, and with the literature, philosophy, and art of the city, since they have been fully treated elsewhere, she does not attempt to deal. Her work is a compilation to which she has devoted considerable pains, and it would be idle to deny that, in spite of the crudity which marks the performance, it will be useful. Miletus could not have owed her importance to being the port at the end of the great caravan route, since that position belonged rather to Ephesus and Smyrna; and Miss Dunham shows very clearly—and it is the best thing in her book—that the city's wealth was due to her favourable situation for sea-borne commerce. It is curious, by the way, that in discussing the early connexion between Crete and Caris she ignores the evidence of the worship of Zeus at Labraunda. Careless proof-reading is the cause of a remarkable collection of misprints; but 'Gulf of Barythian' (p. 1) and map 1), as who should say 'Stephanus of Byzantium,' cannot be the printer's fault. There is no index. It is a question whether theses approved by a University should be allowed to pass through the press without some sort of supervision by the examiners who are responsible for their approval. It is fair to say that London is not the only English University where such slackness appears to be prevalent; one remembers a certain Prize Essay on Calais under the English which recently provided French historians with a fund of justifiable merriment.

**Syria as a Roman Province.** By E. S. BOUCHIER, M.A. Pp. viii + 204, with 3 Maps and Photo of Coins. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1916. 6s. net.

Bearing in mind the limited scope of this little volume—its author calls it a 'sketch'—one may fairly describe it as well planned, well written, and generally successful. Its professed object is to give a 'brief account of the life and manners, the literature, and antiquities of central Syria and Phoenicia in Roman times, with occasional references to more outlying districts, such as Palmyra, Commagene, and Roman Arabia.' The task thus outlined is no light one. But Mr. Bouchier's practical hand has the cunning required for the due selection and arrangement of the salient facts. In the circumstances the specialist need hardly turn to the book for light on any particular problem in which he is interested, although he may sometimes find it serviceable as a handy and reliable compendium. For the ordinary scholar, on the other hand, it should have a distinct value. This value would have been greatly enhanced if the bibliography had been constructed on more rational principles. As it stands, it is not easy to see what purpose it is intended to serve. On what grounds, for instance, is Schiller's 'Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit' included, when Mommsen's 'Roman Provinces' is omitted? Or why mention Hay's 'Amorim Emperor Heliogabalus,' and yet say nothing of the excellent English translation now available of 'The Life of Porphyry of Gaza'? Truly one is taken and another left. And who is helped by such a citation as 'Many articles in . . . Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie'?

**Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.** Vol. I. Literary Texts (Nos. 1-61). Edited by ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.Litt. xii. + 202 pp. 10 plates. Manchester University Press, 1911. Vol. II. Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Nos. 62-456). Edited by J. de M. JONCKHEVE, VICTOR MARTIN, and ARTHUR S. HUNT. xi. + 487 pp. 25 plates. Same publishers, 1913.

The papyri which form the subject of this part of the sumptuous catalogue of MSS. in the John Rylands Library were for the most part bought in Egypt by Prof. Hunt either immediately for Mrs. Rylands or for Lord Crawford, with whom collections they passed later to the Rylands Library. The two volumes here noticed form but a part of the whole catalogue of papyri, the documents of the Byzantine period being reserved for a third volume, which is not likely, however, to appear for several years yet.

The first volume consists entirely of theological and literary texts—or almost entirely, for one text, No. 12, is non-literary, being a *libellus* or certificate of Pagan sacrifice, which is placed with the theological texts because of its religious interest. None of its contents is of first-rate importance, but there are many texts of considerable interest. Having been published five years ago, the volume is already familiar to students, and only a brief notice of the most noteworthy texts seems called for.

In the theological section there are early fragments of Deuteronomy (4th century) and the Epistle to Titus (3rd century), a 6th century MS., unfortunately very imperfect, of the Nicene Creed, a Hymn to Christ, and two liturgical fragments, as well as other papyri.

In the section of New Classical Texts it may be noted that the first (No. 13), described as an Epic fragment, has been identified by Wilamowitz as from the *Acta* of Callimachus (see *Hermes*, xlv. p. 471). A text of some interest, which would be of yet more were it complete, is a lament for a lover (No. 15), of the same type as the well-known Maiden's Lament in P. Græf. 1-1; a conjectural restoration by Prof. Gilliat Murray is added. There are, among other works, two very small but interesting historical fragments (Nos. 18, 19) and a treatise on physiology forming part of a papyrus of which another portion is at Berlin, some texts relating to Homer (glossaries, etc.), an astronomical treatise, and a treatise *ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς παντὸς*, which has an analogy in a very similar papyrus at Florence.

Among the extant classical authors there are of course the usual Homer fragments, the longest of them, which is also the longest in the volume, being a cursive codex of the *Odyssey* xii. xv., cith. xiv., dating from the third or fourth century. Of the others a comparatively large fragment of Demosthenes *De Corona* with an indifferent text, fragments containing an excellent text of part of Polybius XI from the same papyrus as some fragments at Berlin, and an interesting fragment of Cicero *In Catilinam* II with a word-for-word Greek translation, are the most noteworthy. Excellent facsimiles are given, and the name of the editor is sufficient guarantee of the quality of the editorial work.

The second volume, published towards the end of last year, consists of documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, with the exception of five texts of a literary or semi-literary character, none of them of much importance, which were presumably not recognised in time to be included in volume I. In this volume Prof. Hunt has been assisted by Mr. J. de M. Johnson of the Egypt Exploration Fund and by M. Victor Martin, a German scholar, who has done excellent research work in subjects connected with the administration of Graeco-Roman Egypt. He explains in the preface that the bulk of the work has fallen on Johnson and Martin, his own task being mainly that of supervision and revision. The volume may thus be regarded as the *procurator*, so far as the editing of a collection of texts is concerned, of these two scholars; and it is difficult to imagine a more satisfactory performance of the task. The commentary, which are very full, are a model of what editorial work should be, and the texts (most of which have translations attached) conform to the high standard set by the annual volumes of the



**Exploration Fund.** Many of the documents are of considerable, some of unusual, interest: but the value of all is greatly increased by the commentary. A case in point is the commentary on 192 (6), relating to taxes on garden-land, which may without exaggeration be described as epoch-making, since these taxes have hitherto been very obscure and have frequently been misunderstood. The present commentary, which includes revised texts of several previously published papyri, among others a valuable Oxyrhynchus papyrus re-edited in Appendix II, and an *ad hoc* principle of a British Museum document, not only clears up many obscure points but, by elucidating the principle on which the taxes were reckoned, gives the means of filling up lacunae in tax registers or receipts relating to these taxes which may hereafter be found. Several other taxation documents are also furnished with valuable commentaries; among them the commentary on No. 213, one of the urbanized papyri of Thebes, may be specially referred to. Several of these Theban papyri, of which others are found in several other collections, and which are often peculiarly difficult to decipher owing to their charred condition, are included in the volume.

Speaking generally, the texts in this volume are of the usual kind; but it would be surprising if in so large a collection there were not much which gave new and valuable information. This is in fact the case. The most novel single text is perhaps the very interesting No. 77, relating to the election of a *cosmotes*, who seeks to evade the burdensome office by offering himself as *exoptes*. Several of the texts fall into groups: a noteworthy example is Nos. 124-152, a compact group of petitions written at Eufameria in the first half of the first century, and interesting therefore palaeographically as well as for their contents. The Ptolemaic documents are not intrinsically of special interest, but two or three of them are valuable palaeographically, notably Nos. 69 and 72, which date from the reign of the last Cleopatra.

The volume concludes with descriptions, often with full texts, of less important or less complete papyri, appendices, good indices, and 23 plates of excellent facsimiles, which, in view of the dates of many of the papyri included, are particularly valuable. The editors deserve the congratulations and thanks of all students of papyri on the completion of their task; and it is only matter for regret that the work should have been fated to appear at a time so manifestous as the present for such studies.

**Hellenic Civilization. Sources and Studies.** Edited by G. W. Bowersock and K. G. Sikes. 719 pp. Columbia University Press, 1916.

Criticism of this useful volume is difficult when the class of reader for whom it is intended is kept steadily in view, for it would appear from the Preface that that class is extremely limited. The book forms one of a series the aim of which is to furnish a 'guide to the original documents and to recent criticism of the history of Europe. The material is given in English translation in order that it may be readily accessible to students and readers who do not have that knowledge of classical and other languages which is essential for specialised research. We cannot help thinking that, if the editors look for large sales among that class of students whom they profess to wish to reach, they are likely to be disappointed. On the other hand, the disappointment of the non-classical historian searching these pages for 'sources of the history of Greece which are of prime importance for the understanding of Western civilization' (Preface, p. 1) will be immense. An anthology should surely preserve some of the fragments of the flowers from which it has been chosen, and the reader without first-hand knowledge of Greek literature will find this volume rather puzzling.

If, for example, the student of civilization should wish to learn anything about the dress of the ordinary Greek he will not find the subject treated save as illustrative of luxury (p. 203); and although such subjects as 'Shaving' and the 'Make-up of Hottentots' find a place, there seems to be no attempt made to collect passages which would give

some idea of the furniture and arrangements of a Greek house. These are subjects for which we might legitimately look; but we have failed to find them treated, and they are not referred to in the Index, which, with its six hundred odd entries, is palpably inadequate for a book of this nature and size. In the interesting account of the estate of a wealthy man like Demosthenes it would have been of advantage to give in terms of modern currency the annual income which the orator derived from his patrimony. Again, what sort of medical service did the Athenians enjoy? We have paragraphs on the progress of medical science, but the far more interesting question of practical application seems to have escaped notice, though it might have been illustrated from Sophocles, Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes, to give only the more obvious names that rise to the recollection. While writing of medicine, the note on hellebore as a cure for insanity (p. 523) catches our eye. Surely the case of Anticyrus is understated. Or is Cicero's *'naviga Anticyram'* in a letter to Atticus merely proverbial?

Once more, when we turn to the section on sculpture we may ask of what use a string of names from Pliny will be to the reader for whom this volume is professedly written. As the notes in this section are very scanty, the reader, unless he has expert knowledge, will get quite a wrong impression on several important points. That he should suppose from the order of Pliny's narrative that Pythagoras of Rhgium was a later artist than Polykleitos is not, perhaps, of maternal importance; but the well-known crux that Myron was 'a more diligent observer of symmetry' than Polykleitos surely demanded a note. The editors have rightly kept the text of Pliny as it stands, but they should have pointed out that he is recording a post-Igoupean criticism antagonistic to the earlier Argive artist. 'Numerosior' in the same sentence is translated by them as 'more productive.' Do they mean by this 'creating more positions'—an amplification of 'veritatem explicans'? This seems to us not impossible as a translation and very good in sense. On this phrase the editors quote an explanation from Braun. It would have been more to the point to have given references to the later work of Wickhoff and Lowy and to have shown how Myron was the first to break down the old law of frontality and show a body bending sideways. It is the failure to do this which makes us suspect that they do not understand 'numerosior' in the sense indicated above. Lastly, Calamis, in the absence of a note, will only be known to the readers of Pliny as a contemporary of Praxiteles. Similarly, in the earlier part of the book, the non-classical reader would suppose that the narrative of Ephorus on p. 72 referred to Cretan customs in the Minoan age.

The fact is, a book of this nature is only useful to the expert, not to the student of other countries who wishes to get some idea of the debt which Western civilization owes to Hellenic ideals. For the latter purpose the spirit, not the dry bones, is the essential need. A combination of this book of extracts with such a volume as that written a few years ago by Mr. Stuart Jones to illustrate the History of Rome, or Mr. Zimmern's *Greek Commonwealth*, is what is required. If a choice has to be made, let the authorities go unheeded for this particular purpose.

At the same time we believe that, although bound to miss its intended mark, the book will be of undoubted value to the professional student or teacher of Greek history. The literary notes seem to us unequal, but political institutions, law, international relations, and certain aspects of literature are well illustrated, and liberal extracts are made from Thucydides and Aristotle. Especially meritorious is the inclusion of the whole of the pseudo-Xenophontean Constitution of Athens, that valuable document dating from the early years of the Peloponnesian war.

[The reviewer wishes to state that, in consequence of the war, the above has been written out of reach of books of reference. He has therefore felt obliged to omit many small points of interest which needed verification, but trusts that no injustice has been done to the authors by a broad rather than a detailed criticism of their work.]



**A Companion to Greek Studies.** Edited by LEONARD WURLEY. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. xxvi + 757. 137 Illustrations and 3 Maps. Cambridge University Press, 1916.

The first edition of this book, noticed in this *Journal*, Vol. xxv, 1905, p. 184, contained xxx + 672 pages, with 141 illustrations and 3 maps. The book has therefore grown greatly in size, but also, let us hasten to say, it has improved much in quality. Some of the articles have been revised by fresh hands (the most important improvement perhaps being in Prof. Beaumont's revision of the article on sculpture). Indeed there is much to be said, in a book of this kind, for entrusting the revision of anything to other than the original writers; it is almost the only way to keep it really alive. Prof. Ridgway's section on coins appears to be unaltered; incredible as it may seem, the bibliography ignores Purvis's work. His article on money is also practically untouched, even as regards misprints, and the bibliography still omits the name of the author of one of the four books which are thought worthy of mention, but the illustrations have been much improved. Recent research on numismatics has been largely speculative, so that we do not so much complain of any lack of revision of the section on weights and measures. Mr. Wace, besides newly writing the section on Prehistoric Art, contributes a new section on Ethnology, and Mr. Walters has re-written and expanded the old section on Terracottas, and provides new sections on Greek bronze work and gold and silver work. Altogether, we can think of few subjects that are not dealt with in some fashion or another. In a future edition we would suggest the supersession of the frankly straining section on History by one which would deal with the main lines of development, and also with the relations between Greece and other peoples, notably in the East.

**Hellenism in England.** By THOMAS E. DOWLING, D.D. and EDWIN W. FLETCHER, with an Introduction by H. E. JOANNE GERRARD. Pp. 150. 17 Illustrations. London: Faith Press; Milwaukee: Young Churchmen Co. 1915.

In this little book nearly 40 pages are occupied by the Greek Minister's Introduction, which we imagine most of our readers will find the most interesting part. There is a good reason for this, apart from the personality and good scholarship of the writer, for the Greek Theodoros who became Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century, and of whom Stobbe wrote: 'It is difficult, if not impossible to overstate the debt which England, Europe and Christian civilisation owe to the work of Theodoros' is by far the most important figure in the whole history; and he is dealt with at length in the Introduction and not in the body of the book. So that the tail—if such a metaphor be allowed to apply to what comes first—appears to wag the dog. The book describes itself in its sub-title as a 'Short History of the Greek People in this Country from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.' Apart from the Introduction, however, four pages only are devoted to the period preceding the seventeenth century. It was doubtless difficult to collect the scattered information about this earlier period. To the crop of details which the authors will doubtless reap from archives, we may contribute two. The great scholar Manuel Chrysoloras visited England about 1405. And Sirander Saurus of Gureys wrote a most entertaining work, the second book of which is concerned entirely with the British Isles. He came here in the suite of Gerald Valerius of Ravenna towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII, and accompanied the English army which invaded Scotland. That army, he says, included a number of Argives from Paleoponnos, under Thomas d'Argos. The same Thomas was employed by Henry in his French war, about the same time. The *Travels* have been published, though not completely, by Cramer (1841) and Eyssenhardt (1882). It may be possible to discover from the records more details of this Argive entourage.

G. F. H.

**The Greek Tradition: Essays in the Reconstruction of Ancient Thought.**  
By J. A. K. THOMSON. With a preface by Prof. GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. xiii + 262.  
8vo. 1915.

The ten essays making up this volume range from particular authors, as Herodotus and Thucydides, to general discussions on such topics as Greek country life, Greek simplicity, Alcibiades and his hero. Mr. Thomson is well read, he has chosen interesting subjects, and he approaches them, as Prof. Murray claims for him, in the spirit of the new and vital Hellenism. Unfortunately, his work is unequal and imperfectly fused, alike in thought and in style, so that the general impression left on the reader is unsatisfactory. It may be suspected that though Mr. Thomson has done his best with the history of primitive cults and other branches of modern research he is at heart much more interested in pure literature as such. The most original study in the book is that entitled 'Mother and Daughter,' a dialogue attempting, in Mr. Thomson's words, 'to give form to the spirit of the Demeter myth without the use of unauthentic details'—keeping constantly in mind the results of modern scholarship. The idea is a good one, though the manner of its execution is somewhat odd. Other interesting essays are that on Lucretius and 'Some thoughts on translation,' and many readers will be very grateful to Mr. Thomson for putting in their way the delightful prose idyll of Iphigeneia Chryseidoni which forms the conclusion of 'Greek country life.'

**Loeb Classical Library:** *Apuleius*, with an English translation by W. ARNOLDSON, revised by S. GOSWAMI; *Pliny, Letters*, with an English translation by W. M. L. HURSTON, revised by W. M. L. HURSTON (2 vols.); *Lucian*, with an English translation by A. M. HARMON, vol. ii; *The Odes of Pindar*, with an English translation by Sir JOHN SANDYS; *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric*, with an English translation by H. G. Evelyn-White. 1914, 1915. 8vo.

These latest additions to the Loeb Classical Library, well produced and edited like their predecessors, are of very varied interest. While three out of the five English renderings are the work of contemporary scholars, the other two continue the excellent practice, previously begun with Watts's seventeenth-century version of Augustine, of offering the reader an earlier standard translation, revised and corrected where necessary by the editor's hand. Addington's *Apuleius* first appeared in 1396, and its redundant periods and rich, unusual diction succeed to a quite remarkable degree in reproducing the vagaries of its fantastic original, the genius of which, as Mr. Cassio justly points out in his Introduction, no age of our literature save the Elizabethan could make any attempt to represent. As for Melmoth's version of *Pliny's Letters*, which was written in 1746, it is beyond doubt one of the most wholly satisfactory translations in existence. No translator can ever have owed in closer spiritual kinship to his original than Melmoth. Like *Pliny*, he made for himself a reputation as a polite letter writer in an age which addidly cultivated formal and decorous prose in general and 'the epistolary art' in particular. His rendering thus catches, by instinct almost more than deliberation, the exact mentality and style of *Pliny*, and in its minor way remains as much a classic as its original.

It must be confessed that, save as regards literal accuracy, the three modern translators are no match for either Melmoth or Addington, and as they have all three undertaken Greek authors, the *J.H.S.* reviewer feels that this constitutes a legitimate grievance. It is only fair to add that, of course, *Pindar* and the *Homeric Hymns* present quite exceptional difficulties, while a first-rate verse translation of *Hesiod*, though less impossible, would be by no means easy. Sir John Sandys and Mr. Evelyn White have been content to render their respective authors into competent working prose, without attempting any special graces. The second volume of Mr. Harmon's readable



Lucian seems to be an improvement on the first, and he introduces his Americanism with happier effect but his gem is at best sadly lacking in polish. Perhaps, however, full justice cannot really be done in English to Lucian, who should be reserved to occupy the leisure of M. Anatole France's latter day.

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**A Short History of Classical Scholarship from the sixth century B.C. to the present day.** By SIR JOHN EDWIN SANDYS. Pp. xv + 455. University Press, Cambridge, 1915. 8vo.

Sir John Sandys has gone the right way about reducing the 1,629 pages and three volumes of his original work to their present compass, in that he deals almost as fully as before with the achievement of the more important scholars, but has omitted the lesser men altogether, as well as a large quantity of minor detail in the notes. The result is a readable compendium of classical scholarship from Ptolemy to Jebb and Mommsen, enlivened by twenty-six portraits and other illustrations. The chronological list of *editiones principes* has been taken over from the larger work, but it is rather a pity that room has not also been found for the useful date-tables of Greek and Latin authors.

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**Archaeological Excavation.** By J. P. DROOP, M.A., Late Student of the British School at Athens. Pp. x + 80. With 8 figures in the text. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1915.

Mr. Droop is an excavator of proved competence and experience, and his little book deserves the careful attention of all who are likely to follow in his footsteps. It is full of common-sense, and some of his general maxims cannot be too often repeated. His insistence on the supreme value of a knowledge of soils and on the necessity of constant supervision, and his warning against being misled by single objects—a specially dangerous snare—are cases in point. His practical hints, too, such as those on cleaning pottery and on matters photographic, will be helpful to many. More systematic and equally successful are his appendices on the use of the dumpy level and on triangulation. But why has he not dealt with the plane-table on similar lines? He does not even refer to this excellent method of carrying out a simple survey of an excavated site. And he might have mentioned the advantages which diagonal trenching presents, when time and money are limited; or the possibility of marking the objects themselves as an alternative to labelling them. In short, as is but natural, he writes with his eye on those happy Oriental lands where labour is cheap and funds reasonably ample, rather than on homely British ground where men are scarce and where little more than a pittance is available. His Index is excellent. But the undoubted brightness of his style is marred by occasional lapses into flippant irrelevances, which should have been removed by the blue pencil of his editor.

## TWO VASES IN HARROW.

[PLATES VI, VII]

By the kindness of Mr. B. P. Lascelles, I am able to publish two red-figured vases in the Harrow School Museum. The drawings are by Mr. F. W. Lamborn. I must also thank Miss G. M. A. Richter, Mr. L. D. Caskey and Dr. Waldhauser for permission to reproduce vases in New York, Boston and Petrograd.

### I.

Plate VI and Fig. 2 give the pictures on a neck-amphora with twisted handles (Fig. 1, one of those big black vases with a single figure on each side, which are characteristic of the ripe archaic period). It is No. 55 in Torr's Catalogue of the Harrow vases: a small, bad photograph of the obverse is given in the *Burlington Club Catalogue*, 1904, Pl. 95, No. H 54; rather better photographs in *J.H.S.* 30, Pl. 7. It is such a fine piece that I make no apology for returning to it.



FIG. 1.—HARROW 55.

Two Silens, one holding greaves and helmet, the other spear and shield: the armour may be their own, but it is more likely their master's; in either case they are going to follow Dionysus, as his squires, into the battle of Gods and Giants.

As I pointed out in *J.H.S.* 30, p. 50, the Harrow vase was by the Kleophrades painter, one of the leading artists of the ripe archaic age; I grouped two others with it, one in Munich (2316: Jahn 55: Litzow, *Münchener Antiken*, Pl. 29: *J.H.S.* 30, Pl. 8: A, Herakles; B, Centaur), one in the British Museum (E 270: *Mon.* 5, Pl. 10: A, rhapsode; B, flute player). These two vases are not by pupils of the Kleophrades painter, as I was

inclined to think, but by the master himself.

A fourth vase of the same shape and by the same hand came to light a



few years ago, the vase with the Struggle for the Tripod, New York 13, 233, published by Miss Richter in *Bull. Metr. Mus.* 9, p. 233, and after the same photographs in our Fig. 3.

A fifth was at one time in the Roman market, but is now lost (Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. 208: *A*, soldier with a helmet; *B* soldier with a wing). All five vases have the same mouth, and the same kind of pattern below the figures, one of the painter's favourite patterns. Four of them have the same uncommon kind of foot: the New York vase has the more ordinary foot of two degrees.

A sixth neck-amphora with twisted handles also by the Kleophrades painter, is published in Fig. 4, Petrograd 013. The foot is lost, the mouth the same as before, the patterns different, below *A*, and on the neck of the vase just below the mouth a band of simple key pattern; below *B*, a variety of the egg and dot pattern, both favourites with our painter. The

workmanship is more summary than in the rest of the series: for instance there is very little relief-line in the heads.

A seventh neck-amphora with twisted handles, Würzburg 322 (Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. 11, 1: *A*, Poseidon; *B*, man) has the same mouth as the six already cited, the same foot as the Harrow, Munich, London and Bassaeggia vases, the same key pattern on the neck as the Petrograd vase, and a key pattern below each figure, but it is by a different artist.

Parallel with the five vases first mentioned runs a group of three 'Panathenaic' amphorae by the same hand, one in Berlin (2164; Gerhard, *Tr. u. Gef.* Pl. 21: *A*, Herakles; *B*, Poseidon), another in Leyden (*J.H.S.* 30, Pl. 6: *A*, Silen with a lyre; *B*, Youth with a hare; the third in Boston. In 1910, I doubted whether the Leyden and Boston vases were actually from the hand of the Kleophrades painter (*J.H.S.* 30, pp. 49-50). I see now that they are. The Leyden vase is somewhat roughly executed; the Boston vase is altogether finer. Fig. 5 gives a new drawing of it to supersede the old drawing in Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. 275: the winner in the games is receiving the congratulations of his friend: his arm and leg are bound with fillets; he has been presented with a dead hare, a new oil-flask and a leather strap to hang it up by, and an excellent walking-stick; and his friend is bringing him a wreath.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 2.—HARROW 55. SILEN-AMPHORA, *A*.

<sup>1</sup> Owing to an unhappy accident, Figs. 4 *A* and 5 *B* are on a slightly smaller scale than Figs. 4 *B* and 5 *A*.

This is an appropriate place to make certain additions to the list of vases by the Kleophrades painter given in *J.H.S.* 30, pp. 38-68.<sup>1</sup> I must say first that the vases which I then counted as school-pieces I now consider to be by the painter himself, with the exception of the vase signed by Epiktetos, No. 26b; and the pelike No. 26c, which I said might possibly be by our painter, but which I now see is not. That gives 42 vases by the Kleophrades painter and three more have already been added: the others are as follows. A total of 59.

(a) Neck-amphora with triple handles in Petrograd (609): A, two athletes with acentia; B two Silenoi.

(β) Nolan amphora with triple handles in Oxford (273): B (the middle



FIG. 3.—NEW YORK 12. 223: NECK-AMPHORA.

modern). Gardner, *Athenian Vases*, p. 24: A, diacubos and trainer; B Artemis.

(γ) Fragment, perhaps from an amphora of Panathenaic shape, in the Louvre (G 198 bis): head of a youth.

<sup>1</sup> I should like to make a few corrections of my article in *J.H.S.* 30, p. 38, note A (2): the four vases adduced are by one hand, but not the hand of the Tyskiewicz painter. On the Tyskiewicz painter, and on the painter of these four vases, see my article in *A.J.A.* 1916, pp. 147-152.

P. 43, No. 16. The contour of the hair is

moored.

P. 60, No. 25 is part of a calyx-krater.

P. 61, No. 26a. Part of B is preserved with a similar scene.

P. 65, on the Brygos cup. Correct from Miss Herford's article, *J.H.S.* 24, pp. 106-113.

P. 66, No. 34. The foot does not belong.





FIG. 1A.—PETROGLYPH 013: NICK-AMPIHRA, I.



FIG. 11.—PETROGLYF 613: NICK-AMTHORA, B.



(δ) Vase formerly in the Canino collection; drawings in the Berlin apparatus 16, 17, 1. A, youth in himation leaning on his stick  $\tau$ , with tablet and stylus; B, youth in himation, head frontal. The vase is described on the drawing as an 'anfora, balsana', in the register as a pelike: it may have been an amphora of Panathenaic shape.

(ε) Pelike in Copenhagen: A, woman with oinochoe and flower, and seated youth with phiale and stick;  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ; B, athlete embracing a pillar, and athlete folding his cloak.

(ζ) Pelike in Girona (34): A, *Jahrbuch* 8, p. 183. A, seated youth, on the ground, a pelike.

(η) Stannos in the Memorial Hall at Philadelphia ('99, 204). A, *Bull. Pennsylvania Museum*, October, 1906, p. 55 = *A.J.A.* 1907, p. 119. A, Herakles and the Lion; B, Theseus and the Bull: on each side,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\lambda$  *Bois and good*.

(θ) Hydria-Kalpis, with the picture on the shoulder, in Rouen (25). Two Silens assaulting a sleeping Menad:  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . No. 27 in the Beugnot sale catalogue. A very fine piece.

(ι) Hydria-Kalpis, with the picture on the shoulder, in the Castellani collection at Rome. Herakles and the Lion:  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\lambda$ . Mentioned in *J.H.S.* 31, p. 280, note 1. Grand drawing.

(κ) Hydria-Kalpis, with the picture on the body, in the Castellani collection at Rome. Youth offering a hare to a boy.

(λ) Fragment of a calyx-krater in the Cabinet des Médailles (420). Arring.

(μ) Fragments of a calyx-krater in Baron Gindice's collection at Girona: made up, with large modern additions, into a complete vase. A, (1) male in himation leaning on stick  $\tau$ ; (2) woman  $\tau$ ; (3) woman leaning  $\tau$ ; (4) male in himation standing frontal, in L stick; (5) woman  $\tau$ :  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ . B, there remain a figure in chiton and himation moving  $\tau$ , and a woman moving  $\tau$ , looking round.

(ν) Fragment of a volute-krater in the Cabinet des Médailles (863): on the neck, youth arring.

(ξ) Lekythos in the Glyptothek at Munich. Herakles with the Tripod. Mentioned in *J.H.S.* 31, p. 280, note 10.

Drawings of α, β, γ, θ, λ, ε, and a photograph of ε (B only) will be found in the new Oxford Apparatus.

## II

Pl. VII. 2 is taken from the oinochoe Harrow 56. The shape (Fig. 6), a development from an earlier type, is common in the ripe archaic and earlier free periods, rare later. The subject is a boy holding a hoop, with the inscription  $\Pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\iota$ : part of his right breast and part of his penis are missing. The lowest section of the left shin-line is marked as brown in the plate, but it ought to be black like the other sections.

There are two other oinochoai of the same shape and by the same hand. One is Cambridge 104 (Ernest Gardner, *Fitzwilliam Vases*, p. 67), which has a woman on it, holding oinochoe and phiale, with the inscription +ΑΙΠΕΣΥ the other, No 97 in the Thorvaldson Museum at Copenhagen, bears a figure of Athena holding spear and helmet, with the inscriptions retouched but I think authentic, \*ΑΙΕΗΕΓΑΙΣ and \*ΑΛΟΣ.

The figures on these two vases are two clothed women: the naked boy on the Harrow vase will compare more easily with the naked Silen in Pl. VII. 1, which comes from an oinochoe in New York (12, 229, 13). The New York vase is fragmentary, but nothing is missing of the picture: the shape was the same as that of the Vienna vase figured in *Masner's Catalogue*, p. 48, a shape rarely used by potters: only ten examples are known to me. The subject is also a rare one, for the Silen is holding a pair of balteres, and beside him are a pick and a discus with an owl painted on it: and it is seldom that Silenus came into the palaestra.

The painter of these four vases is one of the minor artists of the ripe archaic period. His small vases are his best. I suppose the Harrow vase is his most pleasant work. A favourite shape of his is the column-krater, but only one of his column-kraters deserves praise, a vase in Berlin (*Arch. Anz.* 1890, p. 89) with a nicely-composed group of a sulky boy, perhaps Achilles, and a winged lady, perhaps Thetis, coming up behind him to pet him. He made a specialty of cheap neck-amphorae with two figures on the front and one on the back, a reserved line below each picture, and sometimes a tongue pattern above them, the rest of the vase black: they are dull things if you except the Schwerin vase for its pretty motive, a Silen playing with a fawn. That he painted a calyx-krater from time to time is shown by a fragment in Athens: and there is a small Panathenaic amphora by him in Berlin. I should call him 'the painter of the Harrow oinochoe'. His works are the following:—

### 1. Column-Kraters.

(a) the picture not framed.

1. Berlin. *Arch. Anz.* 1890, p. 89. A, Achilles and Thetis: B, youth.
2. Girgenti, Baron Giordano. A, youth in bimation, leading a calf: B, man.
3. Naples 3152. A, Zeus and Ganymede: B, youth.
4. Florence 4024. Passeri, *Picturae Etruscorum*, ii. Pl. 150 (badly). A, Symposium: man with phiale: B, youth.
5. Rome, Villa Giulia. A, Symposium: youth with lyre in r. hand: B, 1. Small.

(b) the pictures framed.

6. Vatican. A, women with mirror between youth and man: B, two youths.
7. *ibid.* Courtlands, Pomfret, Conn., Dr. J. C. Hoppin. At present on loan in the Museum at Boston. A, youth seated between two others: B, youth and man.





FIG. 3. — BOSTON 10. 178: PANATHENAIIC AMPHORA. R.



FIG. RA.—BUSTO DI 178: PANATHENAIOS ARPHIOBA I. A.



7. Rome, Villa Giulia (Helbig, 1797 b). A, youth offering a purse to a woman, with two Eroses; B, two kinnaroi.

8. Gergenti, Baron Giudice. A, youth girding and soldier girding his sword on, with a man, an old man, and a woman; B, two youths and two men.

9. Florence 3399. A, Symposium; B, man between two youths.

(c) Fragments.

10. Athens, Acropolis G 198. Man with kerykeion, woman, old man, youth and another figure; B, parts of four figures.

11. Athens, Acropolis G 171 (head of youth).

12. Athens, Acropolis G 77 (man).

The column-knitter with Theseus and Poseidon, in the collection of ~~Perrone~~ Tricase, (*Röm. Mitt.* 9 Pl. 8) seems to be by this painter: but I have not seen the original.

II. Calyx-krater.

13. Athens, Acropolis G 10, fragment. (Lyre: youth).

III. Neck-amphorae.

(a) With twisted handles.

14. Rome, Castellani collection. A, Zeus pursuing woman; B, woman running.

15. Formerly in the Paris market (Canessa). A, *Col. Dr. B, et M.C.* Pl. 20, No. 170. A, old man and soldier; B, man.

16. Corneto. A, youth leaning on stick touching the breast of a woman who holds a flower; B, youth.

17. Vatican. A, man and boy; B, youth.

18. Vatican. A, seated youth with lyre, and man; B, man.

19. Louvre G 222. A, man standing on a platform, and man; B, youth.

20. Formerly in the Roman market (Jandolo). A, man running with sword; B, youth. Small.

(b) with triple handles.

21. Petrograd 007 (Stephani 1532). *Compte-Rendu*, 1873, p. 42. A, Zeus and Ganymede; B, youth.

22. Petrograd 606 (Stephani 1042). A, Zeus pursuing woman; B, man.

23. Petrograd 605 (Stephani 1640). A, youth with purse, and woman; B, woman.

24. Louvre G 215. A, flute-player and acrobat; B, man.

25. Louvre G 208. A, Silen and Menad; B, Dionysos and Menad.

26. Louvre G 207 bis. A, Silen and Dionysos; B, Menad.

27. Altenburg 238. A, man leaning on stick; B, youth. Small.

28. Munich 2326 (Jahn 253). B. F. R. 1, p. 148. A, man with parasol; B, youth. Small.

(c) with ridged handles.

29. Schwerin 1293. A, Silen shaking hands with a faun; B, Silen.

(d) the handles lost.

30. Baltimore. A, Silen led captive; B, man.

31. Louvre G 207. A, Dionysos and Silen; B, man.

IV. **Amphora of Panathenaic shape.**

32. Berlin 2132. A, Eros; B, Athena.

V. **Fragment of a large vase.**

33. Leipzig, from Cervetri. Man (in himation, leaning on stick r., r. hand on hip) and youth.

VI. **Oinochoai.**

(a)

34. Harrow 56. *Burlington Cat.* 1904, Pl. 95, No. H 53. New, Pl. VII, 2 and Fig. 6. Boy with hoop.

35. Cambridge 164. Ernest Gardner, *Fitzwilliam Vases*, p. 67. Woman with oinochoe and phiale.

36. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 97. Athena.

(b)

37. New York 12, 229, 13. Staerkelberg, *Geschichte der Hellenen*, Pl. 24, Fig. 5 (badly). New, Pl. VII, 1. Silen playing athlete. *Kalos*, and meaningless inscriptions.

VII. **Shape unknown** (column-krauter?).

38. Jüthner, *Antike Tarngeräthe*, p. 9. Athletes and trainer.

Drawings of 23 (B only), 32 (A only) and a photograph of 36, in the Oxford Apparatus.

J. D. BEAZLEY.



FIG. 6.—Harrow 56.



## APOLLO AND ST. MICHAEL: SOME ANALOGIES.

### 1.—THE FOUNDATION LEGEND OF THE SHRINE OF APOLLO SINITHEUS.

ON the coins of Alexandria Troas of Roman date we find certain types, which are evidently related to the story of the foundation of the Sinitheion; as well as another which may refer to the foundation of the city itself. They have been discussed at length by Wroth.<sup>1</sup> The most remarkable (Fig. 1, a) shows on the left a grotto, surmounted by a cultus-statue of



FIG. 1.—COINS OF ALEXANDRIA TROAS.

Apollō Sinitheus; within the grotto is another statue, precisely similar, but lying on the ground. Before the grotto stands a herdsman, holding a pedum in his left hand, and raising his right in a gesture which, as Wroth says, may be interpreted as expressing either adoration or surprise. On the right, a bull is seen running away, as if terror-stricken, with its head turned back

<sup>1</sup> B.M.C. *Troas*, etc., pp. 170, ff.; esp. *Insular Numismatics*, p. 321. To avoid possible misconception, it may be observed that, though the statue of Apollō Sinitheus represented on the coins was the work of Scopas, the legends must first have

grown up round an earlier cultus-figure. The coin-engraver of Roman date, however, in illustrating the legend, has naturally represented, not the primitive figure, long disappeared, but the one which he knew.

towards the cavern. It would seem that some local legend connected with the discovery of the statue of the god is here portrayed. The engraver appears to have naively blended two incidents of the legend—first the chance finding in a cavern of the statue of Apollo Smintheus by a herdsman—next, the setting up of a statue for worship in a place of honour over the cavern. On other coins of Alexandria Tros a herdsman—who is evidently the same herdsman—is represented in the presence of a divinity who appears to be Apollo . . . and he often appears standing beside the feeding horse that occurs frequently as a coin-type of Alexandria Tros (Fig. 1, *D*).

Wroth continues: 'The type of an eagle holding a bull's head in its talons' (Fig. 1, *b*) 'has been explained by Leake . . . as referring to some foundation-legend of the same character as the legends told of the Syrian Antioch and Nicomedia, according to which, when a founder (i.e. Seleucus I. or Nicator I.), 'undetermined as to the site of his intended city' was sacrificing to some deity, an eagle carried away the head of the victim and deposited it on the future site. From the appearance of this type as a symbol in the "field" of certain coins' (Fig. 1, *c*) 'representing the Emperor sacrificing to Apollo Smintheus, it may be inferred that the foundation-legend of Alexandria Tros was in some way connected with that divinity.'

The 'some way' presumably means that the eagle was said to have carried off the bull's head from a sacrifice which Antigonus was offering to Apollo Smintheus, and deposited it on the site of the future city of Alexandria. The inference is plausible enough. But this by way of digression, for we are concerned with the foundation not of Alexandria but of the Smintheion, at Chryse near Hamaxitos.

Most of the literary references are concerned with explaining the appearance of the mouse or rat as the attribute of Apollo. As they have all been conveniently collected by Dr. Furnell,<sup>1</sup> I need not recite them here. Nor do I intend to make more than a passing reference to the explanation of the rodent as the plague-rat.<sup>2</sup> Whether the attribute of

<sup>1</sup> *Culte de la Grèce Antique*, vol. IV, p. 449. I may mention here J. Y. Grobmann's monograph *Apollo Smintheus u. die Bedeutung der Mause in der Myth. der Hellenismus* (Frag. 1892), which proceeds on the theory that mice are 'Gewitterwesen,' and Apollo a storm-god like Indra and Wotan. Mr. A. B. Cook calls my attention to a curious instance of the mouse (or rat) as a 'foundation-animal.' Herodotus Pontion (frag. 42 *F.H.G.* II. 324) 'Ἀργεῖον γὰρ αἱ ἐν καταστάσει αἱ ἱερῆς αἰῶνι καὶ γενναίᾳ τέλει καὶ Ἀργεῖον δόξαται: ὅτι, Στράβων, Ἐπικύριος, Ἀργεῖον, . . . συνέστη δὲ τὸ πρῶτον αἱ ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ Ἀργεῖον μύθησι συνέστησαν ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ Στράβωνος καταστάσει: ὅτι αἱ ἐν αἰῶνι' In

'Argos' connected with Argos? The mouse or rats kept below the altar in the Smintheion were white. —I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the many helpful suggestions which have been made to me by Mr. Cook in the course of this investigation.

<sup>2</sup> The whole question with, I hope, be threshed out by Mr. P. S. On, who very kindly placed his notes at my disposal. I may refer also to Dr. Louis Sander's articles in the *Times* for Jan. 30 and Feb. 4, 1911 (he explains the serpent of Asclepius as an agent for the destruction of rats); and, for a very full treatment of the archaeology of plague to Dr. Raymond Cawthra's *Plague and Pesticides in Literature and Art* (Oxford, 1914).



Apollo was a rat, or a field vole, I have no hesitation in saying that it is as the instrument of plague that the animal is associated with *Smithæus*. As Dr. Crawford points out, even mice that destroy crops cause famine, and the association of typhus (which the ancients would class as plague) with famine is historically notorious. There is a striking passage in Strabo which illustrates this: οὐδὲ τὸ τῶν μυῶν πλῆθος ἰδίως (τῶν Ἰβήρων), ἀφ' οὗ καὶ λοιμικαὶ νόσοι πολλάκις ἐκολούθησαν. συνέβη δ' ἐν τῇ Κανταβρία τοῦτο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὥστε καὶ μισθοὺς ἀρνῆσθαι μολιθοῦντας πρὸς μέτρον ἀποδεχθῆναι, [καὶ] ἐισπύοντο μόλις προσλαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων σπάνις καὶ σίτον. In the same way pestilence might follow on the famine caused by a visitation of locusts, and it was probably owing to his intervention as plague-god on the occasion of such visitations that Apollo earned his title of Ποροπίων. (At Tauste near Saragossa in 1421 it was St. Michael who delivered the people from a plague of locusts).<sup>2</sup> The special connexion of *Smithæus* with the plague is further indicated, as Mr. Uri reminds me, by the coincidence that in Rhodes we find a cult of Apollo Λαίμιος and a festival *Smithia* and a month *Smithios*. On the evidence of the fragment of Aeschylus' *Sisyphus* (238) ἄρουραῖός τις ἐστὶ σμίθιος, ὡς ὑπερφύης, it has been maintained that the σμίθιος was a μῦς ἀρουραῖος, although the very use of the epithet suggests that σμίθιος by itself does not mean field mouse. Finally, there is, I believe, considerable dispute amongst naturalists as to the period when the rat first made its appearance in the West.<sup>3</sup> But there has not, I believe, been any serious discussion by them of the Egyptian evidence from which it would appear that rats were well known and distinguished from mice in antiquity.<sup>4</sup> If so, it is incredible that they should not have found their way on shipboard to Greek lands.

For my present purpose the important passage among the authorities on the *Smithæion* is the Scholium on *Ilus* I. 39. ἐν Χρυσῇ, πόλει τῆς Μυσίας, Κρῖνις τις ἱερὴς ἦν τοῦ κείῳ Ἀπόλλωνος. ταῦτ' ὀργισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπεμψεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀγροῖς μύας, αἵτινες τοὺς καρποὺς ἐλυμαίνοντο. βουλευθεὶς δὲ πῶς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καταλλαγῆναι, πρὸς Ὀρδῷ τὸν ἀρχιβουκόλον αὐτοῦ παρεκίνητο, παρ' ᾧ ξενισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπέσχετο τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξαι, καὶ δὴ παροχήμα ἡξήσας τοῖς μύσιν διέφθειρεν. ἀπαλλασσόμενος οὖν ἐνετείλατο τὴν ὑπὸφύνην αὐτοῦ ἀηλῶσαι τῷ Κρῖνιδι. οὗ γενομένου ὁ Κρῖνις ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο τῷ θεῷ, Σμιθία αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας; ἐπειδὴ ἐστὰ τὴν ἐγχώριον

<sup>2</sup> Ill. 4, 1810, 1871.

<sup>3</sup> A. 4, 38 Sept. 23, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> A. R. Shiple in *Journ. Zool. Biol.* 1908, vol. III, p. 61, says that "according to Helm *N. Rattus* passed into Europe at the time of the Palaeolithic age, and doubtless accompanied the migrating Asiatic hunter on their journey westward." The brown rat is a much later comer. O. Kollar, *Antik. Tierwelt*, 1906, i, p. 254 f., has no evidence for the rat in classical Europe before the twelfth century, though he feels sure that it was known long before that time throughout the

Eastern Roman Empire, including the Euxine at Ravenna, under the name of *eproustus*. The mouse was *Miblis Asia*; and I find it difficult to believe that it cannot have been known at an early period in Asia Minor.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. for instance, Andrew Lang, *Daedalus and Myth*, p. 112. Kollar, loc. cit., says that the alleged rats in ancient Egyptian sculpture are neither *eproustus* nor *eproustus*, nor even *eproustus*; but he does not say what the animals are.

<sup>6</sup> Unders (1880), i, p. 11.

αὐτῶν διαλεκτὸν οἱ μῦθε· σμίθου καλοῦνται. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Πολέμωνι. It seems to me, as to Dr. Leaf, who first called my attention to the subject, that there can be no shadow of doubt that the herdsman of the coins described above is Orkēs, the ἀρχιβούκολος of Krinīs. The difficulty, if it is a difficulty, that the priest Krinīs seems to have been a large owner of cattle, disappears when we realise that the herd very probably belonged not to him but to the god. In him and in his chief herdsman we see the mythical type of the sacred officials known as βουκόλοι.\* It should be noted in this connexion that Imhoof-Blumer in describing the coins that illustrate the discovery of the Smintheion took the animal for a horse. Wroth pointed out that on the specimens known to him it was clearly a bull. But a grazing horse is so constantly associated on Troad coins with Apollo that there would be nothing surprising if it did take the place of the bull in some versions of the story.



FIG. 2.—COINS OF GARGARA.

The Troad Apollo may well have bred horses as well as bulls. That the herdsman, in any case, was a herdsman of horses as well as bulls is clear from the coins on which he is represented grazing a horse. The coins of Gargara in the Troad (Fig. 2) seem to throw some light on this point. The chief god of Gargara was certainly Apollo; his head furnishes the type for the obverse of all the coins from the fifth to the third century B.C. The reverse types in this period are a grazing bull, a galloping horse, a ram's head or a wheel. It is only in the period after 183 B.C. that other types come in, such as the lion of Kybele. The wheel is probably solar; the connexion of the ram with Apollo is well-known; it is therefore highly probable that the two remaining types are also Apolline.

That the Apollo of the Troad was a god of herds and also of the plague, we are reminded by the story that he served Laomedon as his herdsman and

\* Cf. Kern in Pauly Wissowa, in 1917, who speaks without qualification of an ἀρχιβούκολος of Apollo Smintheus.





commanded the foundation of Thebes on the spot where a cow should lie down. The use of kine by the Philistines in sending home the Ark is adduced by Hopf<sup>14</sup> as an instance of the deliberate use of such animals as guides.

The same writer gives the following instances from Northern legend of cattle as divine guides: kine in a Swedish legend indicate the place where a church is to be built; cows suckling calves indicate the site for a church, a black bull the site for a castle. Oxen point out the place where a wooden cross, which has floated thither on water, is to be set up, and an ox the site on which the monastery of Ochsenhausen is to be built.

English mythology provides two or three legends of the same type.<sup>15</sup> One is concerned with Ramsey Abbey, another with Durham Cathedral. The founder of Ramsey<sup>16</sup> was Ailwin, an alderman of East Anglia, who had long suffered from gout. His fisherman Wulfgeat had a vision of St. Benedict, who told him to cast his net and take the biggest of the fish called *hakele* to Ailwin, and tell him to accept it as a gift from the Saint, and found a monastery on the Isle of Ramsey in honour of Mary the Mother of Mercy and St. Benedict and all Holy Virgins. He is to choose the site by seeing where his cattle lie down at night, and where the bull when he rises strikes the earth with his right foot, there he is to erect his altar. As a token, St. Benedict makes Wulfgeat's finger crooked and tells him that Ailwin will make it straight again. Ailwin, on receiving the message, straightens the finger, and goes to the island. On reaching it he is at once cured of the gout, and finds his cattle lying in the form of a cross with the bull in the middle, and the bull indicates the altar-site with his right foot in the predicted way.

Ailwin, like Krinis, was an owner of cattle; and the vision appeared not to him, but to his fisherman, as Apollo manifested himself not to Krinis but to his chief herdsman.

As to Durham, the tradition<sup>17</sup> is well-known that, as the carriage bearing the coffin of St. Cuthbert was approaching the present site of Durham, it was suddenly arrested. After prayer and fasting, it was revealed to Eadmer that the saint should find his last resting-place at Dunholme. The place, by this name, was unknown to the bishop and his attendants, who wandered about for some time in search of it. The discovery was accidentally made by hearing a woman who was seeking her cow, say that it had strayed in Dunholme.

<sup>14</sup> L. Hopf, *Theowald und Orabalthius in aller und neuer Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1888, p. 78.

<sup>15</sup> I owe the first two references to Mr. C. B. Foure.

<sup>16</sup> *Historia Ramensensis* (Reils Series, vol. 83, pp. 183-185).

<sup>17</sup> Wm. Hutchinson, *Hist. of Durham*, i. p. 78. He says the story is not recorded by any monastic writer, though it is in a

verse confirmed by the representation of the cow and her attendants on one of the towers of the Cathedral. It is briefly mentioned in the *Rites of Durham* (1593, Surtees Society, vol. 107, p. 37). 'Revelation had they to carry him to Dunholme. And as they were going, they had intelligence by a woman looking her cow, where that Dunholme was.'



It was a white cow, again, that guided Wilfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, to the spot where

In Clent, in Cowbage, Kenelm, king born,  
Liaeth under a thorn,  
His head off shorn;

so that the body of the martyred king was dug up. The healing well of St. Kenelm afterwards sprang up in the same spot.<sup>18</sup>

Guadalupe in Spain has a wonder-working image of Our Lady which was discovered in the following manner.<sup>19</sup> About 1317-1322 a cow-herd of Cáceres lost a cow. Going in search of it for three days he at last reached the site of the present monastery, where he found the animal dead. Thinking to save the skin, he began by making the usual cruciform incision on the breast of the carcass, whereupon it suddenly started up alive. To the man in his confusion Our Lady appeared, and bade him take his cow back to the herd and go home and tell the priests that they should come and dig in that spot, and they would find in an ancient grave an image of Her. Which accordingly came to pass.

Analogies to the yoke of kings employed by the Philistines are found in various mediæval legends. The site of a chapel of Sainte Noale of the Morbihan was indicated by two young bulls fresh to the yoke: the grave and site of the shrine of St. Jugon in the same district by two oxen, similarly unbroken; and two unbroken young heifers carried the statue of St. Catherine, which had been discovered under a great stone, to the site of her chapel, two oxen having refused the task.<sup>20</sup>

### B.—THE LEGEND OF MTE. GARGANO.

Most pertinent to the present question, however, are two legends concerned with shrines of the Archangel Michael. It is not necessary for our purpose to go into the question of the date of the alleged apparition of St. Michael which led to the foundation of the famous shrine in the grotto on Mte. Gargano. For a tedious discussion of that question reference may be made to the work of the Bollandists,<sup>21</sup> where the earliest versions of the legend are also discussed. It does not matter, from the present point of view, whether the events are supposed to have

<sup>18</sup> See the story in Catton's *Golden Legend*, July 17.

<sup>19</sup> *Annuaire y. Rufus, sous le patronage des Monastères de Ntra. Sen. de Guadalupe*, 1912, pp. 12 f. I owe the reference to Mr. W. H. Buckler.

<sup>20</sup> All these are given by P. de Villot, *Le Pottier de France*, 1867, iv. p. 116. They remind us of the wild bulls of the Spanish queros large of Valencia, which, tamed by the sign of the cross, brought the body of St. James the Greater to her palace; so that she

was converted and turned her palace into a church of St. James and finished her life in good works (Jacobus de Voragine, *Leg. Aureol. Graecus*, p. 425).

<sup>21</sup> *JA* 88, Sept. 29, pp. 66 ff. Gothein's criticism on the facility of the discussion (*Culturgeschichte Süd-Italiens*, p. 69-70) is not unimpaired. What is important in such matters is the date when the legend took shape, and that, Gothein maintains, must have been in the second half of the seventh century.

happened in the late fifth or the early sixth century, and whether it was a Gelasius or a Pelagius who was Pope at the time. For the same reason I quote the legend not from the text given by the Bollandists, but from the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, which had such an enormous vogue that it is a better indication of popular belief than anything else of the kind. He writes<sup>21</sup>: *Apparitio ipsius angeli multiplex est. Prima, qua in monte Gargano apparuit. In Apulia namque est quidam mons nomine Garganus juxta civitatem quae dicitur Sipontus. Anno autem domini cccxc in praedicta urbe Siponte erant quidam viri nomine Gargani, qui secundum quosdam libros a monte illo nomen acceperat, vel a quo mons ille nomen acceperat, qui ovium et bovm infinita multitudo pollebat. Cum autem circa praesecti montis latera passerentur, contigit quendam taurum alios relinquere et verticem montis conscendere. Cum domum aliis redeuntibus non redisset, collecta domini multitudo famulorum per devia quaequequirent ipsam tandem in vertice montis juxta ostium ejusdem speluncae invenit. Perterritus ille, cum solivagus insederet, mox in ipsum sagittam toxicatam direxit, sed statim voluit a vento retorta ipsum, qui jecerat, repercutit. Turbati super hac civis episcopum advenit et super re tam stupenda ipsum requirunt. Qui triduanum jejunium iis iudixit et a Deo querendum esse admonuit. Quo pervento sanctus Michael episcopo apparuit illicens: sciatis, hominem illum voluntate mea suo telo esse percussum, ego enim sum Michael archangelus, qui locum hunc in terris incolere tutumque servare statque hoc volui probare indicio, ipsius me loci inspectorem esse atque custodem. Statimque episcopus atque civis cum processione locum advenit et ingredi non praesumentes orationi prius foribus insistunt.*

For the time nothing more seems to have been done, but the subsequent intervention of St. Michael on behalf of the Sipontines and Beneventans in a battle with the heathen Neapolitans raised the question whether a regular cult should not be established on the sacred spot. The bishop had a vision of the Saint, who revealed to him that he himself had built and dedicated<sup>22</sup> the church there; and in fact, when the bishop and people entered the cave next day, they found a large underground church with three altars and a spring of sweet and healing water.

The place became a famous resort of pilgrims, the cures wrought by its waters being many and famous.

Garganus Mons appears to be identical with the λόφος ὁ ὄρηα

<sup>21</sup> Ed. Grassi, pp. 642 ff. The representation of the legend of M<sup>te</sup> Gargano is not very common in art. There are of course the three apparitions of the saint represented on the bronze door of the church itself (see below, p. 138). The scene where Garganus shoots the bull is given in a fine fourteenth-century illumination of the *Tomeau school* (*Reu. Man*

Manuscript, B, 24 B); the same scene is represented in flight three times, towards the bull, turning in the air, and returning.

<sup>22</sup> I take this to be a reminiscence of the function of St. Michael as *high priest*, which has its roots in a Jewish conception. See W. Laeken, *Michael*, pp. 91-100.



Διορ of Strabo (VI. 3. 9, C. 284), and it is significant that on the summit was a shrine of Calchas; those who consulted the oracle there sacrificed a black ram and slept on the fleeces thereof.<sup>20</sup> This oracle of the seer, whose gift of prophecy, as Homer tells us, was due to Apollo, may very possibly have been in the same cavern which afterwards served for St. Michael. Strabo it is true does not mention any healing spring in connexion with the shrine of Calchas; and the shrine of Podaleirios which he describes in the next sentence, as having a ποταμὸν πρὸς τὰς τὰν ὀρεσσάτων πόσιν cannot be brought into connexion with it, since this second shrine was low down near the foot of the mountain.<sup>21</sup>

However this may be the essential elements in the foundation-legend are the guiding of the owner of a herd to the sacred spot by one of his cattle, and the discovery of a sacred cavern, ready installed for worship. For the episode of the arrow which returns and smites the man who loosed it or ordered it to be loosed is common to too many mediaeval stories of the Saints to be significant<sup>22</sup>; and we may regard the intervention of the Bishop and the Pope as intended merely to add official weight to the narrative.

That there is some analogy between this legend and that of the Smintaion, if it be admitted that the tinning ball on the coins of Alexander has been rightly interpreted, it seems to me impossible to deny. Of course it is easy to submit it to destructive criticism, and whittle

<sup>20</sup> Both at the shrine of St. Michael on Mt. Gargano and at Mont St. Michel there are stories of 'persecution', but I doubt, from the nature of them, whether they can be regarded as cases of incubation. In 1022 the Emperor Saint Henry II visited Mt. Gargano and obtained permission to remain in the church during the night, when Mass was celebrated by angels ministrants. One of them approached him to give him the Bible to him and touched him as a sign, with the result that his thigh was permanently withered. (Grosset, *Opus*, vol. x. pp. 550-521; cp. J. A. Herbert, *Acta Sancti of Romanesque*, vol. iii. pp. 390, 394). At Mont St. Michel a man who spent the night in the church suffered the penalty of death (see Haynes, *Not. gen. de l'Abbaye de Mont St. Michel*, 1872, i. p. 46). There is also a story of the leader of the Saracens who, on an expedition against Chios, spent the night in a church of St. Michael, and saw in a vision an old man who announced his imminent death and struck him on the hip with his staff. The Saracens had previously uttered threats against the city of St. Peter, and on making enquiries decided that it was that Saint who had appeared to him. E. Gauthier (*Des Cultes antiques des Grecs*, 1886, p. 84) treats the evidence cavalierly, though

the narrator says the apparition was St. Peter, the place and the blow with the lance, he maintains, show that originally Michael was intended. The word used for the weapon by John the Deacon (*Translatio S. Severini*, in Waite, *Ser. Roman. Lapidaria*, 1878, p. 428) is *lanceum*. But it was not necessary for Gauthier so to corrupt his translation in order to prove a corruption of the legend; for after all, Michael, as he himself remarks (p. 86), is merely art and literature while normally not a lance but a staff or sceptre. For instance it is with a *βίβλος* that he works his miracle at Chios, and it is a sceptre that he carries in the splendid story of the British Museum.

<sup>21</sup> Waite in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *art. Garganus mons*, speaks misleadingly of 'ein Orakelheiligtum des Kalchas und Podaleirios,' and others have also run the two shrines into one. In Strabo they are quite distinct, and the dedication to Lysiphron, *Alex.* 1047, only says *ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ἑστῆς τοῦ Πωδαλείριου* (*ἡ Πωδαλείριος*) *ἢ τῆς Ἀλκίονος*.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. St. Christopher and St. Savilian. Cp. the legend from Upper Savoy, P. Schillot, *Folklore de France*, 1907, iv. p. 120. The statement that the arrow was poisoned, however, is peculiar. Has it any reference to plague? If so, it is significant in this story, after all, as we shall see.

it away. The man Garganus does not found the shrine, as Krinis does; in fact he disappears from the story altogether after the cave is found. No image of St. Michael is found in the cave, but only altars dedicated by the saint himself. There are no ruins or ruins, as at the Smintheion; there is a healing spring, which is lacking at the Smintheion. One could find other discrepancies with little difficulty. But an exact correspondence in comparisons of this sort is not to be expected; indeed it would be highly suspicious if it occurred.

#### 4.—MONT ST. MICHEL.

Another equally famous shrine of St. Michael, at Mont St. Michel, boasts a legend<sup>20</sup> in which a bull also plays a large part. I need not go into the whole story, but will merely mention that St. Michael appeared to Aubert, bishop of Avranches, and told him to found a church in his honour. The bishop was so difficult to persuade that the vision had to be repeated a third time; even then he was only convinced by means of a kind of surgical operation, which would have pleased Sydney Smith: the Archangel pressed Aubert's head with his finger in such a way as to leave a hole in it, through which the brain could be seen. The bishop got off less easily than Wulfget of Ramsey. The site of the church in this case was indicated as the spot where a thief had tethered a bull which he had stolen and was holding to ransom; and the area of the church was marked out by the space which the bull had trodden down.

It is hardly necessary, in connexion with this story, to recall the subject of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes. The thief of the Mont St. Michel legend corresponds to the Greek Hermes, or the Roman Mercury, who is the patron god of all thieves: the bull to the cattle of Apollo or the Sun-god;<sup>21</sup> and although in the mediæval legend St. Michael does not say that the bull belongs to him, I think it is a legitimate assumption that he himself corresponds to Apollo.

It has been maintained<sup>22</sup> that the Mont St. Michel legend is an artificial

<sup>20</sup> The Celtic legend, in which Arthur slays a giant from Spain, is apparently quite distinct: but it is parallel to the defeat of the Devil by Michael, for Spain is the Celtic Hades. The story is told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Book X., § 3, and in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Book V., Chapter V.

<sup>21</sup> See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 410. Mr. Cook has suggested that the part played by St. Michael in the Balkan myth of the 'Stealing of the Sun' (the Devil steals the sun from God, and Michael gets it back by a trick) might be explained by the equation of Michael with Apollo. But I must leave this matter to others more competent in folk-lore to decide. The myth in question is given by O. Dalmanitz, *Naturgesen* (1907), pp. 136 ff.

In the Hymn to Hermes Michael and Gabriel recover the sun and the other lights of Heaven with the help of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John (M. Foster, *Reverend and Holy Stories* (1916) pp. 90 f.). — In Indian mythology, the demon of drought or darkness, the dragon Vritra, imprisons in the bowels of the mountains the cows (clouds) of Indra (the thunder-god); Indra conquers him and liberates the waters and the light. See A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>22</sup> As by Goheen, *Culturgeschichtliche Studien*, p. 105, and other less learned writers. Goheen (p. 72) even maintains that there is some similarity between the Mts. Garganus legend and that of Chamos (of which later).



adaptation, with embroidery, of the legend of Mte. Gargano. But it is not enough to say that one legend is an artificial development from another unless you can give reasons for the variations which are introduced. I confess that the differences between the two legends seem to me more striking than the resemblances, if we except the fact that a bull serves as guide in both. But that use of an animal as guide, as we have seen, is an element essential to the type of foundation myth with which we are concerned.

If St. Michael has taken over, as we shall see there is some ground to suppose he has done, the paraphernalia of Apollo or the Sun-God, we can understand the employment of the bull: it is the leader of his herd whether we look upon the herd as the divine beasts of the Sun-God, or as the cattle which are under the tutelage of the pastoral god, Apollo Nomios. And it is worth noticing in this connexion that the worship on Mte. Gargano may have been originally a local cult of the Apulian herdsmen<sup>20</sup> before it became a national cult. It has been observed that the two great festivals of St. Michael, early in May and late in September, coincide with the seasons of the great pastoral movements in these regions, when the herds go up to and down from the highlands. Of course it must be admitted that no saint whose cult was localised in so remote a part would have much chance of celebrity unless his festival was arranged for some such season.

#### 5.—GENERAL ANALOGIES AND APPROACHES BETWEEN APOLLO AND ST. MICHAEL.

The hint which these stories give us of a connexion between the mediæval idea of St. Michael and the ancient idea of Apollo is one which might be worth following up in detail by any one who has the necessary time and erudition. Neither being at my disposal, I am only able to put together a few slight suggestions.

Such statements of the connexion between the two as I have come across in modern writers seem to be confined to generalities.<sup>21</sup> I suppose these generalities to be based on the feeling that between the Angel of Light, the conqueror of the Evil One who takes the shape of a dragon, and the bright god whose arrows destroyed the Python, the analogy is very close. That the Python may have been originally the spirit of the shrine which Apollo took over, makes no difference to the fact that to the popular mind it eventually represented the demon of evil. It was doubtless this feeling that inspired the modern sculptor, who asked to replace the figure of St. Michael

It is true that at both places the Saint manifests himself in natural marvels, but the chaos of Chaos down which he makes the rivers disappear, and the grotto of Mte. Gargano are no more 'unverkennliche Analogie' than Marathon and Monsmartre.

<sup>20</sup> Gothein, *op. cit.* p. 42.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. 'On vit Jupiter on l'ait transformé en saint Pierre, Apollon en saint Michel' (P. Saintyves, *Les Saints Successeurs des Dieux* (1907), pp. 11-12. But later on (p. 220) the writer insists on only the correspondence of St. Michael with Jupiter.

in the church at Solofra, that had been damaged by fire, took as his model the Apollo Belvedere. Trede, who reports this<sup>21</sup> as having happened in the eighties of last century, observes: 'the artist had in fact hit the mark, for that Apollo is in the act of slaying the Python. The artist saw in St. Michael a successor of Apollo, and it cannot be said that he was wrong.' It is only fair to say that the same writer in the course of his book, though he is able to connect St. Michael (sometimes rather vaguely it is true) with Mithras, Mars, Hercules, Jupiter, Bacchus and Mercury, can find but little evidence of his succeeding to the privileges of Apollo.

If we confine ourselves to generalities, there is also the fact that Michael has a great predilection for mountain-tops, so that he would very naturally inherit any cult connected with such places, as in many places in Greece St. Elias (helped doubtless by his name, but also by his history) has inherited the cult of Iolios.

It may be mentioned that in his manifestations Michael constantly uses the vehicles proper to a sky-god: sometimes he appears in thunder and lightning, often as a column, sometimes as a globe, of light.<sup>22</sup>

But the accepted view is that, in Greek lands especially, Michael succeeded Hermes in his capacity of *psychopompos*.<sup>23</sup> Both are divine heralds, so that this connexion between the two is very natural. Nevertheless the functions of herald and of messenger of death by no means exhaust St. Michael's sphere of action.

I do not wish to lay any particular stress on the identification of Apollo with St. Michael, 'the foremost angel of great Zeus too'—*ἀγγελοῦ προτέρου Ζητὸς μεγάλου Ἰδω*—in a Berlin papyrus<sup>24</sup> simply because the document is a marginal one, in which all sorts of identifications are made, which are inadmissible in ordinary circumstances.<sup>25</sup> Nor is touch to be made of the ruin of a church near Constantinople, which was known as the church τοῦ ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἀνατέλλοντος, *ecclesia Orizontis Archangelī*.<sup>26</sup> For though it is tempting to connect the title with the sun-god<sup>27</sup> it is

<sup>21</sup> Th. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der früh christl. Kirche*, ii. (1891), p. 331.

<sup>22</sup> See the Mont St. Michel legends in J. Hayart, *Revue*, 1891, p. 65; also Willmann, *Mon., Chron. Cosmogr. S. Mich. de Chios*, in *Mon. Hist. Soc.* iii. 253; *videtur* . . . a profecto mente saltem ignem frequentius usque ad celum longi tractu porrigi; and 255, *scilicet animarum noctis medium* . . . immensum ignis montem, magne columnae eliditur & solo super montem descendere, *causam* flammis occumbit, *acris* serpens, *patum* circumdabitur. With reference to St. Michael as a storm-god, Mr. Haddock reminds me of the curious belief that the squalls prevalent at C. Malva (C. S. Angelo) are caused by St. Michael flapping his wings (*R.S.A.*, xiv. 1897-8, p. 174). I have already referred above (note 2) to Girihmann's theory that Apollo-Sminthos

is a storm-god.

<sup>23</sup> See for instance, J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 45.

<sup>24</sup> Parthey, *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri*, 128, quoted by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 253.

<sup>25</sup> The theology of such a document may be as patristic as that of Origenes, whom notion that Michael is the angel of prayer, Gabriel that of war and Raphael that of penitence, is rightly scouted by Chabou (p. 80, note) as running diametrically counter to popular belief. See however, below, p. 150, n. 54 for an instance of Raphael in connexion with penitence.

<sup>26</sup> *A.A.*, 88, loc. cit. p. 31.

<sup>27</sup> *Oriens* (say) is the usual legend on Roman coins of the third century with the type of Sol.



maintained that the word may mean 'appearing in a vision.' Another quite uncertain point of contact is at Epidaurus, where St. Michael and St. Damian are worshipped.<sup>30</sup> It has occurred to me that St. Damian, primarily a physician saint, may represent Asklepios, and St. Michael stand for Apollo Malepatas, whose cult at Epidaurus was of considerable importance. But this is a mere guess.

A clear case of contact, however, seems to me to be given by the fact that at the Pythian Baths (*Θέρμα Πύθια*)<sup>31</sup> in Bithynia, obviously from their name healing baths under the patronage of the Delphic God, the church which Justinian enlarged was dedicated to Michael.<sup>32</sup>

A very curious problem<sup>33</sup> is raised by the equation, which we find in inscriptions at Idalion in Cyprus, between Apollo *Ἀπολλώνιος* or *Ἀπόλλων* and the Phoenician god Resef-Mikal, of whom there was, for instance, a temple at Kition. It might be supposed that Mikal—whatever that meant—having by its sound suggested *Ἀπολλώνιος*, the identification with Apollo followed, without any substantial ground. But there is other evidence for the equation of Resef with Apollo. The place *Arsef* between Joppa and Caesarea, which represents the same name (for it must be remembered that the vocalization of *R = f* as Resef is purely conventional) is on the site of the ancient Apollonia.<sup>34</sup> Now there is no reason for supposing that the ancient Phoenician god Mikal was identical with the Jewish archangel Michael. But there seems to be no doubt that in Syrian legend Resef is represented by two Christian saints, St. George and—St. Michael.<sup>35</sup> A curious incident in early Christian history has been brought into connexion with this Phoenician god Mikal.<sup>36</sup> There was at Alexandria a great temple, which was built by queen Cleopatra, dedicated to Saturn (Zabul), in which there was a great brazen idol called 'Michael' (Mikail). In its honour the inhabitants of Alexandria and Egypt celebrated a great festival on the 12th Hekat, corresponding to the second month of Tishri, with sacrifice of many beasts. When Alexander became patriarch of Alexandria<sup>37</sup> and the Christian faith obtained there; he desired to break this idol in pieces and abolish the sacrifices. But the Alexandrians withstood him, so he used cunning and said to the people: 'Your idol is worthless, but if you celebrate that festival in honour of the angel Michael, and sacrifice your victims to him, he himself

<sup>30</sup> Rouss, *Greek Palace Offerings*, p. 37.

<sup>31</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Θέρμα*. The site is Kouci near Yalova. See Hasluck in *B.S.A.* xvi, 1906-7, p. 298.

<sup>32</sup> Procopius, *de aedif.* v. 3.

<sup>33</sup> My attention was called to this by Dr. Benfey Harza.

<sup>34</sup> K. Schürer, *Gesch. der jüdischen Völker*, ii. 1907, p. 138.

<sup>35</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 8, 147b, p. 381. On Resef or Reshaf, as represented in Egyptian iconography, see K. Porrmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, 1869, pp. 150, 151. He is a war god,

and goes here and there and lings (like the Apollo of Amphiol) and also a war-god. He is sometimes identified with Persian hero Cernomus-Germanus, *op. cit.* pp. 373 ff.; Mr. H. St. J. Thackeray tells me that he has discovered fresh proof of this identification.

<sup>36</sup> See Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, in *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. xvi, p. 57. The authority for the story is the *Annals of Eusebius*, Patriarch of Alexandria 332-337/8 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Tom. 111, col. 1065, 135). Cf. the edition by Chicklin, p. 124 (not accessible to me).

<sup>37</sup> In 312 A.D.

will be your intercessor before God and bring you more good than your idol. They consented; the idol was broken up and made into a cross, and the temple he called the church of Michael (that is the church which is called *Caesarea*, and was burned when the Westerners (Maghāribīh, i.e. the Moors) entered Alexandria and had it waste); and the festival and victims were consecrated to the Angel Michael: whence even now the Copts in Egypt and Alexandria celebrate the feast of the Angel Michael on that day and slay a great number of victims.

This is the story as given by Eutychios.<sup>46</sup> The 12th Hathor is November 8th, which is the great Coptic festival of the Archangel. But in the *Synaxarium* (ed. Guidi, in *Patrologia Orientalis* I, p. 587) the story appears under the date of the other great feast of St. Michael, 12th Sane = June 8th. Here the idol is Zohal (Saturn) himself, Cleopatra is described as the daughter of Ptolemy; and the destruction of the Church Kaisariyeh is ascribed to the *Muslimin*. Of the various Egyptian deities who might be intended by 'Saturn,' Mr. Griffith mentions the male Egyptian Nemesis, with whom Krónos is identified in a curious Coptic text of Shenute, confirmed by a statement of Achilles Tatius.<sup>47</sup> The avenging angel and Nemesis are clearly akin in character.

It is possible that the god whom Eutychios calls Mikail was Resef-Mikal, for Resef or Reshaf or Reshpn, as the Egyptians called him, had long been well-known in Egypt. But it is fairly obvious from the story, taking it for what it is worth, that there was not necessarily any resemblance in functions between this Mikail and the Archangel Michael. The astute patriarch merely took advantage of a resemblance in names. Doubtless the same kind of game was played in other places in order to supersede the cult of Helios by that of St. Elias. The chain Apollo = Resef-Mikal = Michael cannot, therefore, be regarded as very strong. It is even possible, as Sir Arthur Evans suggests to me, that Mikal is a mere Phoenician adaptation of the word 'Ἀποκταῖος, and that there was never any independent Phoenician god of that name.

#### II.—THE WEAPONS OF THE PLAGUE-GOD.

It is however in their capacity of healers that we shall find some of the most interesting analogies between Michael and Apollo. Apollo shared his healing functions with many other deities or demigods; but one of his peculiar functions was the sending of plague, and, as we have seen, he who sends can also stay it. Michael also is a stayer of plague, and he seems to act also as God's agent in sending plague being indeed practically indistinguishable from the Destroying Angel.

If Michael were conceived as an archer, the parallel would be complete,

<sup>46</sup> On the whole question I have had the advantage of consulting Mr. Leavellyn Griffith, who has gone into it very fully and provided the material for most of the remarks that follow.

<sup>47</sup> See *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xiii, 162. In the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* ii, 1179 it is suggested, not very plausibly, that Michael = Moloch = Saturn.





when that city suffered from pestilence owing to the stagnation of the waters of its rivers in the neighbouring marshes. Empedocles was called in to advise a remedy. By cutting a new channel he drained off the foul waters, and the rivers Salinas and Hypan were converted into health-giving streams. On the coins we find represented the river-gods offering sacrifice at altars, which serpent and cock indicate as altars of health, also, Heracles clubbing the Cretan bull, the symbolism of which is clear enough in this connexion, and Apollo holding an arrow from his bow as he stands in a chariot driven by Artemis. The current explanation of this type is that Apollo is here represented as *ἀλεξίπρασος*, slaying the pestilence as he slew the Python. But it seems to me to be more in keeping with the Greek idea to regard him as sending out the arrows of death, even as we are told he did by Homer, or as we may see him destroying the children of Niobe.

I have said that Michael is not represented as an archer; and the supposed instance of the representation of the angel of pestilence, in a fifteenth-century fresco in S. Pietro in Vincoli, as hovering in the sky, bow in hand, turns out on examination to be misdescribed.

But the representation of pestilence by arrows is by no means uncommon in art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Starting from the words of the Psalm (Vulg. 12, 5-8: *non timetis a timore nocturno, a sagitta volante in die, a negotio perambulante in tenebris*: A.V. xci. 5-8: *thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night: nor for the arrow that flieth by day: nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness*), the art of the Renaissance represents the Almighty, or Christ as His agent, hurling plague-darts upon the heads of



FIG. 4. MARTIN MISERERE.

\* So described by Dr. Crisford, p. 101; but Mr. G. D. Ross, of the British School at Bonn, having kindly made a thorough inspection of the fresco at close quarters, assures me that the flying angel in the sky to the left is empty-headed. The notion of the angel standing on the clouds is not clear. The fresco was commissioned by Sixtus IV. at the time of the plague of 1476 and represents

the plague of 1350, in which, according to Paul the Deacon, a good and a bad angel passed through the city (of Pavia) by night, and when the bad angel, at the bidding of the good one, smote so many times with his lance on the door of a house, so many would die in that house on the next day. The two angels are represented at work, so that the archer in the sky would be superfluous.



mankind, while the victims are interceded for or even actually defended by the darts being caught in the outspread cloak of the Virgin<sup>22</sup> or of some saint. Dr. Crawford has illustrated several of the pictures or banners with this subject. Another instance, unpretending but beautiful, is a picture by Giov. Boccanti (Fig. 4)<sup>23</sup> in which the Virgin Mater Misericordiae stands alone, sheltering kneeling folk under her outspread cloak on which the darts hurled by the Almighty are caught harmlessly.

Others, chiefly of the Umbrian School, are mentioned or illustrated by Dr. Crawford<sup>24</sup>, but perhaps the most remarkable of all that he gives is the fresco painted by Benozzo Gozzoli in Sant'Agostino at San Gimignano in 1464. St. Sebastian—whose function as an avorter of plague seems simply to have grown out of the association of arrows with his story<sup>25</sup>—protects the kneeling people; his cloak, held out by angels, catches and breaks the darts which are hurled from heaven by the Almighty with the assistance of angels. Christ and the Virgin appear as mediators, Christ showing His wounds, the Virgin her breasts.<sup>26</sup>

Less imposing, but hardly less interesting, are the popular German

<sup>22</sup> On the type of the Virgin della Misericordia in general see P. Perlmutter, "La 'Mater Communis' du Musée du Louvre," (*Revue de l'XXI<sup>e</sup> Congrès archéol. de France*, 1904). Boccanti has somewhat pathetically analysed the iconography of the Perugian plague banners in his *Storia della Pittura Italiana* (Florence, 1912), pp. 352-356.

<sup>23</sup> My attention was called to this, and a photograph sent to me, by Baron de Coubertin. Dr. Tassard-Bernheim (whom I have to thank for various information in this connection) refers me for this picture to *Rossmann's Art*, vii, pp. 150 f. It is now in the collection of Mr. D. P. Platt of Englewood, New Jersey. — The much more ambitious panel by Domenico Pecci, referred to by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*Art. Ital.*, i, p. 131) is illustrated by Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.*, vii, 2, p. 440.

<sup>24</sup> In Roskill's banner in S. Francesco del Prato at Perugia it is the Archangel Raphael who attacks Death with a spear; in the sky above, beside the arrow-hurling Christ, are two angels, one of destruction wielding his sword, and of mercy shielding it.

<sup>25</sup> The same thing did not, as might have been expected, happen to St. Edmund; for though he was a great healer, his only association with plague seems to have been when the pestilence at Toulon in 1631 was stayed by his influence (J. B. Mackinlay, *Storia del mondo*, 1893, pp. 240 f.).

<sup>26</sup> The bearing of the Virgin's breasts to a development of the much more common gesture of laying her hand on her breast (see

Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrin.*, 1912, p. 366). One of the most interesting instances is to be found in the last Judgment at the top of the Hereford Mappaemund, where the kneeling figure of the Virgin is accompanied by the legend: *Veri ben fitz nri pte lo quale chare prestece | E les mameleites dont luit de Virgin quidece | Eux mout de tuit et com nos mames delates | Ke nul out seer | kant han verese me foitece* (i.e., See, fair son, my body, wherein thou becomest flesh, and the pups from which thou dost suck a Virgin's milk; have pity, as thou thyself dost promise, on all them that have served me, for thou hast made us their Saviour) (K. Miller, *Mappaemund*, Heft iv, 1896). Hirn refers to similar scenes in French miracle plays; cf. *Miracles de Notre Dame*, ed. Parisot and Robert, i, 1876, p. 40: *Doux chier filz, veu ey la manuelle | Dont je te mery benement*, etc. A picture in Mr. R. Benson's collection (Catalogue, p. 39, No. 21) shows the same symbolism. Mr. Montgomery Carmichael kindly refers me to the very apposite passage in Arnulfus Carinianus, de sanctis B.M.V. (*Migne, Patr. Lat.* L 189, col. 1726): *omnium socium tui habet hominem ad Deum, uti mulierem causam suam Filium habet ante Patrem, et ante Filium Matrem. Christus, imitato matris, Patri ostendit latus et vulnera, Maria Christo posuit et alia; nec potuit ullo modo esse capula, etc.* For the same gesture used in intercession by ordinary human beings, see C. Sittl, *Die Götterdämonen der Griechen und Römer*, 1890, p. 173. I do not think that it is represented in ancient art.

woodcuts connected with the plague.<sup>57</sup> One type represents the Almighty shooting three arrows at once from a bow (Heitz and Schreiber 3 and 4). In another (H. and S. 5) the people take refuge beneath the cloak of the Virgin which is held out by two angels; above, the Almighty holds two darts in one hand, one in the other. In yet another (H. and S. 6, here Fig. 5) the Virgin and SS. Dominic and Francis kneel and intercede, while above the Almighty holds three darts, called *Pestilence*, *Teurning* and *Krieg*. This design is obviously inspired by the vision of the Franciscan friar described by Jacobus de Voragine in his life of St. Dominic (Grasse, p. 470). But the differentiation of the arrows evidently refers to the passage in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13 ff. according to which King David was given the choice between seven years of famine, or three months of flight before his enemies, or three

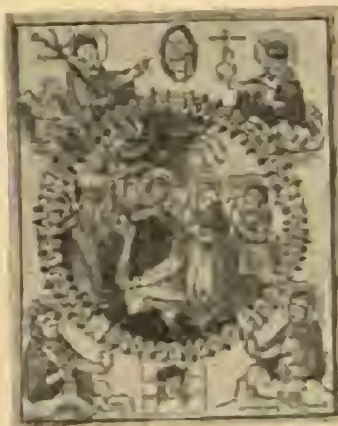


FIG. 5.—PEST-PLAGUE.  
(From Heitz u. Schreiber.)



FIG. 6. (From the *Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*.)

days of pestilence. There is a group of fifteenth-century illuminations<sup>58</sup> which are found in connexion with the Penitential Psalm, and which are generally called the 'Choice of David' or the 'Penitence of David'. It will be remembered that the King chose to fall into the hands of God rather than of man, and the pestilence accordingly came upon Israel, and the angel stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it. So far as I know, the prophet God, through whom the choice was offered to David, does not figure in these pictures. In one MS (British Museum, Royal 2 A xvi, C 79) an angel appears from heaven, holding a sword, a skull and a birch-scourge. In the *Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Fig. 6)<sup>59</sup> on the other hand, an angel offers the king three arrows. Now this might well be taken to represent the choice of David, each affliction being symbolized by an arrow—the Bible furnishes plenty of instances of

this metaphor. But in a late fifteenth-century Flemish Breviary,<sup>60</sup> the Almighty Himself appears in the Heaven holding two darts. Obviously

<sup>57</sup> See *Pestilence des X<sup>e</sup> Jahrhunderts*, herausg. von P. Heitz mit illust. Text von W. L. Schreiber (Strassburg, 1901).

<sup>58</sup> Mrs. Jansson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, i. p. 94.

<sup>59</sup> Pl. 29 in H. Omont's *Small Illuminations*

published by the Bibliothèque Nationale, from which I have ventured to borrow the illustration.

<sup>60</sup> I have only a cutting of this from a catalogue, and can give no further details.



here there can be no possibility of the choice between three afflictions, and I infer that sometimes, if not always, in this group of illustrations, all the arrows represent the pestilence.<sup>30</sup> If they were always three in number, it might be argued that they indicated the three days during which the pestilence raged. In some of the illuminations we find the plague indicated in the more usual way by the Archangel Michael, flying with drawn sword above the head of the king.

But perhaps the most striking instance of the belief is to be found in literature much earlier than the fifteenth century, in one of the Dialogues of St. Gregory.<sup>31</sup> He speaks of the pestilence of 590 as 'that mortality which lamentably wasted this city (and in which, as you know, men with their corporal eyes did behold arrows that came from heaven, which did strike divers)'. Of course the question may be put: was this an invention (unconscionable, no doubt, on St. Gregory's part, based on knowledge of the beginning of the *Iliad*)? I am inclined to think not; had it been so, we should probably have had the arrows attributed to some particular agency.

'Mahometans,' says Dr. Crawford,<sup>32</sup> 'believed that spirits were sent by God armed with bows and arrows to disseminate plague as a punishment for sin.' We have a description by Gabriele de' Mussi of Piacenza of the plague which attacked the Tartars who in 1346 were besieging the Christians in Caffa.<sup>33</sup> 'And lo! a sickness came upon the Tartars, and the whole army was thrown into confusion, and languished, and every day infinite thousands perished. It seemed to them that arrows flew forth from heaven and smote and beat down the pride of the Tartars.' The symptoms of plague which followed are described in a single sentence.<sup>34</sup>

### 7.—ST. MICHAEL AND THE PLAGUE

These arrows are, so to speak, anonymous, just as in St. Gregory's story. But it is natural that when a plague-compelling action could be associated with a saint, the opportunity would not be lost; and associated with that very same occasion of the plague of 590 we have the impressive legend of the vision of St. Gregory. It will be remembered that the saint, in order to stay

<sup>30</sup> It is clear, however, from the *Psalter* which I have mentioned above that sometimes at least the three arrows were meant to indicate the three forms of visitation between which David was called upon to choose. I do not know whether pestilence in some other form of destruction is indicated in the scene figured by Van Meir: (*Historie der Nederlanden*, *Verder*, I. p. 399) under the year 1429, in which is a skeleton holding three arrows and a coffin, with the legend: 'Hunc quid gerat?' on his to monet exitu fatali.

<sup>31</sup> *iv.* 28. I quote the old translation by P. W. Out of the statement of Gregory, *causam*, presumably to show that the myth-

poetic faculty is not dead, has evolved: 'Zwar sah wolgend einer grossen Pest Papst Gregorius, gleich dem homerischen Apollo Pallas schliessenden Engel' (p. 57).

<sup>32</sup> *Plague and Pestilence*, p. 80.

<sup>33</sup> *Hystoria de Morbo que mortalius quod fuit anno Domini MCCXLVI*. The passage relating to Caffa is printed by N. Jorga, *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, IV<sup>e</sup> série (Boukharin, Acad. Roumaine, 1915) p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> *Statim, signati corporibus in iuncturis humore coagulato, et ligninulis fœta patris anthracurata, exspirabant*.

the plague, ordained processions round the city, at which the Major Latunes were sung, and on the third day, as the procession came opposite the Mausoleum of Hadrian, he was vouchsafed the vision of Michael, the angel of death, alighting on the summit of the monument and sheathing his bloody sword in token that the mortality was at an end; so that from that day the building was known as *Castellum Sancti Angeli*. When exactly the legend arose we cannot say; it is not mentioned by St. Gregory himself, or in the old lives of him, and he could hardly have failed to mention it in the passage already quoted had he known and believed it.

The question of course arises: what was the exact significance of this vision? Did it mean that Michael had slain the dragon of poisonous breath, who may have been conceived as the agent of the pestilence; or had Michael himself, as the angel of destruction, been the agent of the pestilence? I do not know how it is possible to decide; indeed it is perhaps reasonable to assume that there may have been a confusion of the two ideas in the minds of those among whom the legend grew up.

This is the most remarkable and impressive of all the cases of the association of Michael with the plague, whether as sender or slayer thereof. He is not normally one of the saints most popularly invoked for protection in times of pestilence, like St. Sebastian, St. Roch or St. Antony. Any saint, of course, not to speak of the Virgin, may be invoked for protection against this evil as against any other. Nevertheless Michael's undoubted importance as a healing saint caused frequent interpositions on his part in crises of this kind. The most famous was in the pestilence of 1656.<sup>57</sup> Michael appeared in a vision to the Archbishop of Siponto, Giovanni Alfonso Puccinelli, and told him that he had obtained from the Holy Trinity the grace that whoever would use, with due devotion, in houses, cities or other places, stones from his church in Mte. Gargano, should escape from the plague. Many bits were accordingly cut out of the walls of the Church, inscribed with a cross between the letters S M and let into buildings as a protection against the plague.

In the plague of 1631 all the inhabitants of the Rue St. Michel at Pontarson are said to have escaped infection.<sup>58</sup>

In 1529 the Archangel delivered Antwerp from an epidemic which was known as the English Sweat.

The plagues which ravaged Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were frequently commemorated by medals.<sup>59</sup> One type,<sup>60</sup> found at Milan in 1576 and at Breslau in 1631, gives a view of the city with the angel of death passing over it, a flaming sword in his hand. A medal struck at Erfurt<sup>61</sup> commemorates the cessation of the plague of 1683: the Archangel, standing on a skeleton, returns his sword into his sheath, with the motto, *Mors ingulans cedit vita salusque redit*. Finally I may mention the jetons which were struck at Brussels in 1667 and 1668 with the figure of St.

<sup>57</sup> *A.A.* 88, *loc. cit.* pp. 65 ff.

<sup>58</sup> *Reynolds, Hist. Générale de Mont St. Michel*, i, p. 153.

<sup>59</sup> E. Pfaffler u. C. Roland, *Pestilenz in*

*Nürnberg* (Tübingen, 1882).

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 91, No. 277; p. 104, No. 282.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 112, No. 288.



Michael, one of them with the inscription *Deus Michael in Peste Patrons*.<sup>71</sup> If it is objected that St. Michael was a special patron of Brussels, since he shares the dedication of the Cathedral with St. Gudule, it may be replied that, since there is no invocation of the latter saint on these jetons in connexion with the plague, it is clear that St. Michael was considered as specially qualified to protect the people from this affliction.

As we are dealing with jetons, it may be mentioned that, in accordance with the widely prevalent practice of wearing certain kinds of coins or medallals as charms against sickness, people used to wear medallie charms against plague.<sup>72</sup> On some of these does St. Michael appear. I believe, however, that his importance as a healer assisted in the adoption of the English gold coin known as an 'angel' (from its type of Michael and the Dragon) as a touch-piece, given to those people who had been touched by the King for scrofula or the King's Evil.<sup>73</sup> As I do not wish to press any of my evidence unduly, I must in fairness say that this was practically the only English coin, available in the days when the practice of touching for the King's Evil prevailed, on which any saint at all was represented; nevertheless it cannot be denied that there was a certain appropriateness in the type. It seems highly probable that the 'angel,' as soon as it was issued in or soon after 1465, became popular as a charm, thanks to its type, and it was this popularity and suitability that dictated its adoption as the touch-piece. All angels that are pierced for suspension are not necessarily, as sometimes supposed, touch-pieces, but even if they are not, we may be sure that they were worn as amulets against sickness or some other kind of peril. After this denomination had disappeared from the currency, pieces with the same types continued to be made for the sole purpose of giving to those who had been touched by the King. Had it not been felt that St. Michael was in place in this matter, any coin with a cross or with a religious motto might have been used.

Whatever may be the truth about the touch-pieces, there can, I think, be no doubt about the connexion of St. Michael with the pestilence in the popular mind. It is just as with Apollo, because of his power as a healer that he is the most efficient agent of pestilence, and *vice versa*. Were he merely the blind agent of destruction, he would be as intimately connected with other disasters, such as famine, earthquake and war. But, though the Germans who invaded Italy took him for their champion in war, he has no such intimate association with other disasters.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Van Loon, *Hist. Metall. des Pays Bas*, II, p. 24. The inscription is chironogrammatic and gives the date 1468. Another, in the British Museum, without the words 'in peste,' works out as 1467. A third, also in the British Museum, has a quite different inscription and the date 1464. St. Michael also occurs on a jeton of 1578; there may have been a recurrence of plague in that year, although I do not find any record of it in Simpson's work.

<sup>72</sup> Pfeiffer u. Raubold, *op. cit.* p. 30.

<sup>73</sup> It is to Dr. Crawford, again, that we owe the authoritative account of this subject: see his book *The King's Evil* (Oxford, 1911).

<sup>74</sup> That he interfered in battle on behalf of the Spartans with thunder and lightning, is hardly in the point, nor is his creation of the chaos at Chosro; for in both cases his action is labelled as the faithful. The former apparition, by the way, has been used as an argument for making him the successor of the Thimarch. It will hardly bear such pressure. But it is worth noting that in the apparition

## 8.—ST. MICHAEL AS HEALER IN PHRYGIA.

It must be remembered that Michael began his career as a Christian Saint less as the leader of the heavenly host in battle in spite of the Scriptural importance of this function of his, than as a healer of the sick.<sup>12</sup> The story of the troubling of the water of the pool of Bethesda by an angel (St. John 5. 4), though omitted by recent editors, is an early indication of the recognition of an angelic agency in healing waters, and may have been the germ of the cult of Michael as the patron of such sources.

Undoubtedly his most famous shrine in Eastern Christendom, and the scene where, so to speak, he first entered on his rôle as a great Christian Saint, was that at Colossæ. The strength of the Jewish population in this part of Phrygia may have assisted in the foundation of the cult. The legend in its extant form cannot be older than the ninth century,<sup>13</sup> and it has been contaminated with strange elements. The redactor does not know the name Colossæ, which had in his time been supplanted by Chonæ, 4 km. to the south. He confuses the apparition of Michael at Chonæ with that at Chiretopa, as he calls the city of Coretopa; indeed he supposes the latter place, which is many miles distant, to be in the immediate neighbourhood of Chonæ. However this may be, he tells us (I abbreviate considerably) that the Apostle John, having overthrown the image of Artemis at Ephesus, came with Philip to Hierapolis on a campaign against the power of Artemis, which extended to Hierapolis and Colossæ. At Hierapolis the Apostles contended with a demon in the shape of a ripper goddess (*Rehulna*), whose power was vanquished by their prayers. At Chiretopa they produced a healing-fountain sacred to St. Michael. A small chapel, built by a pagan whose daughter was miraculously cured, preceded the great church of St. Michael of Chonæ or Colossæ; it was served by a hermit of great sanctity, Archippos. The heathen plotted to destroy the sacred shrine, which wrought such wonders by turning the streams of two rivers on to it; but Archippos' faith was rewarded by the saint who, appearing in glory with his staff rained the waters to stand and disappear down a mighty chasm, which he opened with earthquake and thunder. The water of this place wrought many wonders of healing, for Michael had promised: 'Whoever shall take refuge in this place in faith and fear calling upon the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost and Michael the leader of the Host, by the name of God and by my name, he shall not go forth again suffering.'

on Mt. Taurus, which St. Silvester is said to have won all the way from Semeis, two angels appear, with celestial fire, and drive the pestilent dragon away, just as according to the Athen *præceptum* for the scene of the battle with the dragon in Revelation, c. 12, instead of Michael two angels are recommended (Wiegand, *Der Erzengel Michael*, p. 14). For the legend of Mt. Taurus, see Ponsard in *Arch. della R. Soc. Romana di Scoria patria*, xxix, (1903), pp. 345 ff.

<sup>12</sup> This is well brought out by Lacina, *Aufstieg des Helligendels in der christlichen Kirche*, 1904, pp. 267 f.

<sup>13</sup> L. I., 88, Sept. III, pp. 32 ff.; Baumst., *Narratio de Miraculis Chonæ postea*, Paris, 1890; (Grafin von Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, t. 4 (1900). See W. M. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, pp. 463-481; W. Laoken, *Michael*, 1898, p. 78; E. Lacina, *Aufstieg des Helligendels in der christlichen Kirche*, 1904, pp. 67 f.



It is generally admitted that this cult of St. Michael was engrafted on older local cults. Its establishment was part of the triumph over the most powerful of the cults of Western Asia Minor at the time. It is noteworthy that the cult of Artemis seems, judging from the coins, to have been particularly strong at Colossae.<sup>77</sup> But Hierapolis also figures largely in the story, and at this place, famous for its warm baths, by far the most important cult seems to have been that of Apollo,<sup>78</sup> who was associated with other healing deities such as Asklepios and Hygieia—the coins again bear witness to this<sup>79</sup>—and certain chthonic powers. Under one of the temples of Apollo there was a *Phryneum*, and, as the legend betrays, there was a cult of Echidna. Is it going too far to say, with Luckien,<sup>80</sup> that Michael, the dragon-fighter, takes the place of Echidna, who is driven out by the Apostles Philip and John, just in the same way as Apollo in Delphi takes the place of the Python? It may be objected that the function of Michael as a dragon-queller was not so important at this time as other of his functions; nevertheless the battle in heaven as described in the Book of Revelation can never have been unfamiliar. A more serious objection is that the episode concerning the Echidna does not really belong, in origin, to the Michael legend; it is borrowed by the redactor from the apocryphal Acts of Philip.<sup>81</sup> But there can be little doubt that in the minds of those who believed the legend—and for us that is the important matter—the vanquishing of the Echidna was the prologue to the establishment of the cult of Michael in this district. Certainly we seem to have as much justification for accepting this explanation of the genesis of the Christian cult, as the one which is given by K. J. Neumann,<sup>82</sup> to wit, that Michael took over the functions of the native Anatolian god Men Karon.

### 9.—THE MICHAELION NEAR CONSTANTINOPLE

Another instance of the establishment of Michael in the place of an old hunter-god is connected with the Michaelion, on the shores of the Bosphorus, near Constantinople. Lantius<sup>83</sup> thinks that he succeeded Sarapis, but this is little more than a conjecture.<sup>84</sup> This shrine was one of those where incubation was practised, and it is clear from all accounts that it was originally a pagan sanctuary; for the legend said that the figure of a man of terrible aspect, winged like an eagle, had appeared there to the Argonauts, pro-

<sup>77</sup> (But of sixteen coins catalogued by Head (B.M.C. *Asia Minor*, pp. 154 ff.) six have types connected with Artemis (including the Ephesian cult-figure).)

<sup>78</sup> See L. Weber in *Zeitschr. f. d. Wiss. d. Alterth.*, pp. 489 ff., and in *Neua Chron.* 1912, pp. 4-9.

<sup>79</sup> *Neua Chron.* 1912, pp. 11-13, 123, 128.

<sup>80</sup> W. Luckien, *Michael*, p. 78.

<sup>81</sup> E. A. Lipius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 7 ff., 24 f.

<sup>82</sup> In *Zeitschr.*, *op. cit.*, *Nachtrag*, p. 601.

In favour of this theory it must be admitted that there was an important medical school at the temple of Men Karon.

<sup>83</sup> *Argonauts*, pp. 269 f.

<sup>84</sup> According to Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 477, note, the Michaelion replaced the temple of Zeus, erected by the Argonauts. But neither in *Suomen II. 3* nor in *Colossians*, i. p. 210 (Barnes ed.), to which he refers, do I find any reference to Zeus.

phesying to them victory, and that they had built there, on their return with the Pleece, a shrine known as the Sosthenion. Melalab says that, in the statue which the Argonauts made of the heavenly being that had appeared to them, the Emperor Constantine recognized an angel in monk's clothing,<sup>50</sup> and it was revealed to him that the angel was Michael. No one has yet succeeded in explaining what kind of Greek statue can have been mistaken by anybody for an angel in monk's clothing. Since, however, there was a temple of Sarapis on the European shore of the Bosphorus near the Black Sea end, and since the Argonaut story seems to imply the fulfilment of a vow for a safe return from the perils of the sea, (Sosthenion being explained by Byzantine writers as 'place of rescue'), Lucius thinks that Sarapis, who rescued men from peril by sea as well as from disease, was Michael's predecessor here. We are thus reminded of Michael's function in Brittany, where his great shrine is known as Mont St. Michel au péril de la Mer. But we are still faced with the difficulty about the statue. Lucius makes the apt observation that a winged goddess in monkish dress was unknown to ancient mythology and art, and adds that, if indeed this statue actually existed there in pagan times, it need not really have been the cultus-statue of the place, but may have been a votive figure of some kind. I fear I must leave it at that.

The place where this Michaelion stood had, according to one account, originally been called Hestialon. It is not unreasonable therefore to assume, with Gothein,<sup>51</sup> that it had once been sacred to Hestia, though we need not accept his reason for this dedication, to wit, that the temple stood on a spot where the seafarer, leaving the inhospitable Black Sea, saw it as a sign that he was nearing home. His further conjecture that the place was also sacred to Asklepios is drawn merely from the fact that healing powers were shown by the later occupant of the shrine, namely Michael.

Dr. Rendel Harris<sup>52</sup> claims the Michael of this Michaelion—or rather the Michaels of the two churches, one on each side of the Bosphorus, which seem to have existed and to have been confused—as representing the Dioskuri. 'The story is late folk-lore for the legends which we read in the *Argonautika*. Michael has taken the place of Polydeukes, 'and so has to descend into the arena from a superior region and in celestial array.' The weak point in this explanation, which is certainly otherwise more plausible than those mentioned above, is that the deity merely *witnesses* their victory, does not actually fight for them, even by means of such natural phenomena as Michael used when he fought for the Siphontines against the heathen of Naples.

There are numerous other cases, than those already mentioned, of the association of the cult of St. Michael with healing springs.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *ib.* p. 75 ff. (Bonn ed.); *Ἀγγελὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐκφανὲς ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόσων, καὶ ὑγιαίνουσιν*.

<sup>51</sup> *ib.* p. 103.

<sup>52</sup> *Cult. of the Heavenly Twins*, 1906, pp. 131-134.

<sup>53</sup> On the 'Templum de Clunio' see Leclercq in *Clunio, Dict. d'Arch. Christ.* I. 2147 ff. For other cases, see Barnes in *Huntingd. Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 621 ff. (Portugal, England, Wales). Further information about shrines of St. Michael as healer



## 10.—ST. MICHAEL AS DRAGON-QUELLER AND THE GERMAN INFLUENCE

It may be asked: if Michael was thus pre-eminently a healer, how was it that the conception of him as the Warrior, although, in spite of its Scriptural foundation, it was in abeyance so long, came into prominence? The answer is generally supposed to be found in northern influence. There can be no doubt that in northern lands<sup>88</sup> Michael, at a comparatively early date, inherited the functions of Wotan. Going straight to Scripture, and unhindered by local connexions with earlier healing cults, the Northerners found in Michael the analogue to their dragon-slaying gods. It was Michael who led the Lombards to victory in Italy, and his name or figure appears on Lombard-Italian coins from the seventh to the ninth century.<sup>89</sup> Wiegand



FIG. 7.—(From the doors of  
St. S. Angelo.)

accordingly maintains that the rise of the artistic conception of Michael as a dragon-killer in Italy was due to Lombard influence. No one will be inclined to dispute the German right to the special patronage of the angel of destruction. But as regards the art-type, it is unfortunate that Wiegand spoils his case by a most perverse use of the evidence. It is in the bronze doors<sup>91</sup> of the church on Mt. Gargano (Fig. 7), made in 1073 in Constantinople to the order of Pantaleon of Amalfi, that he finds the turning-point in the iconography of Michael in the south. Although the fight with the dragon had been represented before, the instances had remained isolated; but from the appearance of Michael

on these gates onwards the idea was to develop and bear fruit. In order to prove his point, he takes the representation of Michael in the first panel of these doors, and insists that in artistic content it goes far beyond anything that Greek or Italian art was capable of producing at the time. I confess that, so far as design goes, it seems to me that it would be difficult to find anything more purely Byzantine in arrangement and conception than this scene, in which the Archangel, holding his sceptre, stands majestically on a mound, clad in priestly vestments with the Devil (in human shape) crouching below. Bertaux,<sup>92</sup> indeed, is careful to point out that this subject

in Greek lands are given by Hirsch, (*B.S.A.* xii, 1906-7, p. 226): Perseus in Myra, where he slays the Asclepius, and combat with chimaera at Tegea and Uluks on the Rhyntheus, also at Naxos. In China, for the chimaera at Naxos see Rosen, *Greek Fables Overseas*, p. 237.

<sup>88</sup> F. Wiegand, *Der Erzengel Michael in der christlichen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1886), pp. 22 ff.

<sup>89</sup> Most conveniently illustrated in G. Sabin, *Reperterio generale delle Monete coniate in Italia*, I, 1912, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>90</sup> The best illustration and a good one at that, is in H. W. Schultz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien* (1869), Taf. 22, from which Fig. 7 is taken.

<sup>91</sup> *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, I, p. 401.

like many others in the same series, is quite within the ordinary lines of Byzantine art, and to distinguish it from subjects strange to that art such as St. Cecilia and St. Valerian; subjects which, nevertheless—so thoroughly Byzantine were the men who cast these doors—are treated just as if they were Byzantine subjects.

It may be that the fact that Michael was a champion of the Lombard warriors induced them to give prominence to this side of his activity. But on the gates of the church this representation is only one of the ten scenes connected with Michael, out of the twenty-four which make the decoration of the whole. Of the others thirteen are concerned with other angels, and one contains no inscription. It is clear that the aim of the artist was to give a sort of complete pictorial account of angels and their performances in general. How possibly could the struggle between Michael and the Dragon be omitted? Though placed first in accordance with its importance in the scriptural account, as well as for chronological reasons, it has no other sort of prominence over the remaining scenes, as it would have had if its introduction had the significance which the modern German critic would give it.<sup>22</sup>

Wiegand is better advised when he comes<sup>23</sup> to the representation of St. Michael, this time really transfixing the dragon, in a relief by a local artist on the marble throne in the same church. Bertaux<sup>24</sup> has noticed the strange style of this figure, quite foreign to Byzantine iconography; Michael holds not scepter and orb, but lance, and below his feet writhes the dragon; the artist seems to be conceiving the mysterious power of which the Lombards of Pavia and Beneventum had made a sort of national divinity, and which recalled to these Germans, living as converts on Italian soil, the exploits of their old northern dragon-slaying gods.

The difficulty in the way of accepting the theory of Northern influence in the matter is this:—Why was the rise of this conception delayed in Italy until nearly two centuries after the disappearance of the Duchy of Beneventum as a political entity? Why, if it is due to Lombard artistic origination, does it not appear, either in Beneventum or in Pavia, when the Lombards were still in the most flourishing period of their existence, instead of at a time when they had almost become absorbed by the race among whom they had settled? The coins, as I have said show the importance of Michael as a Lombard Saint, but in all the representations that we find of him he is still without the dragon. Although on the coins of the Lombard kings of Northern Italy he appears to be more militant than elsewhere—for he does carry a shield, even though his weapon is not a

<sup>22</sup> The triumph of Michael over the devil appears in the left hand top panel of the left wing. The remainder of the left wing is occupied with scenes from the O.T.; at the top of the right wing begin the scenes from the N.T. The three scenes from the local legend: (1) Michael appearing to the bishop and granting him the acquiring of land that

which was hidden from man, (2) Michael promising the Squintines victory over the Sappellians, (3) Michael explaining to the bishop that his church is already dedicated—appear at the bottom of the right wing. The arrangement thus seems to be more or less chronological.

<sup>23</sup> P. 44.

<sup>24</sup> P. 420.



spear' but a long-shafted cross—still it is significant that on Beneventan coins, where, if Wiegand were right, we should look to find him fully armed and transfixing the dragon, he has no military character whatever. And, as I have said, in any case all this evidence about the specifically Lombard



FIG. 8.—(From an Anglo-Saxon Herbarium.)

Michael belongs to a period long anterior to the time when the work in Monte Sant' Angelo was produced. Accordingly we must regard the relief of the dragon-slayer on the marble throne, if it is Lombard in character, as a survival, rather than as a sign of an active artistic influence. It would be,

in any case, a precarious basis on which to construct a theory of the superiority of German over Italian culture in the eleventh century.

I must finally discuss, if only to negative its direct connexion with the subject, a remarkable illustration (Fig. 8) which occurs in an Anglo-Saxon MS of the *Herbarium of Apuleius Platonius*.<sup>98</sup> The subject has been explained as Apuleius holding a volume, which he has received from the deity of healing, who is supposed to be Apollo: on the other side of the dally in question is a soldier, with one hand resting on a shield. The supposed Apollo is clad in ecclesiastical vestments, apparently alb, chasuble, and stole or mantle. His head having been damaged in the fire from which the Cotton Library suffered, it is not possible to say whether he is tonsured, but apparently not. I can see no trace of the laurel-wreath which is shown in the coloured reproduction in the Barrington-Wellecome publication, and which has probably helped him to the name Apollo. He stands on a lion, which grasps in its jaws the shaft of the spear which he holds. I call it a spear, although I am doubtful whether what we see below the body of the lion (note that it does not transfix the animal) is not rather the butt-end than the point.<sup>99</sup> If this be so, the point of the spear, if it is a spear, and not a cross or a labarum, is lost at the top of the picture; but there hardly seems to be room for any sort of head to the object. To more than one person the figure has at first sight suggested St. Michael. The dress is not improper to the priest-Archangel. But he is not winged; and though a wingless Archangel is no impossibility at an early date, as we have the wingless angel of the *Annunciation* in the Catacomb frescoes,<sup>100</sup> we are here dealing with the eleventh century. Analogous to St. Michael, as apparently symbolizing the conquest of the evil by the good principle, are the Frankish sandstone reliefs at Xanten:<sup>101</sup> the figures are in mail, with shields, and stand on monsters into whose jaws they thrust the butt-ends of their spears, recalling, as St. Michael is said to have done to the Germans, the deeds of the primitive Germanic Dragon-slayers. Next, the animal below the feet of the figure in the Apuleius is not a dragon but a lion. It may be argued that the lion may stand for Satan well enough;<sup>102</sup> but the only instance I find of this connexion with St. Michael is on a fifteenth century German silver relief.<sup>103</sup> It is however interesting to note that in the splendid

<sup>98</sup> Dr. Mus. MS. Cotton, Vitellius C. III., fol. 11 b. The MS. is of the first half of the eleventh century. My attention was called to it by Dr. Louis Sander, and I have to thank the Curator of the Wellecome Historical Medical Museum for a copy of the little work on Anglo-Saxon bookcraft published by Barrington, Wellecome and Co. (1912), in which a full, illustrated description of the *Herbarium* will be found, and for the loan of the negative of this particular illustration.

<sup>99</sup> There is a distinct ring round the point, which would prevent its penetrating far, but is quite natural with a pointed butt.

<sup>100</sup> Wilpert, p. 157. The figure of a warrior on the Copiale-Hellensitic ivory relief of the

pulpit at Aachen (Strzykowski, *Der Dom zu Aachen*, 1904, p. 8; other references in Dalton, *Byz. Art and Arch.* p. 212) used to be called St. Michael, without any good ground.

<sup>101</sup> E. Aus'm Weerth, *Kunstdenkmäler des chr. Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden*, i. p. 28, Taf. XVII. 2.

<sup>102</sup> See F. Pözer, *Mythologie und Sagenlehre der chr. Kunst*, i. p. 407.

<sup>103</sup> E. Aus'm Weerth, *op. cit.* i. p. 18, Taf. VII. 7. It is curious that the author has taken this figure for St. George. He is winged, and drives the butt-end of a long cross into the jaws of a supine lion, while in his other hand he wields a sword.



illustration to an English eleventh century Psalter in the British Museum the dragon not only has a lion's head, but suggests a lion by its pose.<sup>197</sup>

A symbolic representation of Christ, with a reference to the text (Ps. xc. 13 Vulg.) : *super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis : et conculcabis leonem et draconem*, seems just possible,<sup>198</sup> and at any rate it would appear that, whatever the figure is, he represents the triumph of the good principle over the evil that is—in the narrower interest of the Herbarium—of medicine over disease.<sup>199</sup>

It is time to bring these somewhat disjointed remarks to a close. I cannot claim to have shown more than that St. Michael and Apollo correspond to each other in some of their functions. One more expert in the handling of such subjects might have made a better case out of the materials. I have not attempted to prove, as a friend told me he hoped I should, that the swan of Apollo and the Michaelinus goose are one and the same; but my mind is open on the subject. Apollo did not fulfil all the functions of St. Michael nor St. Michael all those of Apollo. But there is, it would seem, a parallelism in their functions as destroyers of an evil principle, as light destroying darkness, as the controlling agency of plague; and we have observed more parallels than one between their myths which seem to point to a common, possibly solar, origin. In so far as they show a resemblance to each other not only in some functions, but also in their essential character, they may be regarded, if I may be allowed to use biological terms, as not merely analogous but to some extent homologous. It would be absurd to look for any exact correspondence, since the human mind does not work logically in such matters. But given like circumstances, the mythopoeic faculty will produce something of the same sort in different ages and climes.

I should like to protest, in closing, against the theory that the worship of saints is always a mere relic of paganism—an assumption which has been largely exploited with a view to discrediting the worship. To suppose that the worshippers of saints will be discouraged by archaeological dissertations of this kind betrays singularly little knowledge of human nature. The people whose minds are open to such evidence are already free of the superstition in question. There is no doubt that the mediaeval or modern worship is often engrafted on an old pagan stock, and the choice of the stock may have been assisted by some likeness of function or name or other association. But the fact that we must not lose sight of is that, even had the pagan worship never existed, mediaeval Christianity was perfectly capable of inventing its own cults and legends.

G. F. HILL.

<sup>197</sup> In Mus. Tit. C. VI., Herbert, *Icon. Monachorum*, Pl. XLV.

<sup>198</sup> As Mr. Mackan suggests. On the point of symbolism, see E. Male, *L'Art religieux de XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 61; but in the most famous instance, the Beau Dieu of Amiens, all four creatures are represented under the feet of Christ, and these disappear.

<sup>199</sup> The passage from the psalm is also supposed to inspire the common representation of bishops on their tombs, as trampling on a lion or a dragon: a sign, as Cahier, *Monuments religieux des Saints*, p. 614, says, not of saint-hood but of jealousy. St. Louis, archbishop of Sens, is represented on a lion, but his name may have assisted him to this attribute.

## LORD ELGIN AND HIS COLLECTION.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE present year, 1910 A.D., is the centenary of the acquisition by the public of the Elgin Collection of ancient sculptures, inscriptions, casts and drawings. It has therefore seemed a suitable moment to print a fuller account than has hitherto been attempted of the formation and purchase of that collection.

I should state that I have been engaged on this subject for some time past, by desire of the Earl of Elgin, who has put all his papers bearing on the subject into my hands.<sup>1</sup> It was the wish of Lord Elgin that the episode of the marbles should appear in its due proportion in a full biography of his distinguished grandfather. The other aspects of that career are being studied by Sir Harry Wilson, K.C.M.G. But the call of other duties and the distractions of the time have made it doubtful whether the biography can be completed at an early date. The present narrative is therefore offered now, by way of a centennial commemoration.

THOMAS BRUCE, seventh Earl of Elgin, and eleventh Earl of Kincardine, was born on July 20, 1760, being the second son of Charles, fifth Earl of Elgin, who married Martha, the only child of Thomas White, a London banker. The fifth Earl died in May, 1771, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William Robert, an infant who was born in 1764, held the title for two months and died in 1771 at the age of seven. He was succeeded by his brother Thomas, a few days under the age of five.

His mother, Martha, Countess of Elgin, who is mentioned occasionally in the course of the narrative, survived her husband till the year 1810.

Lord Elgin, the subject of this paper, was educated at Harrow (where he stayed for a short time only) and at Westminster. He also studied at St. Andrew's and at Paris, where he acquired an excellent command of French. He entered the army in 1785, and without any active military service reached the rank of major-general in 1835. He was elected a Representative Peer of Scotland in 1790 and continued in that position till

<sup>1</sup> The papers at Rossmore all include many quotations and by others. For extracts from the papers at Bld I have to thank Mrs. Ninet Hamilton Ogilvy and Sir Harry Wilson.



1807. He was again elected in 1820, and held the post till his death (November 14, 1841). [A peerage of the United Kingdom was first conferred on his son in 1849.]

His portrait (Fig. 1) is reproduced from a drawing by George Perfoot Harding (ob. 1853), preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum. It is a study after the painting by Anton Graff at Broomhall.

He entered on his diplomatic career in 1790, when he was sent on a special mission to the Emperor Leopold. He was made Envoy at Brussels in 1792; Envoy Extraordinary at Berlin in 1795; and Ambassador at the Porte in 1799.

In the spring of that year, March 11, 1799, he married Mary, only child and heiress of William Hamilton Nisbet of Dirlston and Belhaven, Co. Huddington. Many extracts from her lively letters from the East are given below.

The eldest child of the marriage, George Charles Constantine (Lord) Bruce, was born at Pera, April 5, 1800. His name frequently occurs in these records. He never married, and died in 1840. The second child, Mary, appears here as an infant. She married Mr. Robert Dundas, who took the name of Nisbet Hamilton. Their daughter, Mary Georgiana Constance Nisbet Hamilton, married Mr. H. T. Ogilvy, who also assumed the name of Nisbet Hamilton. Hence it comes about that 'Mr Nisbet's throne,' which often occurs in the letters, is now at Biel East Lothian, in the possession of Mrs. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy, by whose kind permission and assistance it is given below (Fig. 5).

The first marriage of Lord Elgin was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1808. Lady Elgin married Robert Ferguson of Raith and died in 1855.

In September, 1810, Lord Elgin made a second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James Townsend Oswald of Dunnikeir. The letters at the time of the purchase negotiations are addressed to her. She died in 1860.

The eldest son of the second marriage, James, was born in July, 1811, at the house in Park Lane, which was for a time the resting-place of the marbles. He succeeded to the title of Lord Bruce on the death of his half-brother in 1840, and to the Earldom in 1841. He attained high distinction in Jamaica, Canada, China and India. He was made Governor-General of India in 1862, but died suddenly at Dharmasala in the following year, and was succeeded in the title and estate by his son, the present Earl of Elgin.

## PART I.

### *The Organization of the Expedition.*

By his appointment to the Constantinople Embassy and his tenure of that post during the Egyptian Expedition of Napoleon, the seventh Lord Elgin was made a leading actor in many great events. More particularly, however, his mind was turned from the outset towards these pursuits with

which his name and reputation are associated. The source of the suggestion that he should connect his term of office with the study of antiquity was



Fig. 1.—Lord Elgin (circa 1795). (By G. P. Harding, after Anton Graft.)

explained by himself in his evidence before the Select Committee:<sup>2</sup> which con-

<sup>2</sup> *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles, &c.* (Lon-

don, J. Murray), p. 31. I refer throughout to Murray's reprint of the Report of the Committee.



sided the purchase of his collection. He stated that it was in the year 1729, and on the occasion of his nomination to the Embassy at Constantinople, that the idea first occurred to him of making his term of office of service to the arts. Mr. Thomas Harrison, an architect (1744-1829), who was working for him in Scotland, and who had passed much of his life in Rome, represented that, though the public had a general knowledge of the remains of Athens, there was nothing that would serve us well as casts from the actual objects.

Upon that suggestion, I communicated very fully with my acquaintances in London. I mentioned it to Lord Grenville, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Dundas, upon the idea that it was of such national importance as that the Government might be induced to take it up, not only to obtain the object, but also to obtain it by the means of the most able artists at that time in England. The answer of Government, which was entirely negative, was, that the Government would not have been justified in undertaking any expense of an indefinite nature, particularly under the little probability that there existed of the success of the undertaking. Upon that understanding I applied to such artists here as were recommended to me as likely to answer the purpose, in particular to Mr. Turner, to go upon my own account. Mr. Turner's objection to my plan was, that as the object was of a general nature, and that the condition I imposed upon was, that the whole results of all the artists should be collected together and left with me; he objected, because he wished to retain a certain portion of his own labour for his own use; he moreover asked between seven and eight hundred pounds of salary, independently of his expenses being paid, which of course was out of my reach altogether; therefore nothing was done here preparatory to the undertaking at all.

J. M. W. Turner was twenty-four years old at the time in question. He was already well known as a topographical draughtsman, whose work was engraved by the topographical publishers. He had not yet visited the Continent, but in his tour to the North of England he had made many friends of influence. It was therefore quite natural that Lord Elgin, when in need of an artist, should think of Turner. Had he engaged him in place of Lister, it is probable that more drawings would have been completed, but it is certain that the Elgin collection of marbles would never have been made.

One of the friends who was consulted on the question of a draughtsman was a predecessor at the Constantinople Embassy, Sir Robert Ainslie, who during the years 1776-92 had employed an artist, Ludwig Mayer, for a very similar purpose. Mayer's *Views in Egypt, Palestine, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire* (1804), being a series of pleasing coloured aquatint sketches in Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor, is still a frequent item in the lists of the second-hand booksellers.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Robert Ainslie<sup>2</sup> wrote to Lord Elgin to explain the terms of Mayer's engagement—namely, a salary of fifty guineas per annum, together with board and travelling expenses.

It was clearly understood that the whole of his works, drawings, pictures and sketches were to remain with me, as being my sole property. . . . I entirely agree with your Lordship in objecting to the conditions proposed by the artists who wish

<sup>1</sup> The collection of original drawings was recently offered at forty guineas, in the Catalogue of Mr. T. Thorp, Bookseller.

<sup>2</sup> Ainslie to Elgin, 'Sunday night.'

to accompany your Lordship to Turkey. To me it appears that the permission of Engraving any of the sketches, either in Turkey or elsewhere, ought to depend upon your Lordship's pleasure and ulterior determination.

Encouraged by such advice, Lord Elgin postponed the choice of a draughtsman until he had started from England.

If we put aside the more ambitious scheme of moulding antiquities, there was a long line of precedents for attaching a draughtsman to the suite of a man of wealth and station in the East. The painter, Jacques Carrey (if that was his name, for doubts have been thrown upon his identity), was in the suite of the Marquis de Nointel, French Ambassador at the Porte, and produced in 1674 the invaluable drawings of the Parthenon sculptures and other Athenian remains, which are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Nor was the activity of Carrey limited to the sculptures of the Parthenon (on which he worked for a fortnight only) and such few sketches of Athenian subjects as still survive. When Dr. Jacob Spon and Sir George Wheler visited Constantinople, de Nointel was able to show them a collection of four hundred drawings of bas-reliefs, buildings, and landscapes which he had caused to be made in the course of his journeyings in Greece and Turkey. 'There are few persons,' Spon\* remarks, 'who could have done so much in a country so hostile to painting. There were always two Janissaries beside his painter when he was drawing anything.'

In the eighteenth century it was still more the mode for a travelling nobleman or man of station to be accompanied by his draughtsman. In 1749 the young Lord Charlemont took Richard Dalton as his companion on the grand tour. The result was a folio volume of views published in 1752, of Greece, Turkey, and Egypt. Among them is one of the most important documents that survives for the history of the West pediment of the Parthenon.

The professional expedition of Stewart and Revett (1751-3) and that of the Dilettanti Society, led by Richard Cloniffer, were on a different footing. But that of Sir Richard Worsley in 1785 was again on the old lines. A draughtsman, one Reveley, was employed, whose grotesque efforts at landscapes are preserved in a splendid setting, which they cannot be said to deserve, in the second volume of the *Museum Worsleyanum*. At the same time the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, French Ambassador at the Porte in the pre-revolution years, was employing artists making views for his sumptuous *Voyage de la Grèce*. Finally, in the years immediately preceding Lord Elgin's appointment, Sir Robert Ainslie, as we have already seen, had employed Mayer.

It was therefore in accordance with precedents that Lord Elgin sought to engage a painter as one of his suite. His originality consisted in the idea of attaching other artists to the undertaking, and of making his painter head of an artistic commission which was to include both an architect to take notes of buildings, and *foranitori* to mould such sculptures as were found to be accessible.

\* Spon, *Voyage* ed., 1679, I., p. 200.



Lord Elgin started on his mission in 1799.

He had appointed William Richard Hamilton as his private secretary and, as will be seen hereafter, much of the success of his enterprise was to turn on Hamilton's zeal for the objects in view and his loyal friendship for his chief. W. R. Hamilton (1777-1839) was of a good Scottish family, the Hamiltons of Wishaw,\* and was son of the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields and Rector of Haddington. He had been educated at Harrow, where an accident made him permanently lame. He was entered both at Oxford and Cambridge, and now at the age of twenty-two was appointed private secretary to the Ambassador. His subsequent career must be briefly indicated. In 1809 he became Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and held that office through the latter part of the Napoleonic period. From 1822 to 1825 he was British Minister at Naples. In 1830 he was elected Secretary of the Society of Dilettanti. For twenty years of his later life (1838-1858) he was a Trustee of the British Museum. For his portrait in advanced life, see Fig. 16.

Arrived in Sicily, Lord Elgin opened communications, upon the recommendation of the then British Minister, Sir William Hamilton, with Giovanni Battista Lusieri, who was destined to be the agent to whose exertions the formation of the collection was, as we shall see, principally due. On October 14, 1799, Lusieri, then at Taormina, wrote to Lord Elgin explaining his position. He had found himself compelled, by the losses that he had suffered in the wars then in progress, to accept the position of King's Painter for the antiquities of Sicily, and was at present performing the duties of that post. It was therefore necessary that he should obtain superior permission, which, however, he thought would be granted without difficulty. He undertook to take steps to that end, and to go as quickly as possible to Messina to confer with Lord Elgin. The offer was cordially accepted by Lord Elgin, writing from Messina on the 15th. On October 18, the meeting took place, and an agreement was speedily reached. The following are the actual terms of the arrangement. The spelling shows that Lusieri's name was still unfamiliar.

Il est convenu entre My Lord Elgin et Mons. Lusieri que le dernier doit l'accompagner dans son Ambassade en Turquie en qualité de Peintre et notamment pour employer son Talent et son Art sous la direction de son Excellence, dans entendre que les ouvrages que Mons. Lusieri fera dans ce Voyage seront à la disposition de son Excellence en Conséquence de quoi il recevra à raison de deux Cent Livres Sterling par an, vivans toujours sera dépendre de son Excellence.

En cas que Mons. Lusieri desire faire des Copies de quelques uns des ouvrages faits dans ce Voyage pour son Usage il est convenu que le choix en sera fait de l'assent des deux Parties.

Mons. Lusieri sera aussi en Liberté de retourner chez lui avant l'expiration du Terme si des Circonstances imprévues l'en obligent.

Fait à Messine, ce 18 Octobre 1799.

Gio. Battista Lusieri.

Elgin.

\* He was a Dilettantissimo of the then Lord Dufferin and Strathairn, but in consequence of a fall in the direct succession, was the

grandfather of the present holder of that Barony.

The contract thus signed was highly satisfactory to Lord Elgin,<sup>7</sup> who wrote next day to his mother:—

MY DEAR MOTHER,

Tho' we are under weigh, yet you will need no apologies for another hurried line. I have, I trust, been remarkably fortunate in getting the first painter in Italy to accompany me: and having thought very fully of the whole case, I have resolved on sending him with Mr. Hamilton to Rome, and Naples, for the purpose of getting a person to assist him in his paintings, and another capable of taking casts of the specimens of Ancient Architecture to be met with in Greece and Asia Minor.

The plan will be not a very low priced one. But really the object is superior to any ever attempted, and in the present state of Rome and Italy, I have reason [to think], indeed I may guess from what I have already seen in Sicily, islands are to be met with suited to the undertaking, at a reasonable rate. Of course this is no secret, still I would not wish it indiscreetly mentioned.

But among your acquaintances, Mr. Udny especially, you may hear equivoque and hints, that I should be happy to have on this undertaking.

When it is on foot you shall hear more fully. At present it is only in train.

If you see Sir Robert Atkine he might probably have some suggestions to offer. I will write him when the attempt takes any consequence, meanwhile, I should be glad to hear from him if anything does occur to him.

Giovanni Battista Lusieri (known among his friends as Don Tito), whose services were henceforth at the disposal of Lord Elgin, was a topographical draughtsman, working with infinite pains to reproduce a faithful rendering of the scene before him, stone by stone, but with little regard for atmosphere or light. His Athenian drawings, as we shall see hereafter, were almost all lost at sea. One coloured drawing alone—a view of the Monument of Philopappos at Athens—is at Broomhall in the collection of Lord Elgin, by whose permission it is here reproduced (Fig. 8) to give an idea of Lusieri's style. A considerable number, however, of his views near Naples are preserved at Broomhall, having been acquired by agreement with his representatives after his death (see p. 290). Alike in the coloured and the uncoloured drawings the main peculiarity of his art was that minute observation of detail which has now been superseded by the yet more microscopic accuracy of the photographer's lens.

The following appreciation of Lusieri's style by an eminently qualified critic, H. W. Williams ('Grecian' Williams) is of interest. In a letter from Athens, of about May, 1817, Williams discussed the drawings of three representative strangers long settled in Athens, namely, Braun-Haller, Lusieri, and Fauvel. Of Lusieri's designs he observes:—

They are upon a considerable scale in length, not less than seven or eight feet, and generally they embrace the eighth of a circle; he has even one, a View of Constantinople, eighteen feet by three or four feet high, comprehending the fourth of a panorama.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Elgin to Dowager Lady E., Oct. 16, 1798.

<sup>8</sup> Sunday, May 29th (1813). To-day we dined with Signor Lusieri, who showed us, nailed to the wall, an unfinished drawing of Constantinople, in five large sheets. The

view which it embraced, extended from the Serai Towers about eight miles up the Bosphorus, and was most faithfully and beautifully delineated. Unfortunately he had left it in the chancellerie of Pera, when he left



These drawings are merely sketched outlines, done with a hard pencil or crow-pen, and no attempt is made at light and shade. He takes an incredible time in doing them: the outline of Constantinople alone was a study of three months; and the rest in proportion. He generally has several outlines in a progressive state, from various quarters of Athens, so that, let the wind blow as it may, he can always select to himself a comfortable position to proceed in colouring. As he finishes his drawings chiefly upon the spot, this precaution saves him from many interruptions. The atmosphere of Greece being very clear and luminous (except when the sultry mists invade the country in an opaque and whitish mist,) the sun seeming to throw his rays unimpeded from heaven to earth, the counts of nature are seen even in objects removed to a great distance, and claim a magnificence, to which, if seen through a British atmosphere, they would have no pretensions; and, therefore, require an accuracy of delineation suitable to the appearance which they exhibit. This Signor Lusieri has infinitely attended to, but I have every than once presumed to think that he carried these details a little too far: further, indeed, than nature seems to authorize, and without that peculiar character which is tolerable to her, exciting painful feelings on reflecting on the wearisome and and trouble such outlines must have cost him. On examining the subjects from which several of his outlines have been made, I confess I could not perceive the minutie described in them, which has led me to suppose he must have used a telescope. . . . I saw only one coloured drawing by Lusieri, and that consists of a few columns of the Temple of Minerva. It is a marvellous work of art, as far as relates to breadth of effect, and truth of light and shade, without murmuring or fallacious touching. The colouring, however, is rather heavy, and seems to be shaded with Indian ink, which loses its clearness where there is any depth of shadow. A partiality to any sort of colours often leads the eye astray, and is much against the discrimination of those delicate and tender hues which require the closest care. In nature the subject of Signor Lusieri's drawing abounds in clear and fascinating dyes, and I regretted that an eye, which has been so highly cultivated in all that relates to form, should be so defective in perceiving justly the distinctive qualities of delightful colour.

Signor Lusieri finishes his outlines with the intention of finishing the subject in colours on the spot. . . . It is, however, to be regretted that Signor Lusieri, in all probability, will leave the most of those extensive outlines unfinished, and therefore the want of that peculiar expression which is to be found in Buon Halls's drawings, will take much from the warmth of interest, with which we should otherwise contemplate such pleasing delineations.<sup>6</sup>

Lusieri's letters, from which large extracts are given below, are written in Italian to Hamilton, and in rather illiterate French to Lord Elgin. In both cases I have thought it better to give them in translation. I have also translated Lord Elgin's letters to Lusieri which are in French. Examples of his French style will be found on pp. 334, 362.

The contract with Lusieri once signed, Lord Elgin, as shown by the letter to his mother already quoted, lost no time in making further arrangements for the expedition. Hamilton was sent at once from Sicily to Naples and Rome with instructions to engage the staff and procure materials.

A memorandum was drawn up for his guidance by Lord Elgin.

Constantinople (in Lord Elgin's time), and there it was made and equal. Turner, *Travels in the Levant*, i. p. 368; cf. Lusieri to Lord Elgin, March 24, 1816: 'They have sent me recently the drawings that I began of the

general view of Constantinople, but they are in a pitiful state. Heaven knows when I may finish them as I wish.'

<sup>6</sup> H. W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece, &c.* (1820), vol. ii. pp. 331-334.

1. A man for casts. }  
A painter of figures. }

To be under *Livanti*. Their work to be entirely *à la propriété*, and their salary in my disposal—to be if possible, at the second table—a fixed salary—say, about £20 per annum.

2. To procure materials for the Painters and casts.

Instructions were also given to Hamilton with respect to the engagement of musicians for Constantinople.

3. At Naples, to get a Musician capable of perfectly teaching and accompanying the Piano-forte—immaterial whether he plays on the Violin, or Clarinet. The latter of these instruments much preferred. This man to be at the second table; and at a fixed salary, £40 or £50. It would be wished that he occasionally appeared as a groom of the Chamber—And even somewhat more given on that condition.

N.B. If a second, or even a third good musician could be got very reasonably, also at the second table, it would be very desirable. The instruments to be wind instruments. No doubt about getting these additional men if they would wear Livery—and be as servants—and even a high wage on that condition.

Particularly wished to get as much good and new music as possible set for Haymarket—and for a concert, if musicians are to be met with. Also some new music for the voice. N.B. Neapolitan, Venetian and other native airs.

At the same time Hamilton was instructed to make inquiries about works of art for sale in Italy, as it was possible that both pictures and sculptures of good quality might be obtained at moderate prices in the special circumstances of the time.

Hamilton left Messina for Naples and Rome on October 30, and on November 14<sup>th</sup> he wrote from Rome reporting progress in the execution of his commissions. The engagement of the musicians was being arranged at Naples, and that of the artists at Rome.

Mr. Lusieri's acquaintances here, particularly Messrs. Day and Wallis, English Artists, have been very active in looking out for the three Characters which are the object of our journey. Many have offered, but as yet very essential objections have presented themselves either as to Character, Age, Country, time of life, or ability—but to-morrow I hope we shall make a decision.

As regards the prospects of purchasing works of art at low prices in the general confusion of the time the report was less encouraging. It was to Hamilton that the restitution of the works of art gathered by Napoleon was chiefly due in the settlement after Waterloo. It is interesting to find him writing sixteen years earlier—

The French have taken away from Rome almost all the valuable Statues—Sixty-two choice pieces from the Vatican alone—among which are the *Timo*, *Apollon* of Belvedere, *Lactans*, *Meleager*, &c.—besides the best from the other Museums—Most of the best pictures are also at Paris—During the Republic *Chef d'œuvres* of the first Masters were selling for nothing—and all the Galleries but that of Doria, have lost their best oil paintings—luckily the works in Fresco were immovable.

The heavy and constant contributions of the French were the cause of this distress—which among the poorer class nearly approached a famine. Meanwhile the Artists, who had some money have made their fortunes, which is the case with the two I have mentioned, but all they have bought will be sold very high or sent to England.

<sup>10</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Nov. 14, 1799.



A fortnight later, Hamilton was able to report by letter that he had completed arrangements with the artists.

ROME,

Saturday, November 30th, 1799.

My Lord,

The whole of your Lordship's Commission, as far as it regarded this place is at last completed and I trust as much as possible, that the several objects of our Choice will be to your Satisfaction, and meet with your Approbation—although in certain circumstances we have found it absolutely necessary to deviate considerably from your Lordship's Instructions, and particularly in the Article of the several Salaries.

During the late Revolution the greater part of the Artists had taken an active part as Abettors of the French. Consequently many have found it necessary to quit Rome with their friends, or silently after—and many who remain are very suspicious Characters. We had therefore to inform ourselves of the political principles, as well as of the professional Ability of those we were to fix upon.

The first artist to be engaged was the draughtsman for figures and sculpture. The artist engaged (Theodor or Feodor Iwanovitch) was an excellent draughtsman, whose chief works are preserved in the Elgin portfolio in the British Museum, and who is commonly spoken of as 'Lord Elgin's Calmuck.' He was born in 1765, and had been trained at Carlsruhe. A criticism of his abilities, attributed by Michaels, on what evidence I do not know, to Goethe, is given in the notes of W. K. F. (i.e. Wasmarszke Kunst-Fremde) annexed to C. A. Boettiger's German edition of the *Memorandum*. 'The Calmuck Feodor (so we used always to hear him called) is a man gifted with a great deal of talent, whose clear drawings nearly always indicate taste and mind. But, I think, he has hardly sufficient knowledge and accuracy to let one look for the highest standard of accuracy and truthfulness of style.' Hamilton writes:—

It was singular that all Rome could not afford a single *dessinateur de figures* among its Natives, that was even of ordinary Ability: We have selected one who is on all hands acknowledged to be the best in this line, of excellent character and good Manners. Perhaps he is the only man of taste his Nation ever produced; he is a Tartar and Native of Astracan, educated in Germany, and having studied eight years in Rome. His salary £100 per annum.

A specimen of his work is given in Fig. 2. For his later career, see p. 255.

The second person to be engaged was the architect of the expedition, but in the event it was found necessary to secure the services of two.

With regard to the Architect we have also a Roman who has universally the character of being the most scientific, and of drawing with the greatest Elegance and taste of any of his profession in Rome. If the countenance of our Tartar is extraordinary from the characteristic features of his Nation, our Architect is no less a singular Object, being an extremely deformed Humpback: The head however and hand were the objects of our Search. As on talking over the Subject with him and others we found it impossible that one man could engage in the Undertaking, we have agreed that he shall take with him a young Man accustomed to study under him as a Scholar, and we have fixed his salary at 200 Roman Piastræ, or £125 per annu.

The two architects were Vincenzo Balistreri and Sebastian Ittar. There are various indications that Balistreri was the first described by Hamilton. I

have not identified any of his drawings. The finished work of Ikar is of extraordinary minuteness and elegance. There is however more character in the specimen (Fig. 3) from his working drawings of the Monument of Lysicrates. (Brit Mus. Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiqu.)

The engagement of a Formation to make moulds of the sculptures was also a primary part of the scheme of the undertaking, and here also Hamilton was advised that two would be able to work more effectively than one.

It has also been necessary to agree with [Bernardino Ladini and Vincenzo Riondi] two Formatori or Moulders of Casts on account of the extreme slowness with



FIG. 2.—A PART OF THE ENRIQUE OF THE TEMPLE OF WISDOM AND VIRTUE.  
(From a drawing by Feodor.)

which one alone must of necessity carry on the operation. Their Salary is 50 Piastroni per Month. There being but four others of their profession in Rome was the occasion of their absolute demands being so high.

It was, however, by no means easy to put such a body of artists in motion in the disturbed state of affairs.

I have been detained here these last six days by the difficulty of getting a passport for these persons to go to Naples. The General Suspicion thrown on the whole body of Artists prevented the General from giving the passport till this morning, when I at last obtained it by dint of constant application, and finally by representing in a Memoir the national Importance of the Object in Question. It is however contrary to the express orders of the Court at Palermo. On Monday morning (Dec. 2nd) we set out for Naples. Yesterday the General had given me so direct a refusal that I began seriously to think of being obliged to go round by Vienna, as there seemed less difficulty in allowing them to go to Florence than to Naples.



At the end of the week the party had reached Naples, and on Thursday, December 12, Hamilton sent a further report<sup>21</sup> as to arrangements for the passage to Messina.

We have fortunately found an armed English Merchantman that is going in a few days to Messina. In this we shall take our passage, and there I hope to meet with the English convoy which is not yet come into the Sicilian or Italian Ports. The weather is now too unsettled to venture to cross to Sicily in the small Vessels of the country which indeed are all laid up for the Season.

Arrangements had also been made at Naples with the musicians who were required to complete the Ambassador's train, but not exactly on the terms that Lord Elgin had previously proposed.

I have also procured at Naples a Maître de Chapelle with all the Qualities your Lordship had desired to find in him except the Inclination to appear occasionally as Organ of the Chamber, and as he is a very well-mannered young Man I did not think it proper to press it on him, particularly as I learned from every Quarter, that Persons of his Profession would, with the natural Vanity of this people rather starve thro' Want, than stoop to such an Imaginary Degradation. With regard to the two French-horns, the Clarinet, and the Violoncello, it will I believe be feasible tho' difficult to prevail on them to wear a Livery, or at least a superior Uniform, which would, I suppose, answer fully as well . . .

I am surprised not to have already heard of your Lordship's Arrival at Constantinople—but in this Corner of Europe we are almost completely excluded from communication with the rest, and what little we have is extremely slow and uncertain.

We may dismiss the musicians from the stage, with an account of them written long afterwards by Lord Elgin to Hamilton (October 15, 1820) :—

At Naples, I found the leader of our little Band, in that equality and giving great satisfaction at St. Carlo—I also saw Imperandi busy as a teacher, Damiis taking his fortunes with good humor—and the Violoncello looking as like a fiddle-stick as ever. His wife, who seems to have the charge of the Des de Singin's (F. House, also under very little seducing down of her features, or solemnity, told me however in his presence, that (a complaint she had long labored under the impossibility of disclosing to man she had married, exclusively for the purpose of escaping from the persecutions of the upper maid—and expressed great regret at having been driven to so painful a step.

Through the whole course of the correspondence the modern reader is continually struck by the extraordinary difficulty of communication over comparatively short distances, though recent events have brought back something of the old conditions. March, 1800, had arrived before Hamilton in Sicily had heard of Lord Elgin's arrival in Constantinople and he was still unable to sail with the company from Sicily.

PALERMO,

Sat. March 1st, 1800.

MR LEIGH,

My long Anxiety to hear from your Lordship at Constantinople has at last been relieved by the Sight of your letter to Sir William Hamilton, dated January 18th, but I wish that the Pleasure I received from reading it had not been lessened by the unpleasant Account you give of your own and Lady Elgin's health, and the bad Weather we have long had in these Parts gives me but little Reason to hope that it has been more

<sup>21</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 12, 1799.

inconceivable with you. I was greatly astonished at your Lordship's saying that you had received none of my letters written to you from Messina, Naples and Rome. I trust that that which I wrote the first of January from Messina will have been more fortunate. I am sure however that you will have attributed your not hearing from me rather to a failure of the Post than to my neglect.

Since I arrived at Messina, the 30th of December I have been continually prevented proceeding on my Voyage by the most provoking Circumstances of dilatory Merchants and Captains, contrary Winds, and bad Weather. At that Port the only Ship in which I could hope to proceed to Constantinople was a Greek Polacca belonging to Messrs. Birch and Broadbent, and then loading corn for Malta. To accommodate me these Merchants offered to direct this ship after having her cargo at Malta, to go to Gigeniti, there to take in a cargo of Sulphur, and carry it to Constantinople, but this on the



FIG. 3.—WORKING DRAWING FROM THE MONUMENT IN LONDON BY SEBASTIAN ITAL.

Condition that I would consent to advance Money for half the lading, as they would not embark in a new Speculation to a higher Amount. For the Object of dispatch I consented to this offer, and have advanced on my own account the necessary Sum. Instead however of leaving Messina in four days, we were detained there 3 Weeks by contrary Winds, which still persecuted us in a voyage to Malta of 9 days, and in another from Malta to Gigeniti of 8 days. Here the weather would have permitted us to load and sail in four days; but Winds still contrary and violent, and the intervening of three 16th Holidays, on which no Sicilian would work even to procure his bread, again assumed us another considerable delay. I therefore determined to come over to Palermo for a few days, where I shall procure from Mr. Jough your Collection of Marbles, which I hope to present to you safely at Constantinople; and the continued bad weather assures me that my Absence has occasioned no delay whatever in the sailing of our Polacca. In the mean time the Architects Formatus and Palmara, I have left employed among the



temples, and Sarcophagi of Girgenti, and I trust that their works will in some degree supply the inconvenience your Lordship cannot but feel in their Absence from Constantinople.

This unexpected detention of the company at Girgenti left a permanent mark in the contents of the Elgin collection. The British Museum possesses a cast of a part of a well-known antique sarcophagus which is preserved in the Cathedral of Girgenti, with scenes from the story of Phœdra,<sup>12</sup> and the Elgin portfolios contain plans and drawings executed during the time of waiting.

Hamilton's statement of account for the whole of the transactions above described (October 19-April 5) is extant, and from it we learn that seven members of the company, for some reason not stated, made a journey by land from Girgenti to Syracuse, where they joined the ship. And so, at length, about April 10, 1800, after nearly six months of preparatory work in Italy and Sicily, Hamilton, Lusieri, and the other members of the expedition were able to set sail from Syracuse, for Constantinople, or for Athens. Careful instructions in twenty-two paragraphs were drawn up by Hamilton for the guidance of the Signori Artisti who were going direct to Athens. They were to start as arranged from Sicily for the Dardanelles; to proceed from the Dardanelles to Zee, and from Zee as soon as possible to Athens, where they would put themselves under the guidance of the British Consul, Logotheti. After visiting the antiquities all would begin to work at their respective occupations. Balestra and Ittar would take measurements of the best preserved buildings, and would work out their drawings in case of bad weather; when the chief drawings were finished they would search for the ground-plans of buried ruins. They would also make careful drawings of all sorts of architectural details, and would write a description of what they had observed. If in their searches they found any pieces of ancient sculpture, they would consign them to Logotheti. Feodor meanwhile would make drawings on the scale that he thought most appropriate of all the better sculpture, and special drawings on a larger scale of the very best—also sketches of mediocre sculpture, to illustrate the progress or decadence of the art. Occasionally in bad weather the artists would draw costumes. The formatori would mould the sculpture that Feodor and Bernardino thought the best. Rosati, the second formatore, would be under the orders of Bernardino. All the company would give their best attention to the acquisition of sculpture deserving transportation. The formatori would also mould small details chosen by Balestra, the moulds carefully packed, would be put in the charge of the Consul, and no casts would be taken from them. Necessary money would be obtained from the Consul, who should also be consulted if they were obliged to rove on account of malaria. It is impossible to conclude these instructions without adding that all anxiously expect the worthy fruit of the expedition of such a company of chosen artists, who have already given such great proofs of their respective talents.

<sup>12</sup> *B. M. Sculpt.* No. 2714.

The voyage was delayed by contrary winds, and it was not till May 9 that Hamilton wrote from Myconos, reporting that he hoped in a few days to be able to present himself and his companions to Lord Elgin at Constantinople. Apparently the arrangements recited in the foregoing instructions had to be changed, and the company reached Constantinople about the middle of May, 1800,<sup>12</sup> and were sent on to Athens as soon as opportunity offered. Lusieri remained for a time at Constantinople, the rest of the company of artists going to Athens in advance. Their interests at Athens were watched over after their first arrival by Spiridion Logotheti. They reached Athens on July 22 with letters of commendation from Lord Elgin. Ten horses brought their baggage from the Piræus. They were introduced by Logotheti to the Voivode (paying the customary 12 piastres to the Voivode's cashier and servants) and to the Disdar on the Acropolis, where their gratuities amounted to 14 piastres. Three more horses brought up the supply of plaster which the formatori had brought with them, and preparations were begun to erect a scaffold for moulding the sculptures of the Thesæion. It was necessary, however, to obtain a part of the timber from the island of Hydra. The formatori were able to begin work on August 7, and the scaffolding was completed two days later.<sup>13</sup>

We learn from a letter of Lusieri to his friend Piale, a printseller at Rome, that he was still at Pera on August 20. Not long after he also must have left for Athens.

The Athens of 1800, the destined scene of Lusieri's activities, was a small and sparsely town. It occupied an area immediately to the north and east of the Acropolis, whose boundaries can still be distinguished by the pedestrian tourist, or on inspection of a modern map, by the narrowness and intricacy of its streets and lanes. It was not yet pierced by the two chief thoroughfares, known by the names of *Heræes* and *Aiolos* respectively, which were among the earliest works of the Bavarian engineers of the new kingdom. The present Constitution Square and the Palace Garden were an accidental clear space on the borders of the town. A Turkish wall, some ten feet high and having six gates, enclosed the whole of the town, the Temple of Theseus and the Acropolis. In its then form it dated from 1780, and its principal purpose had been to protect the inhabitants from the incursion of pirates and robbers. Between the houses and the town walls was a wide-paved promenade, described by Hobhouse as an open space between the walls and the city, one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards in breadth, laid out in corn grounds, while other parts served as gardens attached to some of the principal houses. In Fig. 4 a part of the careful plan of Athens, made by Lusieri's chief rival, Fauvel, is reproduced.<sup>14</sup>

The number of houses in Athens was supposed to be between twelve

<sup>12</sup> Lord Elgin's evidence, *Report*, p. 33.

<sup>13</sup> Logotheti to Elgin, Aug. 13, Sept. 16, 1800.

<sup>14</sup> Hobhouse, *Travels*, I. 233. Walpole's

*Memoria*, I. p. 481. The plan in Walpole, here reproduced, is taken from that in Olivier's *Voyage*, Atlas Pl. 42. Olivier received it from Fauvel in June, 1798. *Voyage* III. p. 617.



and thirteen hundred; of these about four hundred were inhabited by Turks, the remainder by Greeks and Albanians; the latter of whom occupied about three hundred houses. There were also seven or eight Frank families, under the protection of the French Consul. None of the houses were well built or



FIG. 4.—Plan of Athens, about 1700 A.D. (After Flavel.)

commodious, and the streets were all narrow and irregular. Hotels, of course, were as yet unknown. Even in 1810 Hobhouse<sup>40</sup> writes of a scheme to provide Athens with a tavern, 'a novelty surely never before witnessed at Athens, as if it were a daring venture. The Frank traveller either hired a

<sup>40</sup> Hobhouse, i, p. 302.

house, or enjoyed (for a consideration) the hospitality of some resident, such as Logotheti, the British Agent, described as *ἡ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος, ἀντεπρότερος καὶ πολιτικώτερος μεταξὺ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (*Holm.*, xxvi, p. 283), or Theodora Maeri, the daughter of his predecessor in office. Rooms could also be hired at the Capuchin Monastery which stood for western civilisation. It possessed a pleasant garden, and incorporated in its buildings the cheragic Monument of Lysimachus, the interior of which served the superior as a book closet and library.<sup>17</sup>

The Turkish inhabitants of the town—so at least the traveller liked to fancy—were of a more amiable disposition than elsewhere. At Athens, writes Hobhouse,<sup>18</sup> you 'perceive an agreeable change in the aspect of all around you: the Turk, subdued either by the superior spirit of his subjects, or by the happy influence of a more genial climate, appears to have lost his ferocity, to have conformed to the soil, and to have put on a new character, ornamented by the virtues of humanity, kindness, and an easy affability, to which he attains in no other quarter of the Mahometan world.' Of the Greeks, less favourable reports are given. 'The character of the modern [Greek] inhabitants of this town does not rank high amongst their countrymen, and the proverb which is to be seen in Gibbon I heard quoted against them in their own city—'As bad as the Turks of Negroponte, the Jews of Salomon, and the Greeks of Athens.'<sup>19</sup>

As regards its government, Athens had enjoyed since the middle of the 17th century the ignominious but powerful patronage of the Kishar Aga, or chief of the Sultan's black eunuchs, and its chief officer, the Voivode, was his nominee. The chief military officer was the Dislar, or commandant of the citadel, who in that capacity regulated the access of strangers to the Acropolis, and lived within its walls.

'The only houses,' says Dodwell,<sup>20</sup> speaking of the buildings on the Acropolis, 'which may rank above cottages, are those of the Dislar and of his lieutenant, the Asep-Agha. The others are miserable huts for the few soldiers of the garrison, and as the stones are fitted only with mud and earth, instead of mortar, the walls are continually falling; and a heavy rain makes nearly as much havoc amongst the Athenian cottages as fire or an earthquake in other countries.'

'The fortress is only calculated to keep the town in awe, which however is never necessary; there are but few cannons, most of which are dismantled, . . . There are few trees within the citadel, and those are of small size, consisting of some cypresses, two or three palms and some fig trees. The Dislar has a garden of very moderate dimensions containing some flowers and vines.'

By a tradition of long standing the Dislar was in a position to exact an exorbitant toll from the curious traveller and artist. The Marquis de Noailles, one hundred and thirty years before, had bought admission for his draughtsman with six ells of scarlet cloth and a gift of coffee—a donation very similar to that made by Sir Richard Worsley in 1786, 'a present of a few yards of broadcloth to the wife of the Dislar.'<sup>21</sup> Hobhouse obtained his admission

<sup>17</sup> Holmhouse, I, p. 301; Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 290.

<sup>18</sup> Holmhouse, I, p. 290.

<sup>19</sup> Holmhouse, I, p. 298.

<sup>20</sup> Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 258.

<sup>21</sup> A. H. Smith, *Turk. Oct.*, p. 2.



for 'the usual present of tea and sugar.'<sup>22</sup> Dodwell speaks of fees amounting in all to eighty or a hundred Turkish piastres. He was, however, greatly troubled by the bad faith of the Dîdar, until he succeeded in stopping the importunities of that official by threatening him with the magic powers of his camera obscura.<sup>23</sup>

He . . . looked into the camera obscura with a kind of cautious diffidence, and at that moment some of his soldiers happening to pass before the reflecting glass, were beheld by the astonished Dîdar walking upon the paper: he rose became outrageous; and after calling me pig, devil, and Buonaparte, he told me that, if I chose, I might take away the temple and all the stones in the citadel: but that he would never permit me to corrupt his soldiers into my box. When I found that it was in vain to reason with his ignorance, I changed my tone, and told him that if he did not leave me unmolested, I would put him into my box; and that he should find it a very difficult matter to get out again. His alarm was now visible: he immediately retired, and . . . never afterwards gave me any further molestation.

No doubt the fee varied with the supposed ability of the travellers. Lord Elgin's draughtsmen were obliged to pay the monstrous sum of five guineas per day, and Lord Elgin speaks of it in his evidence before the Committee as a not unusual charge.

The chief buildings at Athens, about which Lusieri's operations turned, were not many in number.

On the Acropolis or citadel, the principal monument was the Parthenon, or temple of the Virgin Goddess Athena. It had been built at the crowning period of the glory of Athens (between 447 and 431 B.C.) during the administration of Pericles, and under the direction of Ictinus, the architect, and Phidias, the sculptor. Its sculpture consisted firstly of groups in the round in the gables or pediments. In each case only a sorry remnant was left at the end of the eighteenth century in comparison with the original composition, yet such as they are they form the noblest group of ancient sculptures that time has left. Secondly, there were the square panels sculptured in high relief, the metopes on the external order. Finally, there was the incomparable frieze, with the scene of the Panathenaic procession, which surrounded the central chamber. From the fall of Paganism to the Turkish conquest, the Parthenon had served as a church of the Virgin Mary. From the Turkish conquest onwards it had been a mosque. Its chief catastrophe had taken place in 1687 at the time of a Venetian siege, when the centre of the building was destroyed by a powder explosion. In Lord Elgin's time a small makeshift mosque was irregularly built on a part of the temple floor.

The other chief building on the Acropolis was the Erechtheum. This is a curiously complex group of sanctuaries incorporated in a single building of about 400 B.C. of great refinement and beauty. In the 18th century it served as the house of the Dîdar.

The Propylæa were the famous gateways and approaches to the Acropolis. On a projecting bastion of the Propylæa the temple of Wingless

<sup>22</sup> *Hutchinson*, i. p. 292.

<sup>23</sup> *Dodwell*, i. 294.

Victory (Athens Nike, or Nike Apteros) had once stood. It had been pulled down and its foundations had been incorporated in the Turkish works in the course of the preparations to resist the Venetian attack in 1687. Some of the slabs of its frieze were built into the walls of the Propylæa. The temple was reconstructed in its original position in 1835.

In the lower town the Thesæum was a Doric temple, which had survived in excellent state as a church. Its sculptures consisted of metopes on and adjoining to the eastern end, and a frieze in high relief at each end of the temple.

The little monument dedicated by Lysicrates in honour of a musical victory has been already mentioned as incorporated with the buildings of the Capuchin Monastery. This list of course does not exhaust the monuments of Athens, but it includes those which appear most frequently in the course of the correspondence.

## PART II.

### *Lord Elgin in the East.*

No letters survive from Lasieri describing the opening of the campaign at Athens, but some details may be gleaned from the letters of Logotheti.

In September he wrote to Lord Elgin<sup>24</sup>: 'With reference to the Temple of Minerva, your Excellency must be aware that, inasmuch as Turkish families live round it, when the scaffoldings are made all the Turkish houses and courts will be in view, and since they are very particular on that point we shall meet with difficulties.'<sup>25</sup> A letter was therefore needed, addressed to the Voivode, and commanding the artists and Logotheti. This letter, accompanied by 100 piastres to the Dislar and another hundred to the neighbouring Turks would serve. In February<sup>26</sup> he reported that he had arranged without the aid of the firman for the artists to get admission to the fortress. There had, however, just been a change of Voivode, and it would therefore still be desirable to have the firman. In March,<sup>27</sup> work was still going on, but a powerful letter of recommendation was much to be desired.

With this we may compare the account given by Lord Elgin<sup>28</sup> to the Select Committee:

For several months [my artists] had no access to the Acropolis, except for the purpose of drawing, and that at an expense of five guineas a day; thus lasted from August 1800 till the month of April 1801.

That limited access lasted about nine months! Yes. The fee of five guineas was

<sup>24</sup> Logotheti to Elgin, Sept. 10, 1800.

<sup>25</sup> This had been the experience of Chandler's Dilettanti expedition of 1765. Mr. Paus [the artist] generally had his post 'on the acclivitate of the colonnade, many feet from the ground, where he was exposed to gusts of wind, and to accidents in passing to and fro. Several of the Turks unharmed, and some

threatened, because he overlooked their houses; obliging them to smother or remove the windows, to prevent their being seen from that exalted station.' Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, 3rd ed. II. p. 58.

<sup>26</sup> Logotheti to Elgin, Feb. 7, 1801.

<sup>27</sup> Logotheti to Elgin, March 15, 1801.

<sup>28</sup> *Report*, p. 321.



one usually demanded from strangers? There were as few strangers then I do not know, but in the instances which come to my knowledge, it was so. During that period my artists were employed in the buildings in the low town of Athens.

The *formatori* were doubtless employed during this first period on the casts of the two friezes and three metopes of the Temple of Theseus, and the frieze of the Monument of Lysicrates, now in the British Museum. They would be able to make arrangements with the authorities of the Capuchin Monastery and of the Church of St. George (for the Thesaurion had been dedicated to the service of the saint) without being exposed to the exactions of the *Dindar*.

In the spring of 1801 Laschér paid a visit to Constantinople, presumably to report progress and to consult with Lord Elgin.

On that visit he would have become aware of the beginnings of the collection of marbles. At some date between Lord Elgin's arrival and Hunt's tour in March, 1801, Lord Elgin had become possessed, by the favour of the Sultan and the Capitan Pasha, of two noted monuments from the Church of St. George at Cape Sigeum.

On the left of the door of the village church was the base with a relief of mothers and babies<sup>21</sup> placed as a seat, on the right was a low seat, consisting of the famous *heutrophedon* inscription. The relief had been seen and coveted by many travellers. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu<sup>22</sup> could have had it for a trifling sum in 1718, but the captain assured her he had neither gear nor a longboat, so her only acquisition was the important Sigeum inscription (*C.I.G.* 3595) relating to Antiochus, now in the collection of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pary drew the relief in 1764, and Sir Richard Worsley visited it in April, 1786. I give an extract from his MS. diary (destroyed by fire at Brooklesby Park).

It has been much injured by the inhabitants of the place to prevent its being taken away, as I was informed by Signor Sabatini, the British Vice-Consul at the Dardanelles, who acquainted me that he had accompanied an English gentleman to the spot, who had bid 100 Venetian sequins for this beautiful fragment. The Governor of the castle had given his consent to the sale and had sent some Turks to assist the gentleman in getting it away, but they met with a violent opposition from the inhabitants, who immediately began to beat off the heads of four of the figures out of the five,<sup>23</sup> and defacing the inscription (presumably the *heutrophedon* inscription) alleging that the reason why they would not be prevailed with to part with the fragment was that upon a former occasion they had sold a fragment, and soon after their village was infested with a dreadful plague.

The archaic *heutrophedon* inscription (*B.M. Inscr.* No. 1002) had been first found by Sherard at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was seen by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (whose husband, as might be expected, found the reading too difficult for him) and discussed by Bentley. During the century the inscription was fast becoming illegible, and when Chandler<sup>24</sup> saw it in 1764, he

<sup>21</sup> *B.M. Sculpt.*, No. 789.

<sup>22</sup> Letter of July 31, 1718.

<sup>23</sup> If the story is from the inscription book

placed before 1764.

<sup>24</sup> Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 23.

copied these inscriptions very carefully, and not without deep regret, that a stone so singularly curious, which has preserved to us a specimen of writing antiquated above two thousand years ago, should be suffered to be so neglected and exposed. Above half a century has elapsed since it was first discovered, and it still remains in the open air, a cost for the Greeks, destitute of a patron to rescue it from barbarism, and obtain its removal into the safer custody of some private museum; or, which is rather to be desired, some public repository.

These two important pieces were now in safe custody and formed the nucleus of the Elgin Collection. When Dr. Hunt visited the church at Sigeum in the course of the tour described below, a Greek priest lamented that the stones had been removed by English soldiers (then employed on the improvement of the Dardanelles defences) by the authority of the governor and the Sultan as a gift to the Ambassador.

The sighs and tears with which the Greek Priest accompanied his story did not, however, arise from any veneration he bore to the antiquity of these marbles, from any knowledge of their remote history, or any supposed relation they bore to the tale of Troy divine, but because, as he told us, his flock had thus lost an infallible remedy for many obstinate maladies. To explain this, it may be necessary to mention, that during the winter and spring, a considerable part of the neighbouring plain is overflowed, thus afflicting the inhabitants with agues; and such is the state of superstition at present among the Greek Christians, that when any disease becomes chronic, or beyond the reach of common remedies, it is attributed to demoniacal possession. The Pope or priest is then called in to examine the patient, which he generally does in the porch of the church, by reading long portions of Scripture over the sufferer; sometimes, indeed, the whole of the four gospels. In addition to this, at Yenicher, the custom was to roll the patient on the marble stone which contained the Sigeum inscription, the characters of which never having been deepened by any of their *admirables*, were supposed to contain a powerful charm. This practice had, however, nearly obliterated the inscription.<sup>27</sup>

That the last statement is no exaggeration will be admitted by anyone who compares the stone as it is to-day with the early readings.<sup>28</sup>

No records survive as to what passed at Constantinople, but Lusieri can hardly fail to have been made acquainted with these striking acquisitions, and to have become aware of Lord Elgin's enthusiasm as a collector. He left Constantinople for Athens early in March, taking passage in a Turkish cruiser. He was accompanied by the two Cambridge travellers, E. D. Clarke, and J. M. Cripps, his pupil and companion, and also by the artist, M. F. Pignat. A firman of some sort seems to have been obtained and forwarded to Logotheti,<sup>29</sup> but it failed to reach him for a long time, and turned out to be an illusory document.<sup>30</sup> Lusieri also carried with him a circular letter, dated February 26, from the Ambassador, addressed to the Consuls, Vice-Consuls and British agents in the Levant, asking for their good offices. Dr. Philip Hunt and Dr. Carlyle also left Constantinople on March 3, 1801, which was about the same date as that of Lusieri's departure. Hunt was the Embassy Chaplain, and, as will be seen later, an active supporter of Lord Elgin's undertakings. Dr. Carlyle was Professor of Arabic in the University

<sup>27</sup> Hunt in Walpole's *Memoirs*, i. p. 97.

<sup>28</sup> See *B.M. Journ.* No. 1002.

<sup>29</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, May 16, 1801.

<sup>30</sup> Hunt in *Report*, p. 140.



of Cambridge. He had been attached to Lord Elgin's Mission by the Government in order to investigate the supposed existence of unexplored literary treasures in Turkey.<sup>28</sup> The manuscripts purchased during Carlyle's stay in Constantinople are now in the Lambeth Library. His own Journal at Athos is in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 27, 804; cf. Hasluck, *B.S.A.* xii, p. 207). His health had suffered much during his residence in Turkey, and he felt himself unable to venture alone upon a journey to Macedonia to examine the libraries of Mount Athos, and he therefore applied to Lord Elgin for Hunt's company.

They were going, Carlyle wrote<sup>29</sup> (Feb. 29th [*sic*], 1801), to 'Mount Athos, in order to examine the libraries in the different Greek convents there; and as we go with every recommendation that we could wish, perhaps we may not be less successful in the acquisition of MSS. at the holy mountain than in other places of the same description. From Athos, we mean to go to Salonica; and from thence, if possible, to the monasteries on the Peneus. We shall then proceed, by the most celebrated spots of Thessaly, Doris, Phocis, and Boeotia, to Attica and Athens; from thence I shall cross the Isthmus to Patras; and we get home, either by Malta or Trieste, by sea or by land, as circumstances may admit.'

The two travellers elected to go by sea, in order to have an opportunity of visiting the Plain of Troy, Tenedos, and Lemnos. On March 3 they left Constantinople for the Dardanelles. Meeting unfavourable winds at the mouth of the Hellespont, they determined to land at Camaris or Kaimir (Parium) and make for the Dardanelles by road. Hunt wrote reports of the journey to Lord Elgin, but as his journals have been printed (*Walpole Memoirs* i, p. 84) it is not necessary to dwell on the incidents of the tour.

They went on together to Mount Athos and both have printed their impressions.<sup>30</sup> They proceeded by way of Tenedos and Lemnos. Between Lemnos and Athos they were exposed to a very severe storm which they had reason to believe proved fatal to several vessels that had quitted Lemnos in their company. Most of April was spent in Mount Athos, and on the 27th the travellers were at Salonica, intending to start the next day for Athens. The unsettled state of the country made it advisable to take a sea route, but that also, Hunt wrote,<sup>31</sup> was 'not over secure, as most of the bays swarm with pirates, from whom we have already had two very narrow escapes, but as our vessel is of a pretty large size I trust we shall not be exposed to any real danger. They appear to have been huffed by further storms off Athos, after which they stopped for rest at Andros. After an unsuccessful attempt to reach Delos, they landed at Sunium only on their voyage to Athens.

To return to Lusieri, of whose departure from Constantinople we have heard above, he had made good use of his time in the Troad. On March 11 he wrote to Lord Elgin from Cos describing the course of the voyage to that point.<sup>32</sup>

On the second day the cruiser reached the Dardanelles and there cast

<sup>28</sup> Hunt in *Walpole's Memoirs* i, p. 81.

<sup>29</sup> Carlyle to the Bishop of Lincoln, in *Walpole's Memoirs* i, 171.

<sup>30</sup> *Walpole's Memoirs* i, 194, 198.

<sup>31</sup> Hunt to Elgin, May 22, 1801.

<sup>32</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, March 11, 1800.

anchor to enable the party to visit the Troad. They viewed the accepted landmarks such as the tombs of Achilles and Ajax, but Lusieri was recalled on the morning of the fourth day to the cruiser. Clarke and Cripps continued their explorations for another ten days.

There seems to have been some friction and jealousy between the two parties of travellers, going over the same ground at the same time. Hunt wrote to Lord Elgin (March 22, 1801)—'Clarke and Cripps seem to have done very little, and to have omitted many interesting spots in the tour.' Clarke, on the other hand, wrote to Hamilton (March 24, 1801, in bitter terms—'Thus you see how evident is the Effect of that Jealousy, which marked all their conduct to us, and which every Family in Pera noticed. It is the more remarkable as we thought they had too high an opinion of their own Talents to harbour Jealousy, for the Pursuits of any other Traveller' and so on.

The Elgin portfolios at the British Museum contain some characteristic views of the scenery of the Troad, which were made on the occasion of this tour by Michel François Preaux, to whom they have already been conjecturally attributed by Mr. F. W. Hasluck.<sup>12</sup> 'Preaux,' Clarke wrote in the letter quoted above, 'has made no less than forty drawings.'

Owing to contrary winds the cruiser in which Lusieri was making his passage was delayed, and on March 11 the party were at Seio. The unfavourable winds here caused a month's delay, and it was not till April that Lusieri could write to Lord Elgin and to Hamilton that he was on the point of starting for Athens. To the latter he wrote<sup>13</sup>—

Here I am at Myconos, after running the risk of drowning, crossing here from Patmos, in my hurry to get quickly to Athens. My boat, myself, and all my efforts were entirely immersed, but the paper which was picked up with every possible precaution has not suffered at all. . . . Two sailors, from the region of Jaffa, who died just lately of plague, have not only put the inhabitants into a state of panic, but have hindered all business, even to the point of going out of doors.

The wind having suddenly become favourable he was starting to Athens that day. Athens was duly reached on April 15, and Lusieri<sup>14</sup> reported to Lord Elgin that he had found the company in good health, and was well satisfied with the quality of their work. The architects had finished measuring all that there was on the Acropolis and the best of what was in the town. He proposed to set them to measure all that remained in the town after they had finished their elevations of the most remarkable monuments. There had, however, been a change for the worse.

The Formatori were ready to begin work on the Temple of Minerva, in the citadel, when the commandant prevented their going on. The same cause prevents Feodor from drawing the two reliefs of the same temple, the architects from making new observations, and myself from taking views. That is because they lack the necessary firman for that purpose, which your Excellency sent to Signor Logothetti before my departure, and which he has never received. Everything that has been done up till

<sup>12</sup> *Ann. of the School at Athens*, xviii. p. 277.

<sup>13</sup> Letter to Hamilton, April 7, 1801.

<sup>14</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, May 16, 1801.



now in the citadel has been by means of presents to the Duxar, who is the commandant. He, however, has been threatened by the Cadi and Voivode if he should continue to admit us to the fortress, and has just told us that henceforth it was impossible for us to work there without a firman. I therefore beg your Excellency to have one sent to us as soon as possible, drawn up in such terms as to prevent us meeting with new difficulties in visiting and peacefully continuing our work. I also require one of the same effect in case I shall go elsewhere. In the mean time I am setting the formatori to work again at the Temple of Flaminia, where they had suspended operations in order to go to the Acropolis. The necessity of watching over these gentlemen, who when they were left to themselves have not worked as they might have done, obliges me to stay here until they shall have finished. So many monuments and points of view equally interesting for their history and for their beauty will take all my attention, and I have made a beginning to colour them after nature. Good example has already begun to produce its effect, which gives me the greatest pleasure, and emulation will soon do still more.

Lusieri further reported the arrival of Mr. Nisbet, Lord Elgin's father-in-law, with Mrs. Nisbet. His letter is dated from the French Capuchin Monastery, already mentioned. He remarks that the Monastery contained a quantity of ancient sculptures hidden underground and in a chamber, these being French property.

Such was the position of affairs when Hunt and Carlyle reached Athens from Mount Athos, their arrival being briefly reported in Lusieri's letter of May 16.

A few days later Hunt<sup>11</sup> wrote his impressions to Lord Elgin. In the company of the Nisbets he had been able to visit the sights of Athens under favourable conditions.

They were so kind as to include Mr. Carlyle and myself in all their parties, and I am convinced that my Travellers have spent a short period on this classic soil, with unusual advantage. Mr. Nisbet's connexion with your Lordship opened to us the gates of the Acropolis and every room of the superb buildings it contains; and guided by so able a Cicerone as Lusieri, as well as by the local knowledge which your Lordship's Architects and Modellers now possess, the Athens of Pericles seemed to rise before me in all its primitive beauty.

The usual excursions were also made in the neighbourhood. Hunt and Carlyle had visited the Plain of Marathon, and had compared the site with the accounts of Herodotus and Pausanias. They had also visited the cave of Pan, Cephissia, Eleusis and Megara. Mr. Nisbet had meanwhile been engaged in procuring some porphyry from the citadel and a marble altar.

The Archbishop of Athens has given Mr. Nisbet out of the Metropolitan Church [elsewhere, from the Metropolitan Palace here] an ancient Marble Throne, on which the Gymnasiarch sits at the Public Games. It has two reliefs of the Sacred Olive the Oak of Minerva, the Victor's Garland, the Vase of consecrated oil, a Tripod &c. The weight of it will make its transportation to the Piræus difficult.

The throne in question is well known to archaeologists from the old illustrations, although the original has been lost sight of. It is, however, as explained above, p. 164, at Bield East Lothian, in the possession of Mrs. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy, the great-granddaughter of the Mr. Nisbet, to whom

<sup>11</sup> Hunt to Elgin, May 22, 1801.

the gift was made by the Archbishop. By her kind permission an illustration of the chair is given below (Fig. 3.)

It is a spacious seat, with voluted arms, each supported by an owl. The outer side, to the spectator's right, is plain. On the left, there is a relief of a four-legged agonistic table, designed to hold the prizes of victory in the games. This must be Hunt's 'Tripod.' We see the front sides of the two near legs and the back sides of the two far legs, that on the left being very indistinct in the illustration. The edge of the table is decorated with overlapping leaves or scales. Beside the table is an olive tree, and upon it are three wreaths, and the amphora of oil, with a spray of olive (*c*). Below are three palm-leaves in sunk relief.



FIG. 3.—MARBLE CHAIR AT BERLIN.

This is no doubt one of the chairs engraved in Stuart and Revett iii. chap. iii. (beginning)\* or chap. iv. (end). The editors speak of three different chairs. From the illustrations it would not be easy to determine whether we have three different chairs, or one chair, carelessly drawn, seen from the front and the two sides. It is stated, however, by Revett, as quoted by Revuey (Stuart, 2nd ed. iii. p. 92)

that one of the chairs mentioned in this page from its form, wider at the back than in front, shows that it was the outer chair of a circular exhedra; one side is to have represented, but the opposite one is plain, and it was evidently joined by others which from their situation must have had both their sides the same, that is, plain.

\* Compare also *Antiquities, Peristyle*, p. 29. See *ibid.* ii. p. 279. It is also given, as far the first of the above, taken from *Stamper*, Darenberg, Fig. 1234.



Our chair, being carved only on the left side, seems to correspond best with the first example, Stuart and Revett iii. chap. iii. leading vignette, left. Cf. text *ibid.* two ancient chairs, one of which is in the Metopæ of St. Cyriani near the Vescovato, or residence of the bishop.

The breaking away of the upper volutes would account for the loose treatment of the arms in the vignette. It should, however, be remarked that the spreading bases on which the owls stand correspond better with the engraving *ibid.* chap. iv. end.

The agonistic table was an elaborate piece of ceremonial furniture. At Athens, Michaelis identifies it with the ivory table *τράπεζα ἡλεκτρούμενη* of the Parthenon treasure-lists (*IG* i. 173, l. 9). At Olympia it was a piece of gold and ivory work by Kolotes (*Paus.* v. 26. 1). It became a favourite subject for representation on imperial coins of Athens, Corinth, Delphi, and many towns of Asia Minor. Our chair seems also to be a work of the early empire.

Curlye, Hunt reported, had left on that day with the Nisbets for Malta, and he himself was about to start on the following day in a small cutter for Tenos, whence he hoped to find an immediate opportunity of going on to Constantinople.

Having thus described the movements of the party, Hunt turns to the prospects of the expedition.

Of the Temples of Minerva, Theseus and Neptune, I can say nothing that would convey an idea of the effect they produce. They must be seen to know what the union of simplicity and beauty is capable of; and after having feasted the eyes with those exquisite specimens of Athenian Architecture, every derivation from them, even the edifices of Rome itself will almost disgust. Laneri, tho' born on the banks of the Tiber, and attached as he was to the proud remains of the Masters of the World, is now an Enthusiastic Admirer of the Doric Buildings here, and turns with disgust from the works of Hadrian or Herodes Atticus, and everything on the Roman model.

He is employing his pencil on two general views of Athens, one from the Pnyx, the other from Mount Anaktoria [*i.e.* Lycabettus] which will embrace all the monuments and choice spots of the Citadel and the Town. He has also commenced near views of the Temples of Theseus, Minerva and Pandrosos. Positive Firmans must, however, be obtained from the Porte, to enable the Architects and Modellers to proceed in their most interesting labours. Unfortunately the Temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, and those of Neptune Erechthons of Minerva Pallas, and Pandrosos, as well as the famous Propylæa, are all within the walls of the Acropolis, now a Turkish fortress, garrisoned by veteran and insubordinate Janissaries, so that every obstacle which National jealousy and Mohammedan bigotry, seconded by French intrigues, could produce, have been too successfully used to interrupt their labours. Till those Firmans are obtained, the bas-reliefs on the frieze, and the groups on the Metopæ can neither be modelled nor drawn. The architects, therefore, in the mean time, are proceeding to make the elevations and ground plans, from the measures they had taken, and the Calumn Theodore employs his almost magic pencil in copying such remains of Sculpture as are beyond the walls of the Citadel.

Logothetis,<sup>41</sup> not less than Laneri and Hunt, was active in urging the need for a firman. We have already seen that he was asking for it during

<sup>41</sup> Logothetis to Elgin, May 16, 1801.

the winter. In May, however, the difficulties he had clearly foreseen began to be felt, and Logotheti explained more in detail what Hunt had only described in general terms. The artists had finished their plans, and had erected their scaffolding for moulding and drawing and had just begun a few days before 'when a firman arrived here which advised the governor to keep good watch, and to guard the citadel, because a French fleet has gone out of Brest, and has reached Toulon. He has put new difficulties in the way of the progress of the work on the ruins of the citadel.' Logotheti had endeavoured to meet the difficulty by a formal call, in company with Mr. Nisbet as the Ambassador's kinsman, on the commandant. The latter had promised that such facilities as had been previously granted should be renewed after a few days, but Logotheti still urged the advisability of the firman.

Hunt, as we have seen, proposed to leave Athens to return to Constantinople on May 23, and he would have returned with a conviction, shared by Lusieri and by Logotheti, that a strong firman must be obtained.<sup>11</sup>

Up to this point, no ambitious designs of collecting the marbles had taken shape. Only proposals to draw and mould the sculptures were discussed, and the transport of Mr. Nisbet's marble chair was spoken of by Hunt as a serious undertaking.

'My whole plan, Lord Elgin said before the Committee,<sup>12</sup> was to measure and to draw every thing that remained and could be traced of architecture, to model the peculiar features of architecture; I brought home a piece of each description of column for instance, and capitals and decorations of every description; friezes and moulds, and, in some instances, original specimens; and the architects not only went over the numerous monuments that had been before traced, but by removing the foundations were enabled to extend them and to open the way to further enquiries, which have been attended since with considerable success.'

A nearer acquaintance, however, with the actual conditions soon began to influence Lord Elgin's mind.<sup>13</sup>

From the period of Stuart's visit to Athens till the time I went to Turkey, a very great destruction had taken place. There was an old temple on the Ilion which had disappeared . . . every traveller coming, added to the general defacement of the statuary in his reach: there are now in London pieces broken off within our day. And the Turks have been continually defacing the fountains, and in some instances they have actually acknowledged to me, that they have pounded down the statues to convert them into mortar: It was upon these suggestions and with these feelings, that I proposed to remove as much of the sculpture as I conveniently could: it was no part of my original plan to bring away anything but my moulds.

No doubt this change of plan was largely due to Hunt's report of the position of affairs at Athens. In part it took definite shape, as the new firman made its execution possible.

Hunt must have reached Constantinople early in June, and there he could urge by word of mouth the case for an extended firman. A

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hunt's evidence, *Report*, p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> *Report*, p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> *Report*, p. 40.



written memorandum is of interest showing the points which Hunt considered of importance.

PERA, July 1, 1801. Mr. Hunt recommends that a Ferman should be procured from the Porte, addressed to the Verride and Cadil of Athens, as well as to the Dolar, or Governor of the Citadel, stating that the Artists are in the service of the British Ambassador Extraordinary, and that they are to have not only permission, but protection in the following objects:—

(1) To enter freely within the walls of the Citadel, and to draw and model with plaster the Ancient Temples there.

(2) to erect scaffolding, and to dig where they may wish to discover the ancient tombs &c.

(3) liberty to take away any sculptures or inscriptions which do not interfere with the works or walls of the Citadel.

PURIT HUNT

The exception suggested in the last clause was obviously directed towards possible military scruples of the Turkish authorities rather than to any question as to the artistic propriety of the operations.

No records exist as to any negotiations with the Porte. Such affairs, according to Lord Elgin's evidence, were entirely verbal. 'There was nothing in writing till an order was issued.'<sup>21</sup> Hunt, according to his evidence before the Committee,<sup>22</sup> advised Lord Elgin to apply to the Porte for a firman 'embracing the particular objects I pointed out to him; and as I had been before deceived with respect to the pretended contents of a firman, I begged that this might be accompanied by a literal translation; the firman was sent with a translation and that translation I now possess.'

The terms of the new firman are published in the report of the Select Committee and elsewhere. It is in two parts firstly granting the prayer of the petitioner, and secondly granting it point by point. The purport of the whole is sufficiently summarised in the evidence of Dr. Hunt.

It begins by stating that it was well known to the Sultane Porte that foreigners of rank, particularly English noblemen and gentlemen, were very anxious to visit and examine the works of ancient art in Greece, particularly the Temples of the idols; that the Porte had always gladly gratified that wish, and that in order to show their particular respect to the Ambassador of Great Britain, the august ally of the Porte, with whom they were now and had long been in the strictest alliance, they gave to his Excellency, and to his Secretary and the artists employed by him, the most extensive permission to view, draw and model the ancient temples of the idols and the sculptures upon them, and to make excavations, and to take away any stone that might appear interesting to them.

The last clause of the prayer runs '*when they wish to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions or figures thereon that no opposition be made therein.*'

The final words of the operative part of the firman,<sup>23</sup> as translated from the Italian version, are:—

It is our desire that on the arrival of this Letter you use your diligence to act conformably to the instances of the said Ambassador, so long as the said five Artists

<sup>21</sup> Report, p. 30.

<sup>22</sup> Report, p. 141.

<sup>23</sup> Report, p. 227.

dwellings at Athens shall be employed in going in and out of the said citadel of Athens, which is the place of their occupation; or in fixing scaffolding around the ancient Temple of the Acropolis, or in modelling with chalk or gypsum the said ornaments and visible figures thereof; or in measuring the fragments and vestiges of other ruined edifices; or in excavating, when they find it necessary, the foundations, in search of inscriptions among the rubbish; that they be not molested by the said Thaur (or companion of the Consul) nor by any other persons, nor even by you (to whom this Letter is addressed); and that no one meddle with their scaffolding or implements, nor hinder them from taking away any pieces of stone (*qualche pezzi di pietra*) with inscriptions or figures. In the above-mentioned manner, see that ye demand and exempt yourselves.

(Signed with a signet.)

SEBASTIAN ADRIAN KATHARIS.

Such was the tenor of the fatal firman. We have it on the authority of Lord Elgin<sup>14</sup> that the general state of political relations was an important consideration attending its issue.

In preparation with the change of affairs in our relations towards Turkey, the facilities of access were increased to me and to all English travellers; and about the middle of the summer of 1801 all difficulties were removed; we then had access for general purposes. . . . The objection disappeared from the moment of the decided success of our arms in Egypt. Yes; the whole system of Turkish feeling met with a revolution, in the first place, from the invasion by the French; and afterwards by our conquest.<sup>15</sup>

Lord Elgin's views at this stage are fully set forth in a letter to Lusieri of instructions which are of sufficient interest to be printed at length.<sup>16</sup>

SIR,

Your letter of May 16th and the news which Mr. Hunt has brought us from Athens have excited my most serious attention. I have indeed felt how precious the moment is, what advantages there are to be gained or lost.

Mr. Hunt will tell you how much we have thought about the means of coming to your help, and will show you better than I can describe the pains of the efficacious measures that we have taken—I refer to him for all the details.

When you have heard about the matter, you will feel the importance of taking all possible advantages from it. The first aim is to finish the great work well, the ensemble with which you are all busy, and I dare to flatter myself that by the means which we now have, there will be nothing that will not be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

The progress already effected makes observations from the anniversary as to the course to be followed. Perhaps there will be some doubt about the number of objects that you ought to undertake personally—But that will depend partly upon what others undertake and the different considerations that Mr. Hunt's journey will suggest to you.

Besides the general work (by which I mean that which had been begun at the departure of Mr. Hunt) it would be very essential that the *Promoteur* should be able to take away exact models of the little ornaments or detached pieces if any are found, which would be interesting for the Arts. The very great variety in our manufactures, in objects either of elegance or luxury, offers a thousand applications for such details. A chair, a footstool, designs or shapes for porcelain, ornaments for furniture, nothing is indifferent, and whatever it be in painting or a model, exact representations of such things would be much to be desired.

<sup>14</sup> *Report*, p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> *Report*, p. 90.

<sup>16</sup> Elgin to Lusieri, July 16, 1801.



Besides, you have now the permission to dig, and there a great field is opened for medals, and for the remains both of sculpture and architecture. Your zeal will be kindled, I am sure, at this occasion of doing me such essential a service, as the making use of this opportunity affords; and the permission being as extraordinary as the circumstances which procured it are precarious, I charge you to take every care, and to make them work well, and carry on our undertaking in every way that you shall think useful.

The journey that Mr. Hunt is undertaking offers a field for your talent and taste that has never before been offered to any artist. The places he is going to visit, the support he will have everywhere, his zeal, his intelligence, and his knowledge being all equally favourable, promise a most happy end to this excursion. I hope that in going through those classic scenes in this manner you will see exactly what there is; and everywhere where you have not leisure for what you think interesting, you will be able easily to take measures for going back, either alone, or with some of the artists to finish the work.

Palmer has with him several drawings of my house in Scotland, and some plans of the site on which it is intended to build here. As regards the latter, it would be necessary to me to have them by the first opportunity. The plan for my house in Scotland should be known to you. This building is a subject that occupies me greatly, and offers me the means of placing, in a useful, distinguished and agreeable way, the various things that you may perhaps be able to procure for me.

The Hall is intended to be adorned with columns—the cellars underneath are reserved expressly for this.

Would it then be better to get some white columns worked in this country, in order to send them by sea to my house? Or to look out for some different kinds of marble that could be collected together in course of time, and decorate the hall (in the manner of the great Church at Palermo) with columns all different one from another, and all of fine marble—supplementing them with agates and other rare marbles which are found in Sicily, and which are worked in small pieces?

I am inclined towards the latter plan. If each column was different, and each beautiful, I should think that the effect would be admirable, but perhaps better if there were two of each kind.

In either case I should wish to collect as much marble as possible. I have other places in my house which need it, and besides, one can easily multiply ornaments of beautiful marble without overloading it; and nothing, truly, is so beautiful and also independent of changes of fashion.

These reflections only apply to unworked marble. You do not need any prompting from me to know the value that is attached to a sculptured marble, or historic piece.

Farewell, Sir, keep well, and be assured of my esteem and respect.

ELGIN.

14th July

P.S. I have just received your letter from Mycenæ. It has not arrived.

The letters which Mr. Hunt brings, and the advantages that he happens to have, are such that I beg you very urgently to make the trip with him, in the way that I have proposed in this letter. Everything makes me set great store by this expedition.

The British had to be conveyed to Athens, and in the ordinary course would no doubt have been entrusted to some courier or ship-captain. It chanced, however, that the political position made it desirable that Hunt should return once more to Athens as mentioned above. The nature of his mission is explained in a letter from him to Hamilton<sup>22</sup> who was at that moment on a special errand in Egypt. After giving general news, he notes

<sup>22</sup> Hunt to Hamilton, July 8, 1801.

that the appointment of Mr. Stratton to be Secretary of Embassy at Constantinople may enable Lord Elgin to visit Greece and elsewhere; that the Nisabets and Carlyle were detained in the Lazaretto at Malta ('we have not yet had any letters from them tho' they sent us a most agreeable *souvenir* of N. Wiltshire cheeses'); that a characteristic quarrel had disturbed the diplomatic atmosphere of Pera—

D'Arrest the Prussian Secretary in his Cabinet with Lagus, happened the other evening to meet your friend Frotte in a narrow lane and on horseback, near the Aqueduct between here and Beyukdere. Obstinacy in one of the parties, or perhaps both, brought the wheel in contact with the young Frenchman's horse; this led to an altercation and insulting language on the Quay, when the grand Monde was coming out of the Lazaretto—this was followed by a challenge from Frotte—a refusal to accept it from D'Arrest—appeals to Lord Elgin, and M. Knobeladoff, etc etc. At last the Prussian Minister presented a Memorial to the Porte, requesting them to punish Frotte, an officer in their service, who had the audacity to disturb the peace of the Diplomatic Circle of Pera. To prevent any further continuation of this unpleasant business Frotte goes with letters to England from Lord Elgin. The quarrel I suspect originates in some old jealousy about our English Heiress, whom Clarke is coming to take from both these combatants. . . etc."

Hunt then proceeds to inform his correspondent as to the essential matter.

I have now no news, either foreign or domestic, to add to this *farfango*, except what you must open all your eyes and ears to attend to—it is that my Reverend Self am about to set out from hence as a kind of Diplomatist, to the Morea, Albania, and such other parts of European Turkey as we have certain information are menaced by Bonaparte. . . . Chabert was to have accompanied me—his manners, his knowledge of the Turks, and his acquaintance with the Ambassador's views, made me anticipate much from him as a colleague. Unfortunately the prospect of meeting French invaders—apprehensions of the bad air of the Morea—or the idea of separation from the comforts and the intrigues of Pera, made him renounce the voyage, after the Ship was hired, the *Firman* obtained, and every arrangement made. . .

After enumerating the staff in attendance (a dragoman, the Greek servant who had accompanied John Hawkins, of Bignor Park, through Greece and the Morea, his own servant, one of Lord Elgin's Janissaries, and a *Man Bushier*<sup>30</sup> from the Porte, who has been assigned me as a kind of *ad hoc* man, to see that the contents of the firman are obeyed') Hunt describes the letters with which he was provided, and goes on to explain the nature of his mission.

With much means I feel I ought to do a great deal; but it is too late for me to begin the study of Machiavel, had I even the wish. However, as my errand is not of an intriguing nature, I trust a plain tale may be told, and fair business executed without need of finesse. The object of my Mission is, to create an impression in favour of our views, and of our power; to state to the different Agents of Government in the Morea, Albania, &c. what we have done, and what we are capable of doing, to protect Turkey

<sup>30</sup> In the Windham papers a letter of Lord Elgin's (Sept. 3, 1801) refers to Frotte as 'a young man who had served with distinction on board the *Pique*' and whose 'departure had been hastened by an incident in which he

behaved very handsomely' (*Ms. Add. MSS.* 37, 890, in 145).

<sup>31</sup> *Midiashis*, a government commissary or agent.



against Foreign Invasion; to repress the rebellions, and encourage the faithful and Loyal subjects of the Porte—to put them on their guard against the intrigues and misrepresentations, both of French Emisseries, and of those Republicans who have been so incautiously allowed to roam amongst them—to prepare them for affording effectual aid in provisioning our Squadrons that may go into those Seas . . .

On such Classic ground investigations into the remains of Antiquity, and an attempt to procure such as are interesting and portable will naturally come in as a secondary object: and as I shall carry a Forman to enable our Artists to prosecute without interruption their researches in the Acropolis of Athens, I will take care to see it put properly into execution. When as many of these objects *polished and classical* are attained, as I find practicable, I hope to [be] able to proceed to Rhodes, and if your Egyptian Mission be finished about the same time; it is not easy to say what delight I should have in meeting you, that we might compare notes, and return hither together; *philandering*, as we called it, from Isle to Isle in the Aegean. . . . Kutchook Mylord, [i.e. 'The little Mylord,' Bruce then fifteen months old] is just recovered from a very sharp attack of fever and Dysentery, and is now doing well. The Duke of York's impudence in publishing Lord Elgin's private letter on the Landing in Egypt &c. in the *Gazette* has much vexed his Lordship. . . . Lady Elgin in sending her best wishes, bids you not forget to procure her a quantity of the finest *Ouzieh Plumes*.

Hunt started from Constantinople on the mission described above about the middle of July. On the 17th he wrote from the Dardanelles to acquaint Lord Elgin with his progress. At Gallipoli he had seen, but had not been able to acquire, an inscribed column<sup>40</sup> which stood in a bye street, and was used as a mortar for bruising wheat. 'It contains a long Greek Inscription which I could not with prudence stop to copy in a Crowd where the plague was suspected. The Turkish Mou Bashir applied to the Imum of the mosque near which it is, and also to the Aga of the Janissaries. They both assured us that the governor alone could permit its removal, and he was too far distant for us to apply to him.' He had, however, been more successful in the purchase of a draped torso, and a small votive tablet<sup>41</sup> dedicated by certain fellow sailors to Apollo of Tharsus as a thank offering. This tablet is now in the Elgin collection. The vessel was being detained for want of gunpowder, 'an article which our captain had unaccountably omitted,' and which it was found to be difficult to extract from the Turkish governor.

From the Dardanelles the voyage to Athens was not altogether without incident.<sup>42</sup> All went well at first.

The nights were so calm, and the moon so bright that we conversed by turn with all the Ships of our little fleet. Belloli, the two Swedes, and a Neapolitan Priest, made a concert of the French Horn, Clarionet and flutes, as they sailed close alongside. On Tuesday (July 31st) we parted company, the rest of the fleet proceeding to the Adriatic, while we steered towards the Piræus. Here the wind entirely failed us, and at night it was so dead a calm that there was not even a Spaceman at the helm; nor a Sailor on the look out. M. Marsilio, happening luckily to go on deck about Midnight saw a latine-masted vessel rowing towards us. In hopes, I make no doubt, of finding us asleep, or at least unprepared. In a moment all was ready, we cleared for action, distributed Muskets, and ransomed ourselves till the vessel came within hail. Our Crew including passengers amounted to Twenty. The speaking Trumpet was given to me, as English is supposed to have more effect on the nerves of a Slavon than *Langue Francaise*. On

<sup>40</sup> *Corpus Insar. Græcorum*, 2012.

<sup>41</sup> *C. I. G. RG. Gr. Inscriptions de la B. N.*

No. 59, erroneously assigned to Athens.

<sup>42</sup> Hunt to Elgin, July 31, 1801.

receiving no answer we fired a shot at them, and about two minutes afterwards a cannon charged with Grape. This, rattling about them, produced a reply that they were Hydriotes, and on telling them we suffered neither friend nor foe to come near us at night, they rowed away.

On Wednesday evening, July 22, Hunt reached Athens, and anchored in the outer harbour of the Piræus. About midnight a ship sailed just as on its way to Constantinople. I did not know till the following morning that all the French who had lately been arrested at Athens were on board this vessel, and were going to the Capital, in consequence of a Firman from the Porte. The French residents at Athens including Fauvel, who would have been a formidable opponent of Lusieri had been arrested in the spring of this year by a firman from Constantinople.<sup>62</sup>

Hunt and his party on landing were received by Logotheti, who made room for the visitors in his own house, since the only other available quarters in the town happened to be occupied by Dodwell and his companions. He found that Lusieri had begun work on the Acropolis about a month previously, but that the artists were paying for the permission, and exposed to continual insult and interruption. Dodwell's party were in the like case. Sixty Piastres had been demanded by the Diadar for admitting the English travellers to the Temple of Minerva, and they had suffered some other indignities which had irritated them extremely. These circumstances moved Hunt to make immediate use of the powers with which he was provided. He had complete authority, granted by the Turkish Government, in gratitude for the military and political aid of Great Britain, but as Lord Elgin stated in his evidence (*Report*, p. 35) 'in point of fact, permission issuing from the Porte for any of the distant provinces, is little better than an authority to make the best bargain you can with the local authorities.' There was, therefore, nothing unusual in the fact that the bearer of a firman was obliged to put pressure of various kinds on the local official.

It must be noted also that the firman was addressed to the Voivode and the Cadi. The Diadar, whose treatment is described below, was their subordinate.

After instructing Raschid Aga, the Mubunhir of the Porte (whom we have seen defined above as 'a kind of *ul hoc* man, to see that the contents of the firman are obeyed') Hunt went with all his train to wait on the Voivode.

Raschid behaved on this occasion with uncommon energy and propriety; he entered completely into your Lordship's views, and the whole of his conduct entitles him to your warmest patronage. When the Voivode had read the letters, and perceived the determined tone with which we spoke, he became submissive in the extreme degree, and seemed as he was highly mortified to find that the Diadar had presumed to treat any Englishman with disrespect, or demand money on any pretext. On wishing to see the Diadar's Son, difficulties were started about his being absent; but on declaring my resolution to know really where the blame attached, the poor miscreant came in harrowed and trembling, attempted to deny the fact complained of by Mr. Dodwell's party, but on my repeating what had happened both to Mr. Nesbitt and myself, the

<sup>62</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd Ser. xix. p. 118.



Vaivode and Man Bushoor told him he was exiled: I then interceded for him on promise of his future good conduct, and he was pardoned. The Man Bushoor however hinted to him that as he was young and strong he might find employment in the Gallies of the Sultan on a second complaint. The Conference ended with repeated assurances that henceforward the gates of the Citadel are open to all Englishmen, from Sun-rise to Sun-Set, and to draw or measure any of the old buildings they please, and that your Lordship's Artists are to consider themselves at full liberty to model, dig, or carry away whatever does not interfere with the works. Hitherto all this has been most faithfully performed. The Citadel is now as open and free to us as the streets of Athens.

It may be supposed that this eventful interview with the Voivode took place on July 23. The next few days must have been days of feverish activity, judging from the reports sent to Lord Elgin by Hunt on July 31 in continuation of the letter already quoted, and by Lasius in a letter of August 6. The inscriptions on the Acropolis were collected, including the famous lists and other important Athenian documents now in the Elgin collection. The Caryatid porch of the Erechtheum was cleared of disfiguring accretions.<sup>61</sup> 'The Caryatids that support it, and the rich ornaments of its cornice and ceiling, are now open to the day.' 'If your Lordship,' Hunt continues, 'would come here in a large Man of War that beautiful little model of ancient art might be transported wholly to England. Nothing can exceed the exquisite beauty and delicacy of all its details.' A block of the Erechtheum cornice was taken down. On July 31 the Parthenon was first approached.

To-day the Ship-Carpenter and five of the Crew mounted the walls of the Temple of Minerva, and by the aid of Windlasses, Cordage and twenty Greeks, they succeeded in detaching and lowering down, without the slightest accident, one of the Statues or Groups in the Metope representing a combat between a youth (probably Theseus) and a Centaur: It has long been the admiration of the world: Indeed nothing can equal it for beauty and grace. . . . A second which adjoins it on the same subject, is to follow in its turn. . . . He [the son of the Diarct] tells me Choiseul gave his Father Eight Hundred Pistres for the Metope which adjoined these, but that it was taken down with so little skill that the rope broke, and it was dashed into a thousand fragments.

On this latter point, tradition was already seriously at fault. The only broken metope connected with the name of Choiseul-Gouffier was one which was secured by Fauvel in 1788 on his behalf. It had been blown down by a storm, and been broken into three fragments. By a curious chain of circumstances it is now in the Elgin Collection (No. 390). See below, p. 357.

'The second Alto Relievo,' Hunt continues after a pause, presumably on the next day, 'is now lowered, and with equal success: they are to be brought as soon as possible to the Cornelia, where the Column is to design them, and then they are to be put on board. When I saw those beautiful statues hanging in the air, and depending on Bagwood Cordage, I was seized with a trembling and palpitation, which only ceased when they arrived safe to the Ground.'

<sup>61</sup> Dawkins, I, p. 254. 'During my first visit to Athens, the Caryatides were nearly concealed by a modern wall, the removal of which has very much improved the appearance of the monument, and was done by the

dilettantism not with any intention of improving this singular edifice, but merely to examine which was the most curious of the statues, and to facilitate its removal.'

Lusieri, also, in his report referred briefly but enthusiastically to the two Metopes. 'If I said all I could, I should not say anything in comparison with their merit. I am sure that there is nothing so perfect of this kind in all the universe.'

Excavations of great importance were also begun without delay at the West end of the Temple.

'On the Western front of the Parthemon,' Hunt's report continues, 'was the celebrated group of Jupiter, presenting Minerva as his Daughter to the Council of the Gods. The whole has disappeared except a few fragments, but being convinced that the bodies of such massive statues could not have been transported far, we therefore procured leave to pull down an old house that has been built beneath, hiring another for the occupier. On digging to a considerable depth we found certain sculptures.

The question of what was found in the excavations is of vital importance to the study of the pediments, since the question of the position of the torso known as J, called Victory or Iris, turns on this evidence. The letters of Lusieri and Hunt to Lord Elgin, Hunt's report to Lord Upper Ossory (see p. 201), and the abstracts in the printed *Memorandum on the Pursuits of the Earl of Elgin in Greece*, may be arranged in parallel columns:—

<i>Letters</i>	<i>Hunt's Letters</i>	<i>Hunt's Report</i>	<i>Printed Memorandum</i>
En faisant des excavations dessous le fronton du Parthemon du côté du Couchant, nous avons trouvé plusieurs morceaux de statues entre les quelles	We found	by purchasing the house of a Turk, built immediately under it and then demolishing the house in order to excavate. Lord Elgin had the satisfaction of recovering	by purchasing the house of one of the Turkish Janissaries, built immediately under and against the columns of the pediment, and then demolishing it in order to excavate, Lord Elgin has had the satisfaction of recovering
le torso de Jupiter, malheureusement sans tête, et avec la poitrine ruinée. Une grande partie d'une figure assise, et d'une autre qui paraît être celle de la Victoire, ou de Minerve assise, ont des draperies d'une délicatesse q'on ne peut pas assez admirer.	the Shoulder and Bust of a Naked Jupiter and a number of mutilated female statues, with drapery so light and elegant, as to resemble the finest muslin, and to show all the contours of the form beneath. One of them Lusieri thinks superior to the celebrated Flora at Rome.	the torso of Jupiter the greatest part of the statue of Victory, in a drapery which discovers all the fine forms beneath with at least as much delicacy and taste as that of the famous Flora.	the torso of Jupiter the greatest part of the statue of Victory, in a drapery which discovers all the fine forms beneath, with exquisite delicacy and taste
Je fapai placer ailleurs, un beau torso d'homme tout nu, et quantité des autres fragments dans un magasin.		We also found there part of the Vulcan and many valuable fragments.	part of Vulcan and other fragments



It is evident that the figure which made most impression on the explorers was a Victory. (Lusieri's suggestion of 'Minerva' was only thrown out on the first discovery, and does not occur again.) All the female draperies they found admirable, for the skill with which they indicated the underlying forms. One in particular, the Victory, recalled to the mind of Lusieri, the Farnese Flora. Among the available statues there can be no question that the torso of Nike or Iris is the one best calculated to suggest the Farnese Flora, since both have the peculiarity of a clinging drapery indicating the underlying forms to a remarkable degree. It is also the one which would immediately be identified as Victory, by its wing sockets. Hunt's account of the general composition of the pediment is evidently based on Spon's verbal description, without knowledge of Carrey's drawing. Spon saw on the right side of Jupiter 'a statue with head and hands broken, draped half way down the leg, which might be supposed to be a Victory preceding the chariot of Minerva, whose horses she guides . . . Minerva is seated in the centre . . .'. Hence the identification was ready to hand of the torso of Victory. This figure, the J. of Adolf Michaelis, was assigned at a subsequent date to the East pediment, through error of P. Q. Visconti, and was only moved back to the West pediment in 1909.<sup>62</sup>

The torso of Vulcan is of course that of Hercules.

Hunt's letter of July 31 closed with a triumphant postscript: 'The most beautiful of the statues is now in the Consul's yard. We have been forced to get a gun carriage and a train of thirty men to bring it down. The other will follow to-morrow.'

At the same time that he reported these successes, Lusieri added that the garrison, and even the Dindar, were continually destroying some part of the Parthenon in order to extract the haul with which its cramps were fastened. 'I am sure that in half a century there will not remain one stone on another. It would be well, my Lord, to ask for all that is left, or else to do all that is possible to prevent their going on in this fashion.'<sup>63</sup> The letter continues with plans for Broomhall. The details of the Ionic order are to be copied from moulds of the Erechtheum, of which also he now hopes to secure a considerable piece of the cornice: the columns of the vestibule are, if possible, to be of Pentelic marble. The writer adds that he hears from Rome of difficulties about payment of wages to the artists, families, and

<sup>62</sup> See the note to the *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, 1908, p. 29, for the controversy as to this figure.

<sup>63</sup> In justice to the Dindar, Dodwell's anecdote should be quoted. 'During my residence at Athens, the work of destruction having been begun by the Christians, was continued in a horrible manner by the Turks, and a large block of the epistyle of the Erechtheion at the south-west angle, which was in the Pantocrator, was thrown down by order of the Dindar, and placed over one of the doors

of the fortress. As I imagined that he intended to demolish other parts of this elegant edifice, which seemed doomed to destruction, I took the liberty of remonstrating on the impropriety of his proceedings. He pointed to the Parthenon 'to the Caryatid portico' and to the Erechtheion and answered, with a singularly strange tone of voice, 'What right have you to complain? Where are now the marbles which were taken by your countrymen from the temples?' (Dodwell, i. p. 352.)

concludes with enquiries for Lady Elgin and the expression of a hope that he may soon learn 'quelle au donné au jour un autre petit ange.'

By the same messenger, Logotheti sent congratulations and protested his zeal in the cause. The arrival of Hunt, armed with such powerful documents as the firman and the rest had untied every difficulty in the way of progress. Even previously, he asserts, he had arranged for access to mould and draw. The two metopes, now in Logotheti's courtyard, were being drawn by the Calmuck; 'I offer besides to your Excellency, four other pieces of marble, with bas-reliefs. One of them was in my house from the time of Athenian Stuart, and I beg you to receive the offering, as a sign of my devotion.' The relief last-mentioned was the archaistic Bacchanalian relief (Brit. Mus. No. 2154. See Cockerell's drawing, Fig. 10) found by Stuart in the theatre of Herodes Atticus, and removed by him to the house of Logotheti, where it served as part of a fountain.<sup>67</sup> Another of the four can be identified as the relief with Victory driving a chariot (Brit. Mus. No. 814).

During this period, matters had not been going well with the company of artists. Not only had there been difficulties about the advances to the families left in Rome, but the men themselves had not been giving satisfaction. Lusieri had not as yet reported his difficulties to Lord Elgin, but to his friend Paolo at Rome, he writes <sup>68</sup>—

I have been here since the 15th of May (sic, for April), with instructions to go on to Olympia, but the reports that had previously reached me of Messrs. my companions turning out only too true, I have been obliged to do otherwise. No education, no religion, very great pretensions, especially on the part of the Maltese. In spite of my Lord's intentions I have put off their dismissal, expecting that my example would have some effect, but I have been mistaken. Vincenzo, the firmstone and leather work better than the rest. I have doubled the wages of the former, in consideration of his activity.

He adds, 'In ten days I shall start for the Morea and get as far as Olympia. The season is unfavourable, but I cannot hold out against the pressure of My Lord, whom I hope to see here on my return.'

Meanwhile, Hunt had left Athens on August 2, in pursuance of his mission. He first visited the Negropont and then went by way of Thebes to Livadia, whence he sent a report to Lord Elgin, on August 8. The heat had been so intense that foot-passengers had expired in the roads, and had made it necessary to travel by night and rest by day. He was able, however, to give a detailed report as to the position of the Negropont, as a possible source of supply of corn and other provisions. As to antiquities he added: 'At a village near Thebes, I saw an exquisite cameo of a female Centaur suckling her infant, but the peasant to whom it belongs refused 600 Pistres which I offered. Indeed I believe 2000 would not tempt him, as he supposes the welfare of his family and flock depends upon keeping it.'

<sup>67</sup> The fountain in the courtyard of my friend Logotheti's house was decorated with a Bas-relief of Bacchante in the style called Græco Etruscan, which he presented to his

Lordship. (Hunt to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet Feb. 20, 1805.)

<sup>68</sup> Lusieri to Paolo, Aug. 6, 1801.



This cameo was the subject of much subsequent correspondence, and the influence of the Bishop was solicited to no purpose, but the cameo was ultimately secured (*Memorandum*, p. 22).

At Athens, Hunt and Lusieri had arranged for the immediate shipping of a part of the collection, and particularly of the two metopes, but the work took longer than had been anticipated, and Hunt was thus able to prolong his tour.<sup>66</sup> He learnt by letter that so many difficulties had occurred in casting the marbles, and transporting them to the Piræus, that it would be useless to return to Athens for some days. He employed the interval in excursions to Chæronea, Thermopylæ and Delphi.

On the 22nd of August, Lusieri was able to leave Athens in company with Hunt on his further tour.<sup>67</sup> After having placed in a store all that I have found in the excavation below the pediment of the temple of Minerva, sent on board the two metopes and other sculptures and inscriptions, and several boxes filled with moulds, and having given the necessary orders I embarked on the 22nd of last month with Mr. Hunt. They visited the temple at Aegina, Corinth, Sicyon, Nemea, Mycenæ, Argos, and other places. From Tripolitza, Hunt wrote a full report of their travels to Lord Elgin.<sup>68</sup> He began with a summing-up of his impressions at Athens:—

During the whole of my residence at Athens, I am happy to inform Your Lordship that there was not an individual, either among the Officers of the Porte, or the Greeks of the City, who did not seem to vie with each other in gratifying your wishes, particularly the Voivode, the Archbishop, and our Agent Logotheti, who efficiently possess all the power of the place. On taking my final leave, I recommended Your Lordship's Artists to the Voivode's protection, and he assured me that you might rely on his hearty compliance with the spirit of the Osmanli's instructions, both as to their pursuits, and with respect to the removal of any of the ancient sculptures that interest you. He sent me continual presents of provisions and fruit, and gave me Government Post-horses for all my excursions.

Hunt's account in the same letter of the then condition of Mycenæ is interesting:—

We made a short excursion to the left to the famous city of Mycenæ. No description can convey an adequate idea of the massive stones which compose its walls. The Ancient Greeks supposed them to have been the work of the Cyclopes, as well as two colossal Lions in bas-relief over the Gate Way; and which still remain in their original situation. The block on which they are sculptured is too gigantic, and too distant from the Sea to give any hopes of being able to obtain so much as a monument of the Fabulous ages. Next this gate is a most stupendous colossal subterraneous building, quite entire, called by some antiquaries the Tomb of Agamemnon, by others the Royal Treasury of Mycenæ. The door has been opened, and unfortunately floods of rain have carried in so much soil, that the entrance is now difficult, and the whole dimensions of the building cannot be ascertained. 31 courses of masonry are apparent above the soil. There is a triangular niche within over a second Gate Way, which being closed up with rubbish, we cd. not penetrate.

<sup>66</sup> Hunt to Elgin, Aug. 21, 1801.

<sup>67</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 4, 1801.

<sup>68</sup> Hunt to Elgin, Sept. 3, 1801.

During the month of September the two travellers continued their tour in the Morea, reaching Patras on September 19.

Lusieri wrote thence<sup>21</sup> that the fort at the Narrows of the Gulf had no military value. Hunt was proceeding to Corfu, Lusieri to Corinth, Nauplia and Tripolitza, and so back to Athens.

I hope that no further difficulties will be raised, as to continuing the diggings at the Temple of Minerva, and I shall be able to get possession of all the fragments I find. Mr. Hunt wrote to your Excellency on my behalf to send a dozen marble saws of different sizes to Athens as quickly as possible. I should require three or four, twenty feet in length, to saw a great bas-relief [the central slab of the East frieze] that we could not transport unless we reduce its weight. I await your Lordship's instructions, with reference to the departure of the artists from Athens. I have found nothing so far that needs a formator, still less a figure painter. The remains of the temple at Aegina and of that of the Phigaleian Apollo at Andriana like the others, do not require an architect to be sent. They are all of the Doric order and it is well known that the true models and all the refinements of this order are met with in the temple of Minerva at Athens.

He had found much beauty in Arcadia and Elis, and several points where excavation ought to be undertaken—more particularly Olympia.

Ten days later,<sup>22</sup> Lusieri reported the further progress of his tour from Tripolitza. He had reached Corinth, had visited the citadel of Aegiescorinth, and had made note of its military resources and deficiencies. He had done the same at Nauplia, and had made representations on the subject to the local authorities. At Nauplia he had been dissatisfied with the zeal shown in preparation of quarters for troops. The Greeks were all ill-disposed, and the French allowed to remain at Nauplia and Coron were a hostile influence. He was starting next day for Athens. He adds a postscript that the Pasha has sent for him, and has given him a complimentary present of a fine pelisse. With the letter was enclosed a memorandum as to the military condition of the Morean fortresses. The troops were five years in arrear with their pay, and there was a general lack of artillerymen and of competent instructors.

The report sent to Constantinople in the beginning of August had given great satisfaction to Lord Elgin, who wrote in reply, from Constantinople<sup>23</sup>:

You are sufficiently acquainted with my zeal, and with the interest I take in your occupations, not to doubt the infinite pleasure that I have felt on the receipt of your letter and of that of Mr. Hunt, of the beginning of August. The object that I had in view, and that seemed to meet with so many difficulties, now seems to promise a success beyond our most ardent hopes. I venture to flatter myself that my purpose will be attained in a fashion to put the names of my artists on an elevation that no one has approached since the time of the originals whose perfection you are about to revive.

After stating that he has taken steps through his banker at Vienna to continue the allowances to the families of the artists at Rome, he continues:—

I do not go into details as to what you have obtained. I cannot express all the satisfaction I feel. On my part, I am trying in every way to help your work, and I hope

<sup>21</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 30, 1801.

<sup>22</sup> Elgin to Lusieri, Oct. 8, 1801.

<sup>23</sup> Elgin to Elgin, Sept. 30, 1801.



that some English ships will soon be at Athens with orders to take on board what you will have got. Like you, I am very sorry for your departure from Athens, but the object was amply worth while; and if you have been able to take measures so that the time was not lost, and your expéditions were not taken or diverted, I am sure that the result will have been so satisfactory that you do not regret the step you have taken. I await further news of you with great impatience.

P.S. Nov. 21st. This letter has had to be delayed, and during this time all my plans have had reference to Athens. I refer you to Mr. Hunt for the details. I have the same. Dr. Scott sends you a fresh supply of medicine.

Lusieri returned to Athens on October 4, travelling by way of Megara and Eleusis. At the latter place he had examined the well-known colossal bust of Demeter (now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge) and reported it as deserving of consideration for Lord Elgin's collection although considerably injured.

On October 5, excavations were begun on the South side of the Parthenon in the hope of finding some of the fallen metopes, but on the 26th, Lusieri reported that he had only found some tolerably fine fragments of the frieze, which awaited the saw. 'With a single saw that I have got from the convent, they have seen a precious fragment of the cornice of the Temple of Neptune Erechtheus (the Erechtheion) and with the same saw they are now sawing a bas-relief, a part of the frieze of the Parthenon.' It must of course be understood that the sawing here spoken of was the operation of cutting off the backs of the architectural sculptures, if their thickness made them inconveniently heavy for any methods of transport then available.

He was also on the point of securing two more of the metopes of the same merit as the others, though not so well preserved.

Meanwhile the artists were not giving satisfaction.

I have no reason to be pleased with the conduct and works of the architects, and not at all with Fessler who has not worked, and does not want to do what he might. He is a man who does not care to stop long in one place, and has long been anxious to go off. I am afraid I may have to dismiss him, after having employed all possible means to bring him to reason. But I see I must send him away as soon as possible as his example will make the others still worse. I will draw all that he has not done. . . . I hope that in three months at most the most necessary work will be finished. I must send them to do their quarantins at Malta, and thence to Rome.

The formatori, on the other hand, had been working well during his absence. Hunt's report a little earlier (July 31) had run:—

Of Lusieri's usefulness and I cannot speak in terms of sufficient praise. His conduct ought to make some of his Colleagues blush. The first modeller is a very decent man; but his subaltern has uniformly worked with such unremitted assiduity, that the labouring oar may be said to have fallen on him. In consequence of Lusieri's repeated requests, I have ventured to double this man's little stipend. Of the Architects and the Calmuc, I cannot speak in terms of approbation, except as to the execution of their works—they proceed extremely slowly, and have associated so much with Fauvel, that they are even suspected of intentions of copying Copies and measures with an intention to carry them to Paris. They are strictly watched, and if they have not yet found means to smuggle any packets, it will now be difficult to accomplish it. Before they depart from hence they will be strictly searched in presence of Janissaries.

Lusieri also observed in the letter of October 26, quoted above that for the full enjoyment of the fragments of sculpture they must be restored at Rome. 'The work might be done by one of the formatori, Lodovico,' but he would have to work under the direction of Mr. Canova, the most famous sculptor of our age.'

It is probable that Lord Elgin felt the need of a responsible English agent on the spot at Athens to make the necessary arrangements for the shipment of the marbles and so forth, and during this autumn and the following spring a certain Captain Thomas Lacy (an officer of Engineers who had been attached to the staff of General Kuchler for the purpose of modernizing the Turkish army) makes a rather ineffective appearance on the stage. We first hear of him at the Camp before Alexandria whence he writes<sup>72</sup> stating that he is about to embark on board the *Cynthia*, sloop of war, Captain Dick, bound to Athens, where he hoped to meet with detailed instructions. Hamilton, who was at that time on an Egyptian mission, to which we must return later, had already explained the general nature of his duties, and had given him the necessary introductions. 'In fact, My Lord,' Captain Lacy exclaims, 'I am so elated with my new office of Antiquarian, which Mr. Hamilton has contrived for me, that prudence urges me to wait a more composed moment for communicating further.' The *Cynthia* left Alexandria on October 10, and put in to Smyrna to refit on the 23rd. This operation was a cause of nearly a fortnight's delay, and Captain Lacy wrote from Smyrna<sup>73</sup> that he would willingly have proceeded thence in a boat of the country, but that the Consul had deterred him from so doing on account of pirates. It had been intended that the *Cynthia* should remove a portion at least of the marbles; but even before she left Smyrna it became clear that her commander was disinclined to undertake the duty. Captain Lacy wrote<sup>74</sup> that in the opinion of Captain Dick the vessel was unable to take on board any heavy sculptures. This was confirmed when the *Cynthia* had reached the scene, and Lacy had to write from Athens<sup>75</sup> with evident vexation: 'Captain Dick declares that his ship is too small, and that his orders but allow him to remain here two or three days; a space in which it is not possible to embark all that is required; it is his opinion moreover, that without taking all, it is better to take none. He sails immediately, after anchoring about six and thirty hours.' Three weeks later<sup>76</sup> Lacy wrote enthusiastically of the merits of the collection of drawings (which he had just been allowed to study, through the instance of Hunt), and of the marbles. He was eager that the Caryatid porch should be secured entire for the collection. He adds that he is starting for Olympia, and that Clarke [E. D. Clarke, the Cambridge traveller, whom we have already met in the Troad] has secured the Ceres at Eleusis and a 'bust of Euclid with an inscription' for the University of Cambridge. The last item is less

<sup>72</sup> Lacy to Elgin, Oct. 6, 1801.

<sup>73</sup> Lacy to Elgin, Oct. 25, 1801.

<sup>74</sup> Lacy to Elgin, Oct. 30, 1801.

<sup>75</sup> Lacy to Elgin, Nov. 17, 1801.

<sup>76</sup> Lacy to Elgin, Dec. 8, 1801.



appropriate to the University of Cambridge than might appear. It is merely a sepulchral cippus, with a figure carved in a niche, and the inscription Εὐκλίδας Εὐκλίδου Ἑρμιονεὺς (C.I.G. 839; *Michaelis, Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 21*).

That Lacy's relations with Lusieri at this moment were not cordial may be inferred from a paragraph in a letter from the latter to Lord Elgin of the previous day:<sup>80</sup> 'I have not thought it fair to the company to take advantage of the accomplishments of Captain Lacy, because all our operations have succeeded well, and we can transport the heaviest weights without the aid of anyone whatever.' He too speaks of the Pandrosium, but with less enthusiasm. The five Caryatids are like each other, and not of such fine sculpture as the metopes and relief.

To trace briefly the further movements of Captain Lacy, he spent some time in the Morea, but not to much purpose. He wrote from Zante<sup>81</sup> that he rejoiced to be on the point of leaving the Turkish dominions, of which he was thoroughly weary.

Mr. Hunt, a few of whose footsteps I have been tracing, collected for your Lordship the harvest of all that was interesting; and in truth I have been too idle for a gleaner. The object in which I aspired was a draught of Lethæ. I neither measured columns, nor sought to fill a journal-book. My observations, merely superficial, amount only to the unpleasant specimens of corruption and abuse. . . . My pen, too, has been unmanageable and ill-applied. . . . Under these circumstances, therefore, I simply illustrate my travels by the following list of influenced names:—Thebes, Patrasæ, Marathon, Athens, Eleusis, Megara, Corinth, Némée, Argos, Tyrinthæ, Mycenæ, Sicyonæ. (The Olympæa) promising that it will be excused me any comment on them when I declare they sound not half so well in my present temper, as Dover, Canterbury, Chatham, London. . . .

At Athens it was impossible to interfere in your concerns, without creating jealousies that would have been injurious to them. Mr. Lusieri, offended at the most distant notice of it, seemed to fear a competition, his idea of which, though it did not further me, it was necessary to obliterate by every mode of tenderness and forbearance. Gentlemen of the class, I find, are extremely delicate; and will only be excited to exert themselves by the kindest encouragements. They must be treated in some manner like sick children or capricious women, for when once they admit the smallest disgust, there is nothing but mischief to be expected from them.

At Olympia he had not been more successful, and he was satisfied that nothing could be usefully attempted without much leisure and no ordinary means.

The small stream there, which flows into the Alpheus, has encroached upon an ancient cemetery, from whence in times of heavy rains, relics of antique art and are frequently washed down the current, and afterwards discovered on the sands when the waters subside. I made large offerings for a specimen of these, but could not procure one.

In compliance with an urgent letter from Lord Elgin Captain Lacy paid a second visit to Olympia, but again reported<sup>82</sup> that the conditions were altogether unfavourable, and that what masonry remained was being

<sup>80</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Dec. 7, 1801.

<sup>81</sup> Lacy to Elgin, Mar. 18, 1802.

<sup>82</sup> Lacy to Elgin, Feb. 15, 1802.

rapidly demolished, and that any campaign of excavation would need to be supported by ample resources. In a final letter<sup>32</sup> from Zante, Captain Lacy quits the scene. 'Your Lordship is already informed of the issue of my researches . . . and I have no inclination to renew so sad an account.' After calling attention to certain inscriptions, mentioning the cost of his journeys and other expenses, Captain Lacy concludes that he is careful to reimburse himself by drawing a bill on Consul Strano, 'lest the omitting it be ascribed to a motive of pride or something worse.' Captain Lacy thus disappears from the enterprise to which his contribution would seem to have been very small.

It is time to return to the movements of Hunt, whom we last saw at Patras. He embarked on September 21 in a trabacolo (small coasting-vessel), bound for Trieste in order to reach Corfu, but found his progress so slow against contrary winds, that he changed vessels at Cephalonia and reached Corfu on October 2. While there he learnt the news of the birth of a daughter to Lord Elgin, and wrote in the style of a famous contemporary divine:—

I beg leave to assure Lady Elgin that my fervent prayers are offered for her safety and that of her little girl. It will give me heart-felt pleasure to admit into the Church the offspring of two families so highly respectable for the attention they show to their Religious duties; and where the woman, under whom her mind will be formed, are so remarkable for all that is virtuous, and all that is amiable.

He reached Janina on October 21, and was received with high honour by Ali Pasha, with whom he had two long conversations on the politics of the time. Nor were Lord Elgin's special pursuits forgotten.

Ali Pasha has promised me that whatever statues, busts etc he finds hereafter shall be sent to Your Lordship, and had he sooner known your taste for such objects he could frequently have qualified it. Particularly when he repaired the fortresses of Previsa, some statues were found which he says only seemed to want breath. Ignorance and barbarism destroyed them.

Hunt left Janina on October 24 for Corfu, where he heard of the opening of the negotiations which resulted in the Peace of Amiens in the following March.

On reaching Corfu I heard of peace being established between Great Britain and France, but on such vague authority, that I ventured to open the letters addressed to Your Lordship from Malta, in order to ascertain so interesting a fact. I hope the terms are not so odd as Lord Keith has been induced to believe from French Reports. At all events I congratulate Your Lordship on an event so interesting to the whole world.

At Corfu Hunt was struck with a violent attack of fever,<sup>33</sup> and while in that state received messages that Lord Elgin was very anxious to meet him at Athens that they might go together to Alexandria. He travelled with much distress to Patras (being kept thirteen days at sea by adverse winds) and thence by land to Athens. At Athens, however, he learnt that Lord Elgin's plans were changed, and he decided to sail alone to Alexandria.

<sup>32</sup> Lacy to Elgin, Mar. 26, 1802.

<sup>33</sup> Hunt to Pisaní, Dec. 18, 1801.



On December 9 he left Athens 'much recovered, with good spirits and favourable wind'<sup>22</sup> by the Ragusan brig *Costanza*, for Egypt. All went well as far as Cos. There the wind became unfavourable.

We were therefore forced to put into a port of Asia near the ancient Halicarnassus; from whence I carried off a votive altar, with sculptured testoons and an Inscription.<sup>23</sup> After Twenty days stay in that miserable deserted Port (during which time my Fever and Ague &c perpetually tormented me,) we reached (Cape Orén) the ancient Onida. There contrary winds gave me an opportunity to carry off some beautiful fragments of Ionic and Corinthian Cornices, Friezes &c but others which I was forced to leave from their bulk may be had on my return, particularly an Inscription relative to Artemidorus,<sup>24</sup> who would have saved Caesar's life if his letter had been read.

I sincerely trust your Lp. has not experienced the terrible weather we have had. I have been in plaguy frights for the Antiquities on board.

The vessel reached Alexandria on February 3, 1802, and unloaded the cargo, which was taken in charge by Major Bruce of the Royal Engineers, and placed in the ordnance stores to be sent towards England on the first convenient man-of-war. The consignment included eighteen cases of moulds, two metopes of the Parthenon, two cases of reliefs, a marble chair, a marble sundial, and seven inscriptions.

Another small brig, the *Mentor* (whose untimely fate must be recorded a few months later), commanded by Captain Eglen, had been purchased by Lord Elgin, with a view to a voyage which he was himself contemplating to Athens. This, however, as we have seen, he was obliged to postpone. The vessel was sent from Constantinople in the middle of December, reached the Piræus on the evening of December 27, and sailed on January 5 with ten boxes of moulds and sculptures. Six of the boxes contained moulds from the Parthenon, while the other four contained three marble torsos from the excavations under the West end of the Parthenon, and a piece of the frieze. The *Mentor* reached Alexandria on February 13, her orders being to take Hamilton (then on a detached mission to Egypt and Syria) on board, for Cyprus, Greece and Constantinople.

Finding himself obliged to postpone his proposed voyage, Lord Elgin wrote to Lusieri on December 23, in full detail, with reference to the new embassy buildings at Constantinople. In a letter<sup>25</sup> of December 26, he returned to the affairs of the Greek mission. After congratulating Lusieri on his successes, he adds that he is sending a very good telescope for the Voivode, by the best maker in London—Make good use of it. I still hope that you will find the means to procure for me the colossal bust of Ceres at Eleusis—already, as we have seen above, the capture of Dr. Clarke. He was sending a marble saw as requested, and a supply of drawing paper. As regards the collection of antiquities which Lusieri had reported to be in the Capuchin monastery, it was no longer possible to think of a seizure, but he

<sup>22</sup> Hunt to Elgin, Jan. 2, 1802.

<sup>23</sup> This is probably the altar of Calus Castreus in the Elgin Collection. *B.M. Sculpt.* No. 2287. *Gr. Insur.* in *B.M.* 11254.

<sup>24</sup> There are two inscriptions connected

with Artemidorus of Cardus in the Brit. Mus. (Nos. 787, 792). One of them may be the inscription seen by Hunt.

<sup>25</sup> Elgin to Lusieri, Dec. 26, 1801.

authorizes him to proceed by way of purchase, if Fauvel or anyone else should appear who was able to treat. On the understanding that the mission of the artists was nearly completed, he proposed to send a Ragusan vessel in a few days to receive the artists on board, for Malta and Italy, together with such of the collections as could conveniently be sent by that route. Balestra would be needed at Constantinople for the new embassy building. The other architect would only be required at Constantinople, failing Balestra. The Calmuck should return to Italy. Nothing was to be done either as regards the restoration of the metopes at Rome, or the making of casts in England, before he was himself on the spot. It would therefore be best for the *formatori* to be dismissed, and for the moulds to be sent to England by some ship of war. The metopes might be sent either to Constantinople, Malta, or some safe place beyond Italy. As to the movements of Lusieri himself, it would be a subject of regret if he should quit Greece a day sooner than he could do it on the conscience of an artist, of a man of taste, or in friendship to the writer. After suggesting various subjects, such as the fortress of Phylæ, the letter proceeds:—

In particular you have, I fancy, to excavate at Olympia. It is one of the most interesting and curious places of work—a place that has never been touched—where revolutions and devastations have left us completely free—a place where the arts of Greece had been advanced to the highest degree of perfection. In the same way at Athens itself the diggings ought still to be continued. So much so that if it was necessary to have somebody to watch over them and conduct them, without interrupting you, it would be worth while to keep one of the *formatori* for that special purpose. I mention them because they are capable and you would have confidence in them. I name very specially the temple of Pandæmon. I flatter myself that you have already thought of ways of transporting it. If Captain Lacy is with you, with the means that Mr. Hamilton will have supplied, such as levers and so forth, perhaps you could get down the statues one after another, and put them on my brig, and by degrees transport the whole to Zee.

After urging Lusieri to follow up his previous successes, since each part of the collection gains importance from its neighbours, Lord Elgin continues:—

I should wish to have, of the Acropolis, examples in the actual object, of each thing and architectural ornament—of each cornice, each frieze, each capital—of the decorated ceilings, of the fluted columns—specimens of the different architectural orders, and of the various forms of the orders—of metopes and the like, as much as possible. Finally everything in the way of sculpture, medals and various marbles that can be discovered by means of continuous and indefatigable excavation. This excavation ought to be pushed on as much as possible, be its success what it may. At Olympia, assiduous excavation is of the greatest consequence. You would be the first, and history assures us that there are statues, riches, monuments of all sorts in such abundance, that this dig is deserving of any effort that can be made there.

Possibly Captain Lacy, with the aid of one of the *formatori*, and of the Voivode and Consul at Patras, might ascertain whether Olympia is really worth while. (But as we have seen, Captain Lacy's report on Olympia was of very little service.)

A list of the presents which were sent with this letter is interesting.



The list is annotated by Lusieri with the names of the recipients. Those marked 'to Milord' were presumably obtained when Lord Elgin visited Athens in person.

Three silver telescopes. [One to the Voivode, another to Gali, another to Milord.]  
 Three telescopes in yellow mounting. [Two to Milord.]  
 One with a foot to rest on a table. [This one also to Milord.]  
 A green marble [to Milord] with a yellow foot, and also with a foot of green crystal, which are exchanged.  
 One ditto, white—with a yellow foot, and also one of white crystal.  
 A small green ditto.  
 A gold watch. [Given to the Voivode of Athens.]  
 A compass. [To Milord.]  
 Two crystal bottles, to hold tea and cool the water.  
 Two crystal covered glasses.  
 Four yellow cups etc. porcelain. [To Mr. Logotheti of Elgin.]  
 Three covered cups.  
 Two covered Wedgwood cups.  
 Three little pieces of Wedgwood, together forming an inkstand.  
 A box of instruments with one handle which serves for all the pieces.  
 A gun, that you must have cleared.  
 I beg you to be careful as to the distribution of these articles. I shall regret nothing that enters my acquisitions in Greece.

The proposed ship was not sent, and Lord Elgin writes a few days later (January 3, 1802) with further directions as to the voyage of the artists by way of Malta. Lusieri is instructed to urge the Royal Commissary at Malta to send a King's ship to embark the marbles. Another letter (January 2, 1802) was to the effect that in addition to the King's ship, asked for from Malta, Lord Elgin was sending orders thither for a bigger vessel than the *Mentor* to be purchased. The new ship might come either direct from Malta to Constantinople, or might call, if Lusieri thought well, at Athens on the way. The brig, meanwhile, would proceed on the course prescribed in previous letters, and the new suggestion is thrown out that one of the artists, preferably Uvar, might sail with it, to make a selection of objects for the collection, and to make sketches of things seen. The letter again concludes with urgent injunctions to dig at Athens, and to organize diggings at Olympia.

Such were the views and plans of Lord Elgin at the beginning of the New Year. Lusieri's next report of progress (January 5, 1802) was written before either of Lord Elgin's last two letters can have reached him. Immediately after the expiration of Baitim he would keenly continue the excavations at the Parthenon, and would proceed with the sawing of the bas-reliefs.

If I cannot get the Pandroseum entire, I do not despair of one of the Caryatids. The monument of Philopappus is of poor architecture, it is very big and the sculpture is not of the best kind, not well preserved. The artists, my colleagues, continue their work. The unfavourable season partly stops them, but they do what they can. We must go on, getting everything included that we can see here in the real thing. Uvar is still needed here. . . . Vincenzo, the formator, who works in the open air, is often unable to continue his work, being prevented by bad weather and cold. The Calmuck can stay here

another two months, with constant employment. I have won him over by the hope of being engaged on the new building [at Constantinople], or of receiving a present. As for the young architect I think it is best for him to go. So I will seize some opportunity to put him on board, so soon as he shall have finished another drawing or two.

According to what Captain Lacy writes from Patras, where he has been for more than a month, he is starting for Malta. Before he left, I gave him the plan of Olympia, urging him to make excavations there. But such matters are the province of an artist.

A few days later Lusieri<sup>22</sup> again urged the desirability of having the metopes restored at Rome, and proposed to take them thither, and to obtain thence at the same time some good master-masons for the embassy buildings.

The busts are engaged on the temple of Neptune Erechthium, of Minerva Polias, and the Pandroseum [i.e. on all parts of the Erechthium]. The details of these various little monuments are masterpieces. Without a special framer it is impossible to take away the last. The Turks and the Greeks are extremely attached to it, and there were murmurs what Mr. Hunt asked for it. Also I do not think it would be worth while, on account of its bad condition. The five Caryatids are exactly similar, and the base, the cornice, and the upper part are in a pitiful state. It will not be difficult, by means with which I am acquainted, to get the best of these Caryatids, to have it restored at Rome, and afterwards to have it moulded. In this way your Excellency might have this little monument quite complete. In pursuance of this idea I am having moulded the few details that remain.

The bust of Ceres, which was at Elounda, has been taken by Messrs. Clarke and Gripps for the University of Cambridge. This fragment which is very much injured is more interesting to antiquaries than to artists.

Two more consignments of antiquities were despatched during the spring. The frigate *La Diane* (Captain Stephenson) left Athens for Malta on March 16, having on board the objects which the *Costanza* and the *Monitor* had taken to Alexandria and five cases in addition, including two Parthenon metopes, a case of fragments, and two cases of moulds. At the end of May, as we shall see more fully below, the ship of war *Atalide* left for Malta, with nine cases, including three metopes, three slabs of the frieze, the horse's head from the east pediment, and a part of the Erechthium cornice. The dispersion of the collection was already beginning to make difficulty, and a notice was issued: 'If any of the articles require being cased, it would much oblige Lord Elgin to make cases for them similar to the others; and if any of the cases etc. are without Direction, it will be esteemed a great Favour to mark them in strong letters with the Name of His Excellency The Earl of Elgin, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Porte, Downing Street, London.'

It was in the spring of this year (1802) that Lord Elgin was at length able to carry out his plan of visiting the scene of operations in person, and helping on the work by his influence and authority. The letters which passed between Lord Elgin and Lusieri in the intervals which separated their meetings during the Greek visit, are somewhat irregular and are apt to be outdated. They do not in themselves supply a connected story of the tour. This, however, is fortunately furnished by some brief letters written

<sup>22</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Jan. 11, 1802.



by Lady Elgin to her mother, Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, and now in the possession of Mrs. Hamilton Ogilvy at Biel.

From Lady Elgin's letters<sup>20</sup> we learn that the party left Constantinople on Sunday evening, March 28. It consisted of Lord and Lady Elgin, the children, and the doctor (Dr. Scott) in a Ragusan vessel; Colonel Murray and Hunt in the English brig which was to give protection from pirates; and there was also a 'little ship' filled with the Maltese that Elgin is sending to Malta. The passage was rough—'I believe Bruce was almost the only person on board who was neither sick nor frightened.' The Dardanelles were passed on the 31st. On April 1 it was still blowing hard, and Lady Elgin indicated on going ashore in the Bay of Mandria [i.e. Porto Mandri, or Thoriou, in the south-west of Attica]. The children were left in the ship, and the night was passed in a tent pitched in a cove.

Some peasants told us that there were an amazing number of Pirates, and that the night before, 18 of them had landed at *our cove* and carried away a Woman. However the Woman returned that morning, and said that if she had had another woman like herself, they two could have driven away the Robbers. We had plenty of Janissaries and lighted two large Fires close to our Tent to drive away the danger. We passed the night unmolested.

But the brig, which had stopped at Tenedon to take in wine, had been quite lost sight of, and it was therefore determined that the children should not remain in the Ragusan ship, unprotected from the pirates. With considerable difficulty, owing to the roughness of the sea, they also were brought ashore.

We had got from a neighbouring Village some Horses and Asses. You would have laughed had you seen the party. I was mounted upon an ass, Masterman across another, Mary's Parasanna [i.e., wet-suit] upon a third, and [there was also] a great fat washer-woman of mine who preferred walking to the horror of riding! . . . Thomas rode, and took Bruce up before him; Elgin and the Doctor walked. After six most tedious hours, scrambling over mountains, we arrived at the much wished for Village, where I expected to sleep like a Queen! But in this Alas! I was sadly disappointed. We got to a Ham, the people lighted a large fire in the middle, but not a criverie was left for the snake to escape. I took possession of that Ham for myself, Bruce, and Demas; Elgin and the Doctor went into another. We expected to pass a most delightful night and arranged our Beds with great glee, but no sooner had we flung our weary limbs upon them than we were assailed in such a manner by these not one of us could shut our eyes, it was quite dreadful for the poor Children. They were danced out of their beds every ten minutes in order to catch the Fleas. The next morning we all mounted as before, only we contrived two baskets, into which we put our Beds well bedastered up. The people told us we were nine hours' ride from Athens. We came to a village where we stopped and dined. Then we deposited our little treasures in the baskets and off we set. Laskari and Mamma Logothetis came to meet us, we were all sadly tired with this day's journey. I really thought of getting off my horse and lying down, for I never was

<sup>20</sup> Lady Elgin to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, April 10, 1807.

<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere Lady Elgin speaks of 'Bath, the Parasanna, Calico and Fanny,' which real name seems to have been Helena (p. 275). One may conjecture that Bruce's Parasanna

was no longer needed in that capacity. There is a picture at Biel of the children with their Greek nurses. The latter were sent home by way of Malta and Smyrna, in the spring of 1807.

so faded. It was between 8 and 9 o'clock when we arrived at Athens, and perfectly dark. Besides there was a great dew falling which made me very uncomfortable about Elgin. As for the children we wrapped them quite up and they arrived as fresh and lively as possible, I never saw them look so well as they do here.

On the 15th Lady Elgin wrote again.<sup>22</sup> She had paid a sort of state visit to the Bath.

This morning I made myself as smart as possible, and having given some days notice that I intended honoring the Bath with my presence, I am sure there were three or four hundred Women, Greeks and Turks. Altho' I had formed a very pretty idea of the amusement, I must say it very far surpassed my expectation. Had you dancers, singers, and Tambourine players in the Bath! The dancing was too indecent beyond anything. Mary shall not go to a Turkish Bath! We had a Ball here the other night. . . . We have all this house<sup>23</sup> to ourselves. The Logothetis has gone into another, which makes it much more comfortable to us; I have made Hammerton's room the Nursery. Did you ever go up the outside flight of stairs? We have repaired the long room and put my Piano-forte into it, and we breakfast and sit reading, writing or arranging Medals in the Gallery. I have put a gate upon the top of the stairs, so there is a fine airy run for Buge. We dine at two o'clock, and drive out in the *Carriole* every day after dinner. Tonight we dined to the Monastery of Daphné, where you rode, (and) went all over it. I feel to know everything you thought and did here. But I have almost filled four pages without saying what I think of the Artist. I think the few things that remains, almost all having been sent to England, far more beautiful than ever I dared imagine. But with Laura I own I am disappointed, not one single view finished—nothing but innumerable Sketches, but no much of a sketch for me. . . . We expect Hamilton every day from Egypt, he has been away many months. I shall be happy when he returns.

The letter continues with plans for the contemplated tour in the Morea, and concludes with a postscript by Lord Elgin:

It was agreed that I was to have written Mr. Nisbet by this opportunity. But I have had so much to do, in seeing and settling, that I am too late to attempt a regular letter. I therefore take advantage of Mary's leaving to say that She and the Babes are, thank God, well. We have a very hard work to get Logothetis's house in order for so numerous a Colony: and Mary, finding herself at last tolerably comfortable, can't be spurr'd up with any curiosity for Thbes and Platen, where Mr. Hunt and I go tomorrow. I don't name Athens and my artists. It would be sacrilege to speak hastily of such wonders, and the Justice does them. All I can say is, to express a belief, that the object has been attained, and that when all arrives safe in England, I shall be able to show a complete representation of Athens. Lord Keith has been very obliging, by sending the Diana frigate here: Capt. Scoverson has carried to Malta most of my acquisitions. In case this should reach you in London, I anxiously hope that Mr. N. will assist me in having notice given and attached to at the Six Ports for receiving and landing safely, what may be brought home for me.

A further letter from Lady Elgin,<sup>24</sup> dated from Tripolizza, describes the beginning of the tour in the Morea. The party had taken leave of the children, who were left at Athens on May 3, and made their start in

<sup>22</sup> Lady Elgin to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, April 16, 1802.

<sup>23</sup> A view of the courtyard of the house of Nicholas Logothetis, the Council of Stamat's time, is given in Stuart and Revett, i. chap. v. pl. i. We know that the house was the same, since

Stamat's Logothetis gave Lord Elgin the Banchisi relief, placed in it by Stuart in the time of Nicholas.

<sup>24</sup> Lady Elgin to Lady Robert [Manners] for Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, May 11, 1802.



a ten-oared barge, lent for the purpose by Captain Donnelly of the *Narcissus*, who had arrived for survey work.

We embarked about 12 o'clock on extremely hot day, passed close to the Island of Salamis and Mount Argilios where Xerxes' Throne was placed, and dined at Elusis, walked all about, and saw the ruins of the Temple of Ceres. The statue of Ceres which was in the town was sent to England last year by Mr. Clerke. We landed at Port Nisus, and proceeded by torch light, accompanied by a strong Guard of Albanians, who kept firing with Balls and singing their National Songs all the way to Megara, and slept in a most miserable Albanian Cotage. Could you have seen us going from the Boat to Megara amongst the Troops firing all different ways, the wonderful noise of their songs, the darkness of the night and the glare of the Torches, you would have thought we were taken Prisoners by a Banditti.

On the 4th the party re-embarked, and coasted along the shore to the Isthmus ' (We sailed by the Scironian Rocks where Sciron used to kick down the Passengers' and dined at Crumyon where Theseus killed the sow, landed at Port Cenebra, and stayed in the house of Nouri Bey, the governor. On the 5th a visit was paid to the foot of Aero-Corinthos and the site of Corinth. On returning to Nouri Bey's house:—

I found the Ladies of Bekyr Bey's and Nouri Bey's Harems. They had arrived from their Country House on purpose to see me. They came in a kind of covered Boxes, two of which are slung across a Mule-like Gypsies panniers, with a Lady in each. Over them are curtains of Scarlet Cloth to prevent the people seeing them. The women got hold of Masterman, took her into the Harem, and begged of her to persuade me to go to them. I did not feel much inclined to go having no Dragoneman with me, however I went and was most graciously received by them. I was deluged with rose water, then perfume, afterwards presented by a woman upon her knees with sweetmeats, water and coffee. With my three or four Turkish words, assisted with hands and eyes, I contrived to stay about twenty minutes with them. When I got up to take my leave, Nouri Bey's Great Wife as they called her escorted me to the head of the stairs, whilst two women took hold of me by the arms and led me to the door.

In the course of this day \* Lord Elgin also wrote to Lusieri, describing his progress. He was sending back by a boat some vases and an inscription presented to him at Corinth; some small vases found at Megara, and an Ionic capital which he had seen 'in a little Greek Church on the coast, where we dined.' He begged Lusieri to have some work done at Eleusis and to trace the temples especially that of Ceres.

The monuments never seem to have been taken, nor the site determined: It would be necessary to take a couple of saws for the finds. There is already a antope lying on the surface, with two basies around with an inscription, pretty much as follows.  $\Sigma$  ΑΙΟΙ.<sup>2</sup> A little further is an enormous triglyph, good to measure, or to take. Unfinished sculptures etc. will be found.

After mentioning other antiquities he proceeds:

The whole Isthmus would give materials for measuring, for amassing and for digging, and I should like Mr to be there as soon as possible. If you started early in the morning, on Sunday, for Isthmus, taking Mr with you, and the necessary permissions of the Vexode and of the Archbishop of Athens, you could easily examine everything and return the same evening. Perhaps Don Bernardino would be good for the excavations,

\* Elgin to Lusieri, May 5, 1802.

<sup>2</sup> See *Unedited Acings of Attica*, chap. iv. pl. 7.

always supposing that you are not obliged to employ him in the Citadel—which is always the greater object.

It would also be necessary to have the *Dafne Columns* [Br. Mus. No. 2264, 5] at or near the capitals. When you see them you will make up your mind. In either case have them ready at the Piræus.

I recommend the *Aeropoleis* to you; 77)

(P.S.) Embrace the children for me, and take good care of them.

From Corinth a rough ride brought the party on May 9, to Neuen.<sup>78</sup> After dining and resting,

We pursued our road and passed tremendous high Mountains, the valleys and sides of the Hills covered with Myrtles and other Ever Greens. On entering the great plain of Argos we made about half an hour's deviation to the left to see the ruins of the City of Mycenæ. Great Masses of the Walls of the ancient Citadel still remain. They are said to be the work of the Cyclops. At a short distance from these Ruins is a stupendous Vault which is supposed by some to be the tomb of Agamemnon, and by others the Treasury of the Kings of Mycenæ. Two long walls of massive masonry lead to the doorway of this subterraneous building; but so much soil has been washed into it by the mountain torrents, that it required no common courage to crawl through the Hole by which alone it could be entered. I went in after some hesitation on all fours, and was fully gratified with the scene. The Stone which forms the Architrave of the door is of a dimension that exceeds everything in magnitude that I had seen at Athens. We measured it and found it twenty-four feet long, seventeen feet thick, and near five feet high. The form of the Vault is that of an immense hollowed sugar loaf, and composed of heavy stones. We lighted a large fire in it, and crept through a subterraneous passage into another Domain of much ruder work. I must tell you that young *Logotheti*,<sup>79</sup> the hopeful son and heir of the Athens *Logotheti* a <who> had strict charge to take care of himself, but his Mama did allow him to go whenever I went; but he refused to follow me into the second vault. I saw the bristles on his skull were erect at crawling into the first Vault, in which undertaking he knocked off his Calpac, and sadly soiled his flowing robes. We were told that the Aga of the adjoining Village of Carthi was the first who discovered the vault, and that he had found in it a Sepulchral Lamp of Bronze<sup>80</sup> suspended by a chain from the stone which screens the building. Finding it neither gold nor silver he made a present of it to some *Gipsies*. We then rode along the plain of Argos, which is the most cultivated part of Greece. The *Vaivode* sent a number of horses, capably caparisoned, for Elgin and the party to ride into the city. The concourse of spectators was very great; the pompous entrance was extremely disagreeable to me, for what with the people firing all different directions, and the fine ladies kicking, I thought myself exceedingly fortunate when I found myself at the house of our pretorial *Barzly*. *Valaspolo*, where we found every possible sort of accommodation. He is rich and had entirely new furnished his house for our reception.

On the 8th the party left Argos for Tripolitan, leaving instructions with *Vlassopolo* (as he should be spelt) to carry out excavations at the Treasury

<sup>77</sup> Lady Elgin to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet (continued).

<sup>78</sup> Young *Logotheti* is one of the chief figures in the view of the Bazaar, in Dodwell's *Views in Greece*.

<sup>79</sup> Schliemann, writing in 1877, says that by local tradition it is agreed that the excavation took place in 1810, and that the sole objects found in the Treasury were some half-columns and friezes, a marble table, and

a long bronze chain suspended from the top of the dome, at the end of which was hanging a bronze candelabrum. I have heard this account repeated so many hundred times by the old people of the Argolid that I believe it to be perfectly correct, except of course as to the candelabrum? *Meyers*, p. 20. Lady Elgin's letter of 1802 shows that tradition confused Lord Elgin's excavation of 1810 (cf. p. 281) with some other enterprise.



(*cf.* p. 261). The night was passed at Akhmadokampas, of which Lady Elgin writes with enthusiasm. On the 9th a deputation of the villagers entreated Lord Elgin's influence with the Pasha to give them leave to repair their church. An escort sent by the Pasha here met the party, bringing a covered litter (Turkish *takht-i-rivan*) for Lady Elgin, which she describes as follows, under the name of 'Tartar-a-van': 'It was carried between two Mules and guided by six Men, in the manner of a Sedan Chair. In some of the very bad places the men actually took the mules up in their arms and lifted them over. I was in it once at this manoeuvre, which I did not at all admire: and begged to be let out the next time.' A brilliant entry was made into Tripolitza.

We were met by all the officers of the Pasha's court, on chargers richly caparisoned, and accompanied by Pages and Guards, who played at the Dgerit (throwing the lance), and other equestrian sports. I saw many of them who after they had flung the Dgerit side and picked it up when it was lying flat upon the ground, without getting off their Horses; others had sticks with hooks at the end with which they pulled up their Dgerits in the quickest manner. Their dexterity was wonderful and the exhibition of this procession on the Plain of Mantinea was one of the finest Corp D'Ords in the world. Three Parade Buzas were sent for Elgin, Mr. Hunt and Dr. Scott, besides a great many *lâf Horas*, all with the most brilliant furniture, the Lieutenant-Governor and first Chamberlain riding by their side, the Dragoon of the Mores preceding and a train of at least six or seven hundred on Horseback, following. All the inhabitants of the Town in their best dresses and well armed lined the Avenues to the Gate, and as we approached the Great Cannon were fired from every Fort round the Walls of the City. One man out of a large embroidered box kept flinging money to the Children and poor People on the road. There was something extremely grand in that. In the Evening we alighted at the house of the Dragoon of the Mores, which was assigned for our residence, and were waited on by the officers of the Pasha and Bey to congratulate us on our arrival, and an immense Supper of 30 or 40 Dishes dressed in the Turkish style was sent from the Pasha's seraglio.

A ceremonial audience took place on the 10th, and presents were given—*ermine pelisses* for Hunt and Scott, and sable fur and a horse with rich trappings for Lord Elgin, a shawl, an embroidered *hanfkerchief*, and two pieces of Indian stuff for Lady Elgin. On the day following the Pasha returned the Ambassador's visit.

He was unobtrusively polite, and gave letters of permission for our artists to make excavations at Corinth, Olympia, Elis, etc., in search of antiquities, and also to examine the Fortress on the Acro-Corinthus which has been uniformly refused to every person.

The return journey was begun on the 12th, the travellers having been warned against proceeding any further on account of bands of robbers. Argos was reached at 8 o'clock the same evening.

In our absence the Voivode of Napoli di Romania had closed the doorway into the subterranean building at Mycenæ. We found many fragments of Vases, and some ornamental Marble which had covered the outside. There were also some pieces of a marble fluted vase of very good workmanship. [No doubt fragments of the pillars from the doorway, afterwards removed by Lord Elgin, and now in the British Museum. Two small fragments from the tomb are in the Elgin collection, and presumably they were obtained on this occasion.] The whole of the inside of this subterranean building

has been covered with bronze Nails, many of which contain. I fear that looks like a Treasury, and I wish to imagine it Agamemnon's Tomb.<sup>100</sup>

The tour was continued by way of Thyrs and Epidaurus.

We reached the village of Ligoirie at dinner time. About an hour farther we saw the Sacred Grove of Aesculapius, and the Theatre which is described as having been the most perfect Model in Greece. . . . Some few of the marble seats have been taken away, and shrubs of the most beautiful foliage have grown in the place. It is a delightful situation, many other Ruins are near it, such as Baths, Cisterns and Temples.

Our ride from thence was along the Bed of a Torrent, between very steep Mountains and Crags, covered with Myrtles, Arbutus, Oleanders, Olives, Locust Trees, Brionia, and other extremely beautiful Shrubs which grow there with the utmost luxuriance. I should certainly have been ruined could Money have bribed the Shrubs to have left the scorching Sun of Greece for the cooling breezes of the Firth. It undoubtedly was without any exception the most perfectly enchanting ride I ever took, quite in my style; the road very dangerous and the Mountains perpendicular. It was a sad hot day, and we were eleven hours on horseback. I do not think I was ever more completely fatigued. The guides lost the road, so it was quite dark before we reached the village of Epidauria. From the account given the Janissaries gave of the dirt and Vermin of the Cottages I preferred sleeping in our Tent, which I must say is by no means an agreeable expedient, for the heat was very oppressive and the damp penetrated quite through the Canvas. After seeing the ruins the next morning, the 15th of May, we embarked in a Spanish Fishing-Boat. The wind being contrary we were prevented landing on the Island of Aegina, but we saw the ruins of Temple of Neptune and those of the Pan-hellenian Jupiter. Of the first only two columns remain, and of the other which is said to be oldest in Greece about 25 are standing. They are of the Doric Order, of common stone, and of heavy proportions. At night we reached the Piræus, and were fortunate enough to find Homes at the Quay, which brought us to Athens about eight o'clock.

Communication had been maintained meanwhile between Athens and the party on tour. From Argos<sup>101</sup> Lord Elgin had written to Lusieri, making inquiries about the rumoured arrival of a man-of-war, and continuing

I would like you to buy the statue at the jeweller's house, which came from Thebes.<sup>102</sup> Ships and travellers coming to Athens will raise the price, and perhaps will carry it off—but you will find a way of securing it at a reasonable price. I hear that French frigates will soon be coming into the archipelago. Every moment is therefore very precious to securing our acquisitions. Adieu—Keep well, and take good care of my dear little children.

On the same day Lusieri wrote from Athens<sup>103</sup> as to the children and the operations:

Your children, My Lord, are quite well. They are taking walks, they are always playful, and I am delighted to receive their carmina. I hope this evening to get the 3rd bas relief of the Temple of Victory into the store, and the 4th to-morrow. Preparations are going forward for the pediment of the Parthenon.

Three days later Lusieri wrote again.<sup>104</sup> The children continued in

<sup>100</sup> For drawings of the nails see Gall's *Argolis*, Pl. 7.

*Sculpt.* No. 1689.

<sup>101</sup> Elgin to Lusieri, May 7, 1802.

<sup>102</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, May 7, 1802.

<sup>103</sup> Perhaps the *Dress of a Muse*, *Br. Mus.*

<sup>104</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, May 10, 1802.



excellent health. The supposed frigate was only a small Hydriot vessel taking on board a cargo of oil.

Since Saturday evening we have the four reliefs belonging to the Temple of Victory in the store. To-day I have also brought in the vase and the little relief,<sup>100</sup> which were at the school, and the horse's head which was on the Parthenon pediment, and which is a real chef d'œuvre. I hope to be able to lower the figures in the course of the week, and will not fail to advise your Excellency. The excavation in the house of the old Turk has so far yielded nothing.

The house of the old Turk is no doubt the one referred to in Lord Elgin's evidence before the Committee (*Report*, p. 42).

There was a special permission solicited for this house; when I did excavate in consequence of getting possession of that house, there was not a single fragment found; I excavated down to the rock, and, that without finding anything, when the Turk, to whom the house belonged, came to me and laughingly told me that they were made into the mortar with which he built his house.

The *Memoirandum*<sup>101</sup> tells the same story, and continues, 'And Lord Elgin afterwards ascertained, on incontrovertible evidence, that these statues had been reduced into powder, and so used. Then and then only, did he employ means to rescue what still remained from a similar fate.'

On May 15, as we have seen, the party returned to Athens from the Morea, and on Wednesday, May 19, Lord Elgin left Athens for a tour to Beozotia in the first instance, but with the intention of continuing for three weeks, and perhaps visiting Ali Pasha at Janina. Lady Elgin remained at Athens, and messengers passed at frequent intervals between Athens and Thebes. For some reason, not on record, the longer tour was given up, and Lord Elgin returned to Athens on May 26, after a week's absence.

Immediately after he had started the *Maténe* (Capt. Hoste) arrived with dispatches, and the letters from Lady Elgin to her husband are largely filled with the comings and goings of naval officers:—

After dinner, as the Doctor, Lambert and I were musing over the vicissitudes of human life, who should dash in at the door but Dickie Johnstone! dear fellow. How do [you] do My Lady. How is my Lord?—I am by his side there was no answer necessary to those *Queries*, so soon I have you dined Mr. Johnstone! No My Lady was he napping a most profuse quantity of human Nature off his red face and still redder hair—But I have brought Mr. Finker and Mr. Binker with me, I thought my Lady you dined at three o'clock, but a bit of Bread & Cheese is all we want!—My lady—I am sorry Sir, you have asked for the only thing I cannot give you *via* Cheese—(A notorious Lye by the bye for to Day we made the first incursion into the list of the Cause's [!] *cheeses*) but I can give you Soup, fish, Beef steaks, Veal, Mutton, Lamb, Ducks, Turkeys &c &c &c Upon which I got trimy Marmak, & really produced dinner enough to fill the house!—The Doctor you may be sure did not fail to do y<sup>r</sup> honors! I had to overtalk him once or twice, no easy matter y<sup>on</sup> honor!

Lady Elgin reported with glee how she was using feminine arts to secure the shipment of *casses* too large for the ship.

<sup>100</sup> The relief of Aristoteles (*Brit. Mus. Sculptors*, 638) had been seen by Chandler 'Egrot in a wall at the door of the Greek

school.' I cannot identify the vase!

<sup>101</sup> *Memoirandum*, p. 10.

In the morning I sent a *very civil* message to Capt. Hoste saying I was sorry to hear he was so ill & if there was anything I *could* send him it *will* give him great pleasure. I then *coaxed* over the Lieut. to *persuade* upon the Captain to take the Three large Cases you saw in the Magazine. I told him they were seven feet long, he gave me little hopes, as it was impossible to put any thing above three feet long in the hold. I then found it necessary to use my persuasive powers, so I began by saying as the Capt. was going straight to Malta & there being no Enemies to encounter, I ventured to propose his taking them. It would be doing me a very great favor as you were extremely anxious to get them off, & I *didn't* feel so proud to tell you how well I had succeeded, during your absence—*Finally* *acquiescing* as usual succeeded, the Capt. sent me a very polite answer, & by noon of Day 1 sent down the 3 Cases!

On the following day Captain Hoste who was seriously unwell was fetched by the carriage.

The Capt. is reading his Novel on the Sofa and the Doctor is reading Herodotus . . . . . Nothing can be more obliging than he (the Captain) is, he saw the 3 cases at y<sup>e</sup> water-side when he came up, having got them safely off my Hands, I next set on work to see if I could not contrive to get away something *more*. What say you to Dot's [her post-mortem]. This is a Holiday nobody will work but I have offered *Zachariah*, *Lashori* is all astonishment at me, he says he never saw anybody so keen as me.

I have made him set to work to pack up the Horse's head, the Urn and the stone that is in this house a head, & the Capt. will take that also for me, he says he will stay to-morrow if it is any use—This is my grand Dinner day, the Count and his friend, the two Consuls, the Captain & Doctor, *Lashori* & I—*Dicky* & three other officers came in this morning, but I took no notice of them & they are gone. . . . . I have ordered the dinner & told Marco only to give two Bottles of Port, all the rest *Zee*; he told me with a long face that yesterday *Dicky* and his two friends drank three bottles of wine. They shall have as much *Zee* as they like, but no White wine, two Bottles of Port, no Porter and not a *bit* of *Chateau*! Thomas, Piers & Marco wait at Table, three Boys run to and fro with the Dishes to the Kitchen but are not to put their Noses in at the Door! I hear *Dicky* and his three Companions are above stairs, it is odd if they stay unasked by me. I have dined enough—Have I not arranged all my affairs famously? . . . . . Capt. H. says he will take the packages he has got on board the *Machine* with him, He did not know he was really appointed till I sent him word. [He was not.]

11 o'clock at night—

Now for some news that will please you. I have got another large case packed up this Day, a long piece of the *Bass Relievo* from y<sup>e</sup> Temple of *Minerva*, I forgot the proper term, so I have by my management got on board 4 enormous long heavy packages, & to-morrow the *Horda's* *hull* &c. &c. is to be carefully packed up and sent on board; this is all that is ready for going. If there were 20 ships here nothing more could be sent for some time.—The last last Case is *entirely* my doing, and I feel proud, Elgin!

The *Jason* (Captain Cracraft) arrived next day, but could not enter the Pireas. Captain Cracraft was willing, if required, to take either the Ambassador or his cases.

By the bye I must tell you one thing, you knew in my last I told you I supposed Captain Cracraft was about 45! After he was gone I asked Capt. H. who burst out a laughing & said he was 60!—But three days ago he took it into his head to shave and put on a Wig!! which has made him look so old even H. hardly recognised



his old friend, & Capt. C. says he has got a cold and headach ever since—He was constantly looking in the Glass to see if his Wig was cracked!—Dawson!—

Tuesday 22<sup>d</sup> of May,

But in hopes that I shall be the first to tell you what I have done for you—Know that besides the 5 cases I have already told you of I have prevailed on Capt. Hoste to take Three more, two are already on board, & the third will be taken when he returns from Corinth. How I have longed to get all this done, do you love me better for it, Elgin!

And now I have pushed Lusieri to get Cases made for these last three large packages!

I beg you will show delight (Lacy adds the Diplomatic Character) to Capt. Hoste for taking so much on board. I am now satisfied of what I always thought, which is how much more Women can do if they set about it, than Men. I will lay any bet had you been here you would not have got half so much on board as I have.

As for getting the other things you wished for down from the Acropolis it is quite impossible before you return. Lusieri says Capt Lacy was upon his *ser* coming here against the things being taken down, but at last he was keener than any body & absolutely wished you to have the whole Temple of the Carr—something, where the Statues of the Women are—Mind Elgin you do not drop this letter out of your pocket. I wonder whether you will be at the trouble of reading it all when you have two English people to talk to! You will like Capt. Crauford, at least I do.

Lord Elgin returned to Athens from the Isthmus of Corinth on board Captain Hoste's vessel, the *Mutine*, and a few days were spent at Athens.

The *Mutine* left for Zante and Malta, whence Captain Hoste writes (June 12) that it was uncertain by what ship the cases on the *Mutine* could be forwarded; that he had ascertained that the *Scampanin* (Lord Elgin's store ship) had plenty of cheeses on board—and that he owed his life to Lady Elgin's milk diet.

The Birthday of King George the Third was as Elonians have reason to remember, on June 4, and a note dated "ce jeudi soir" was no doubt written on Thursday, June 3, 1802. "Do me the pleasure of inviting all your company to come to dinner to-morrow on the occasion of the King's Birthday—the Consul—All the artists—and Father Urban."<sup>97</sup> We will dine at three o'clock."

As an immediate result of the tour in the Morea, arrangements were made for Itar to go on much the same route to draw the monuments. Careful instructions were drawn up (June 8, 1802) for his guidance. He was to go by way of Eleusis, the Isthmus of Corinth, and Corinth, to Accorinith. He was to pay special attention to the vases found near Corinth. Thence he would go to Sicyon and Argos. "In the plain of Argos, at a short distance from the little village of Carvati he will examine the subterranean buildings in which it is supposed that the ancient kings of Mycenæ kept their treasures. His Excellency has had the largest excavated. This building, on account of its irregularity, deserves both plan and detailed drawings. The enormous architrave of the door, the triangular

<sup>97</sup> Father Urban, of Genoa, head of the Capuchin Monastery, detected in 1806 in an intrigue with the wife of a Greek servant, and

went in disgrace to Constantinople. Legend, in *Rev. Arch. Brit. ser.* xxx. p. 287.

window, and the stone that covers the summit of the monument, are extraordinary. It is necessary to give an idea of the bronze nails fixed in the interior of their distances one from another, and of the size of the holes, where were the hinges to support the doors—and it is also necessary to make a plan of the citadel, and a sketch of the door of the same, where are two Lions.\* The journey was to be continued by way of Argos, Tiryns, Mantinea, Epidaurus, and Argina.

Itar's progress on this tour can be traced in the Elgin portfolios, and in his statement of expenditure. He left Athens for Eleusis on July 10, 1802, doubtless in company with Hamilton and Leake (see below p. 226). He spent four days at Eleusis, fifteen days at Corinth. He remained several days at Argos, making excursions to Mycenæ and Tiryns. He remained two days at Mantinea, and went thence to Mistræ (where he made a present to the Bishop of sugar and coffee). From Mistræ he made expeditions to Sparta. He returned by way of Tripolitza, where he was attacked by fever, and was detained twenty-two days. Thence he went to Argos, and was again attacked by fever and detained twelve days. He stayed a day at Nemea, and ten days at Corinth. An expedition to Sicyon took fifteen days. At Sicyon he employed two diggers for six days, 'for diggings made round the gymnasium, stadium, theatre, and other investigations,' returning to Nemea for three days and then to Corinth, where another twelve days were spent. He then went to Laguria (four days), Epidaurus (three days), and Biada or Pîda (four days). He crossed to Argina, remained there eight days, and thence returned to Athens, which according to the statement of days given above he would have reached in the middle of November. The time actually taken was longer. On December 22 Hunt wrote: 'Itar, I fear, is really a *mourante* angel. He has now been absent six months, and only set out a few days ago from Corinth to Epidauria and Argina.' He acquired in the course of his tour some minor antiquities, some silver and copper coins, some gold leaf, two engraved gems, two small vases, and a bas-relief at Corinth. But none of these objects can be identified, and the tour is only memorable for the fine series of measured drawings of sites in the Morea, which (together with the rough working drawings) are now in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum.

The middle part of the month of June was spent in preparations for embarkation and departure. It is worth noting that the only examples earlier than the following of the word *Dinky* (as it was formerly spelt) given in Murray's *English Dictionary* are dialectal.

\* On Tuesday the 15th of June 1802—to resume our extracts from Lady Elgin's letters—we left Athens between 11 and 12 o'clock at night, driven in the carriage by Moonlight to the Piræus. The boats of the "*Narrissus*" frigate were waiting for us, and a couple of hours after we had been on board a breeze sprang up and we sailed. Seintum was visited on the next day, and Zea on the 17th. 'In the afternoon we anchored at the Harbour of Zea and immediately went on shore, but we only found a few Buts and were told that the English Consul lived about an hour's distance in the City, and not in sight of the Port. A Greek whom we met on the beach joined us and gave us his



own family history, showed us a well of fine water and some gardens where we walked an hour or two. 18th. We mounted Donkeys and rode to the town of Zea, the road almost impracticable for the city is built on the summit of an almost perpendicular Mountain, and in many places we rode up a regular stair cut out in the Rock, and hanging over a precipice, where there was hardly room enough for a Man to walk on the side of the Donkey.

After arrival and a musical late and ball at the English Consulate the party slept at the house of the Neapolitan Consul, being the best in the place.

There we heard the history of the Greek who acceded us upon our landing on the Island. He was brought to prison that very night for the most atrocious act that ever was committed. Only a couple of hours before he joined our Party he had murdered a Woman who lived with him . . . His conduct seems to have been watched by the people of Zea and on missing the Alexandrian Woman and finding her Veil on the shore, suspicions were formed of his having murdered her. On being questioned he refused giving the Greek Primates any answer, but went to the Russian Consul's and claimed protection, as a Subject of the Emperor. He then assured his Consul that from the jealousy of his first Wife he had been forced to send this woman away, and that she had sailed the morning before in a boat bound for Samos. On investigating the fact it was found that no such boat had sailed; he then confessed that she had requested him to accompany her to the Sea in order to bathe, and that while he remained on the shore to protect her, she fell dead in the water, and that his fear of the suspicious appearance of such an event, had induced him to bury her in the Sand. Upon being asked where the spot was he pointed it out; and the body was found stashed in four places. He was then delivered up to the Turkish Officers to be sent to Constantinople. He offered the Consul a Watch set with diamonds and a box of Pearls, but the Russian Consul refused to implicate himself in so villainous a business. Perhaps he will find the Turks not so proof against a bribe.

After enjoying the energetic hospitality of the Neapolitan Consul's nine daughters ("they sang Greek, Italian, and French songs, danced minnets and all sorts of dances, in short they did everything they thought could amuse us").

On Sunday the 20th we went to the beach in order to embark, but, the wind was so contrary we remained in a most beautiful Garden full of Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds etc. and slept in the Garden House. On the 22nd we embarked and sailed towards Marathon. The 24th we came in sight of Marathon, and saw the Barrow in the shore under which it is supposed the Athenians who fell in the battle against the Persians were buried, and the next day Capt. Donnelly had a Tent pitched for us on the plain. The soldiers had surrounded it with pillars which they found scattered over the ground.<sup>108</sup> After dinner we visited the mound of earth which Pausanias had partly opened,<sup>109</sup> our Ship's Crew dug in another direction and discovered a few fragments of pottery and some silver

<sup>108</sup> The legend soon sprung up that these were the pillars mentioned by Pausanias in memory of the fallen in the battle of Marathon. We now rode to the west and saw the small columns (about three feet high) which were placed to the memory of the heroes who fell in the battle. Of these there are six standing, and six thrown down; one of the former has the appearance of an altar; near them are some stones which look as if they had

belonged to some altars. It is necessary to remark that these are not in their proper place, having been, unfortunately moved to make a tent for Lord and Lady Elgin by the captain of the frigate which brought that gentleman from Constantinople to Athens. (W. Turner, *Notes to the Lord.* i. p. 247). The writer was at Marathon in May, 1844.

<sup>109</sup> For Pausanias's description see Oct. 1788, see *Rev. Arch. Soc. ser. xxx.* p. 53.

radely melted into a small Mass : . . . Elgin examined the plain with great attention and in every direction he found the marsh, in which so many Persians perished in their flight and the temple of Nemesis where the Athenians had placed her statue made of the Marbles of Paros which the Persians secure of victory had brought with them to erect a Trophy of their conquest over the Athenians.

We were joined at Marathon by Mr. Hamilton, Capt. Leake<sup>119</sup> and Capt. Squire who came over from Athina having just arrived there from Egypt. On the 29th we sailed from Marathon, landed Mr. Hamilton etc. at Port Rafal on the 30th, and made for the Island of Tinn.

The reappearance of Hamilton on the scene at Marathon makes a suitable opportunity for tracing his progress on his detached mission to Egypt and Syria. In the previous summer he had been sent on a mission to the British Headquarters in Egypt, where he had acted as Lord Elgin's correspondent and representative. He had gained distinction by the part he took in the negotiations for the capitulation of Alexandria,<sup>121</sup> which secured the Rosetta stone and other monuments for the British Crown.<sup>122</sup> The winter of 1801-2 was devoted to a voyage up the Nile, with William Martin Leake, and Charles Hayes, and in the early spring he returned to the coast.<sup>123</sup>

We have already seen that the *Mentor* left the Piræus on January 5 with the intention of embarking Hamilton at Alexandria, and visiting the East Mediterranean ports. The vessel must have left Egypt in April, 1802, having on board Hamilton, Leake, and John Squire. The latter was an officer in the corps of Royal Engineers of some distinction, who died in Spain in 1812. The movements and adventures of the party in Syria are vividly described in the published journals of Squire (*Walpole's Memoirs*, II. pp. 263-352), and therefore only need be briefly mentioned. On April 15 the *Mentor* anchored in the Bay of Tripoli. From thence the travellers went by way of Djedda, Baidoo, and Damascus to Aleppo, which was reached on May 12, and quitted on June 3 for Scutarien. On the 8th, "After supping with the Imperial Agent, we went on board the brig *Mentor*, lying about a mile distant from the town. We were happy to find ourselves independent, and in our own

<sup>119</sup> This eminent topographer, perhaps with designed obscurity, mentions a caving ground 'On which I found several ippid or republied columns standing in a certain regular order, together with the remains of a sarcophagus, the fragments of a female statue seated in a chair, some shafts of columns and a Corinthian Architrave.' Leake, *Journ. of Asia*, 2nd ed., p. 88. Cf. Squire in *Walpole*, I. p. 336.

<sup>121</sup> Aug. 31, 1801.

<sup>122</sup> Hamilton's obituary notice in the *Annual Register*, 1803, p. 430, contains a statement adopted in the *Diet of National Biography*, doubtless based on an inaccurate family tradition, that he rowed out with a small boat to recover the stone from a French warship where it was concealed. A contemporary account is given by E. B. Clarke, *The Tomb of Alexander*, 1803, pp. 28,

40. The Rosetta stone was surrendered to Alexander by Hamilton, Cripps and Clarke by a Member of the Institute, from the warehouse in which they had concealed it covered with mats. The famous sarcophagus of Nekt-hu-hub (formerly called the Tomb of Alexander) the same persons found 'in the hold of a hospital ship, in the inner harbour' 'well filled with rich, and covered with the rage of the sick people on board.' Compare Hamilton's less detailed account of the affair in *Aegyptiaca* (see note 113), p. 402.

<sup>123</sup> Hamilton's account of the journey (with an obituary notice of Hayes) is published in his *Remarks on several Parts of Turkey, &c. Aegyptiaca*, 1802 (with etchings from Hayes's drawings). Leake's papers were lost in the *Mentor*.



ship, relieved from the impositions and villainy of Syria: we had been exposed to dangers arising from the plague, earthquakes, plunderers, and suspecting Agas; and it may be readily concluded that we rejoiced not a little at our emancipation."<sup>114</sup>

Hamilton's special object at Aleppo, to which no reference is made in Squire's journals, was a commission from Lord Elgin to purchase horses, and he found five which he thought would be satisfactory.<sup>115</sup>

We shall have a little trouble in keeping them in good order on board Ship, but I hear all is ready for their Reception by way of Bars &c. and we have here prepared Ropes bandages coverlids and whatever else is necessary. The Great Consumption of Water makes Captain Eglin say we must go to Hippus, but as this would delay us very much, and the Season is already far advanced I hope we shall be able to provide ourselves with sufficient to carry us on to Rhodes. Indeed My Lord I never had an idea of the nature of Delays, Expenses, &c. to which travelling in Syria was subject. I really wonder if any Man in his Senses ever ventured to encounter them a second time. I hardly think it possible.

The *Mentor* with the horses must have reached the Piræus about June 22. The horses were evidently sent ashore to recover from their voyage, and Hamilton went, as we have seen, with Lenke and Squire to join Lord Elgin, and met him at Marathon.

The return of the brig now made it necessary to arrange her further service in connexion with the transport of the marbles, and Lord Elgin wrote to Lusieri proposing to ship marbles, grooms and horses to Smyrna, special preference being given to the boxes from Athens.

From Marathon the frigate (as related by Lady Elgin) made for Port Raphi on the east coast of Attica, where Hamilton and the others were landed. Tenos was reached on July 1, and the party made a stay at the house of Vitali the English Consul.

The Russian Consul M. Vincenzo gave us a Ball. He illuminated his house and made a transparency of my Cypher. I was quite surprised to see so many smart and fine dressed ladies with Manners very superior to what one could have expected in such an out of the way place. In point of manner and dancing they certainly beat the Constantinople Belles, perhaps you don't think that is saying much for them. We were detained at Tenos a considerable time longer than we intended on account of the contrary winds, which made it impossible to sail in a open boat. We therefore took a Martigan (? = Martingane, a Sicilian craft) which was in Port, commanded by a Frenchman who had emigrated from Toulon when Lord Hood evacuated it. We were in a good deal of danger even in this ship, and Capt. Donnelly said he would not have had us risk such a thing on any account.

At Myconos we were received by our Vice Consul M. Cabani on the 6th of July but as the poor man had lately lost a favourite Daughter of about 17 years of age we found all his Family in the deepest dejection. It was quite shocking to see them. I there learned some very curious ceremonies belonging to the Greek Church, one in particular which struck me as horrible. When any person dies, three or four times during the mourning the Relations get a number of Priests into the house. They have some composition which they set fire to, and all the friends form a ring round it, and bewail and cry over it, as if it were the body. They also get crying Women into the House who cry and scream. When the stuff is consumed the ashes are carefully collected and carried to the Church.

<sup>114</sup> Walpole II. p. 552.

<sup>115</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, June 3, 1802.

I think for any Person in real affliction, that sort of ceremony is enough to turn their heads. The youngest daughter of Cabana, a girl about twelve years old seemed more deeply affected than the rest. She refused all kinds of nourishment, tho' her Mother used to entreat her upon her knees to swallow something. By their account she did not take three or four spoonfuls of food in a day. They consulted Doctor Scott but the Girl declared she would take nothing more for she was determined to die. I own I could not help suspecting it was the Priests who had told her she would become a Saint, were she to die, a victim to grief.

The wind obliged us to remain in this melancholy abode and most barren and wretched of islands till the — of July when we sailed in the Frigate for Delos at day break, and reached Great Delos about 6 o'clock in the morning. On turning the first point of the island we perceived a Latine Sail Boat giving chase to a large English Ship, and on being fired upon by our Frigate she ran off, and putting out twenty two sweeps got safe to shore. Captain Donnelly then got as near as the heavy gale of Wind would allow him, and tacking and retacking fired about 300 shot at her: the Pirates returning the salutation by firing musquetry at the Frigate, but without killing or wounding any of our Crew, though many Balls struck the Deck, Guns, &c. At length the Pirate Galley was so severely shattered that she sunk. We then sent a party of Marines and Sailors on shore who brought her off. A boat full of Myconé sailors came to us on hearing of the Engagement and offered to send us next morning any assistance we might want. Accordingly the following day they joined us and the party scoured the island in different directions, and took prisoner the Captain of the Pirates, Zachary, and twenty three of the crew which consisted originally of thirty four. The Chief was a young man of about twenty six of an open countenance, and bold but by no means impudent, manners. The others however gave one a complete idea of a horrid set of Banditti. On being interrogated they confessed themselves Mainiot Pirates but asserted that their only object was plunder and that they had never wantonly killed or wounded any of the Prisoners they had taken. 400 Pistoles were found by a Diver belonging to the Frigate when the Pirate had run his Galley on shore. This prize was given up by the Officers and Crew to the Widow of a sailor who had unfortunately been killed by the blowing up of a Cartridge during the firing.

From thence Elgin and his party visited the ruins of ancient Delos and the opposite island of Rhenea. All the temples and other public buildings are totally demolished and strewn over the ground. . . . That island is full of beautiful marble altars and sarcophagi. Elgin brought an altar on board. It is round and ornamented with festoons of fruit and flowers pendant from bulls' heads.<sup>110</sup>

From Delos we sailed to Paros and anchored at the only spot I have yet seen in the Archipelago which has any claim to picturesque beauty. To us it afforded great delight, for we had been in a storm and I had suffered much from the motion of the ship so you may easily conceive my joy in getting to Orange Groves, Myrtles fountains and Cascades: the Quarries of Paros are still upon and their sides in some places ornamented with very nice sculpture of nymphs and Bacchantes dancing. . . . From Paros Elgin went to the famous grotto of Antiparos,<sup>111</sup> it was too great an undertaking for me, I regretted extremely not seeing it, for from all accounts it was most beautiful. They said the whole interior is as white as Alabastrer and the Pillars which nature has formed for its support are in most fantastic shapes, but the descent into the Grotto was most extremely difficult and dangerous. They took a great number of Torches with them, and some Bengal lights which the guides said throw a much finer light than any they had seen

<sup>110</sup> There are two altars in the Elgin Collection, hitherto assigned to Delos. Nos. 2489, 2491 in the British Museum. The former seems to answer best to the description. The small sepulchral altar, No. 2287, to which no place of origin is assigned, is of

a more suitable size, but being inscribed, we have already appropriated it to Hant, p. 266 *opon*.

<sup>111</sup> Chabouat-Vieillard, *Voyage Pittoresque* I. Pls. 36, 37, 38.



upon former occasions. The description they gave me of the Grotto was that it was rather a suite of Caverns, than a single Grotto. Some looked like Churches with Organs and altars, and others like gardens with Trees and Shrubs covered with snow.

From Antiparos the party reached Smyrna, where a stay of some length was made. No sea passage could be obtained in a *Man-of-war*, and on August 10 Lady Elgin wrote to her mother that it had been necessary to decide on the land route, by means of the '*Tartaravans*.'

As soon as ever they came we shall set off, Masterman and I in one, and the Children and their Parasparas in the other. What an undertaking it will be. We are to carry tents with us and must travel as soon as it is daylight and lay by in the middle of the day. Captain Cracraft and other Officers say they never felt heat in India more oppressive than this.

The return over-land was not accomplished till September 4.

Bouyouk Déré, 25<sup>th</sup> Sept, 1802<sup>112</sup>

I am sure you will be very anxious for the arrival of this letter. I assure you I am extremely thankful the journey is over. I am now quite well settled in the old house you were in when you were here—I left Smyrna the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, and what will amaze you, I left Elgin at Smyrna! The case was that he had written to General Stewart to say he would wait for him at Smyrna. As they had some business of very great importance for Elgin to settle I would not let him go with me. But I took such an antipathy to Smyrna I could not make up my mind to being confined there. The pest would have killed us all, and the number of Children that were dying every day [of the plague] made me determine to set off, with my 'Bottle alibi'—the good people did all they could to dissuade me from thinking of such a journey. My party consisted of Doctor Scott, Hunt, Capt. Hennesher, Antonaki Pissaki, another Dragoonman, and a large escort, for some of the Days' journey they said was dangerous on account of Robbers. However we was with women, I and Masterman travelled in one *Tartaravan*,<sup>113</sup> the children in another. The Asiatics do not drive them as well as my friends in the *Morms*, for they contrived to overturn us two or three times. I was not the least hurt, but I was most amazingly disappointed in the beauty of the views &c which you know we used to hear returned prodigiously. Pray tell my Father I manoeuvred the troops consisting of 24 people for 5 days. The fifth day Elgin joined our party, having seen the General. I used to be up at 4 o'clock in the morning and ordered every earthly thing myself. Hani will tell you I am the last General who was seen. . . . On the 27<sup>th</sup> we arrived at Bema . . . We left it on the 29<sup>th</sup> and were caught in a violent storm of wind with thunder and lightning. The wind remained so high and contrary that we were obliged to stay at Mordania four days. I was taken very ill there. Luckily we got to the Greek Bishop's house and had a room without window. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of Sep we embarked; and at 2 o'clock in the morning we arrived at the Island of Prinkipo (one of the Prince's Islands). Antonaki Pissaki took us to his Father-in-law's house, and on Saturday the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sep. we arrived at Bouyouk Déré. We had not been in the house two minutes before it was full of visitors.

Having followed the movements of the travellers as far as Constantinople and the end of their tour, we must now turn to events in Greece.

Before he left Marathon, Lord Elgin sent a last letter of instructions to Athens.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Lady Elgin to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet.

<sup>113</sup> See p. 214.

<sup>114</sup> Elgin to Lucreti, Jan'y, 1802.

It only remains for me to repeat my urgent desire for the departure of the brig. I have explained to Mr. Hamilton a plan which would give a horse to the Voivode, instead of the cloth. The groom will decide on the choice, if this arrangement seems to you desirable. Having had so little means of giving details to Mr. Hamilton as to his course, I put him entirely into your hands for all his ideas, and I particularly request you to show and explain to him your sketches in Greece, as well as the works of the artists. I hope to have your news by the brig.

Early in July the store-ship, the *Scamperia*, put in at the Piræus, but too heavily laden to take on board either antiquities or horses.

ATHENS, July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1802.<sup>121</sup>

MY LORD—

Three days ago the *Scamperia* arrived with Mr. Riley, and as he tells me she is already loaded with a great supply of Wine, Rum, Cheese &c for your Lordship, it has been impossible to put on board her any of the cases or Horses. But Francis has run almost all the Servants, and I have directed Riley to touch at Tino in his way, and on not finding your Lordship there, to proceed to Samina. Don Bernardino must, as Lanteri says, wait for the *Mentor*, as his assistance is necessary to complete the Packages and transport of the Statues and cases to the Piræus, which I hope will be all embarked in three or four Days—together with the Horses.

I send by Mr. Riley my report on Egypt which would probably have been more complete, had I written it in any other place than Athens. In order to avoid continual visits &c which threatened to interrupt me, I pitched my tent on the hill of Philopappus, where I remained till the wind levelled it to the Ground.

I have not yet called on the Voivode, as I wished to get everything off before I began to make any Arrangements for my Journey, in which I shall follow the route pointed out to me by your Lordship.

Next day (July 7) Hamilton reported further progress.

I called this Morning on the Voivode who received me with great civility, and expressed himself desirous of cultivating your Lordship's Friendship. The Horse has been also presented to him in your Name, and Raschid Aga [the Matabshir] will this Afternoon carry to him the Green Baniche [Turkish, *Bianch*, a cape], and mention our intention of carrying off the statue of Bacchus over the Monument of Thraaxillus.

The three Cases containing the two Bas-reliefs of the Temple of Victory and one other were to be embarked on board the *Mentor* this Morning, and all the Horses are now gone down to take up their Berths there in Stalls which have been fitted up for them. I trust they will suffer as little in their voyage from hence to Smyrna, as they did in that from Scameroon to Athens.

It is impossible to put on board the *Mentor* the large cases; which must therefore be left for some large Ship of war, which may call here in her way from Constantinople or from Smyrna.

I have had little time as yet to run over the Antiquities of this place but have been here long enough to feel in them the most lively Interest. The Situation is delightful, The Air Excellent, and I look forward with pleasure to visiting every remarkable Spot more than once before I quit this country. Immediately on the departure of the Brig I shall set out for Thebes and Platæa—on which Scenes something new may be done by the assistance of Mr. Pink<sup>122</sup> Instruments, all of which he has delivered over to Mr. Squire; he is himself going to Patras by the first Occasion but is still weak and complaining.

I have written word from Corinth that he is unwell, and has not been well received by your Agent Mr. Notara. The one Lucier intends to remedy by directing him to remove

<sup>121</sup> Hamilton to Elgin.

<sup>122</sup> A topographical draughtsman, who had been attached to General Roehler.



to Argos—and the other must be guarded against in future by a Gentle Philippi from Mr.

Your plans of Athens and the Acropolis seem very exact for the general Situation of the Buildings, but the Names attached to them seem to me to be put down a little too hastily: perhaps with the assistance of Pausanias and Herodotus on the Spot we may be able to make some correction.

I took the Liberty to take from the Provisions on board of The *Samarina* 3 lbs. of Tea—and four Gallons of rum.

On board the *Mentor*, Port of Piræus—July 7th.

All is now on board and the brig will be under weigh about midnight—I cannot close this, My Lord, without repeating in the strongest terms the conviction I have of the Exactions made by Mr. Eglen Master of the *Mentor* to forward to his utmost your Lordship's Interest and Service. He has had to contend with Seamen who have frequently shown a Discontent with the Service they are employed on, and he has got through all most successfully.

Lusieri had also written on the same day,<sup>122</sup> that work was in active progress on the Acropolis, in spite of the great heat. Several of the marbles brought from Egypt had been disembarked at the Piræus<sup>123</sup> to make room on the brig, and for these he proposed to make cases.

The horses were re-embarked and despatched on the *Mentor* with the omission of the one which had been presented to the Voivode. The Armenian groom in charge carried with him a letter of commendation from Hamilton:—

This will be given to Your Lordship by Ghendit, the chief of the two Armenian Cashims, who have had the charge of your Horses from Aleppo.

I have had every reason to be perfectly satisfied with their conduct throughout.

As they differed with Thomas about the treatment of the horses, he wishing to manage them à l'Anglais, and they à l'Arabe, I took upon myself to decide that until you had seen the horses, they alone might be considered as having the Charge of them. Without some strong lessons of Dr. Scott to Thomas as to a little less liberal use of the Brandy or wine Bottle, I do not think he is a safe man to whom to trust horses on a long journey.

With the departure of the *Mentor* Hamilton could begin to think of his tour in Greece. On the 9th, forwarding a mail to Lord Elgin by way of Smyrna, he reported:—

I have nothing to add to my last by the *Mentor* than that the Voivode has given us liberty to take down the Barchins, for whose removal the Machines are now fixing—and that tomorrow I set out with the Sun to Eleusis, Plataea, Thebes, and perhaps Livadia, Thermopylae &c. The Voivode is exceedingly civil, and says we may take away any thing we please, but Lusieri says there is nothing worth the trouble.

Hamilton, Leake and Squire quitted Athens on July 10<sup>124</sup> and spent the remainder of the month visiting Eleusis, Plataea, Livadia, Thermopylae. Thence their route took them to Delphi, Salona and Livadia again, and so by Oropos and Marathon to Athens.

Squire, the officer of Engineers, had as we have seen taken over the instruments of Mr. Pink, whose health did not allow him to make use of

<sup>122</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, July 7, 1802.

<sup>123</sup> A list of the marbles disembarked is

extant.

<sup>124</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Aug. 1, 1802.

them and had been busy with them at Plataea, Leuctra, Thermopylae, the fortresses in Phocis, Delphi and Marathon. His surveys were made with a chain-measured base, and theodolite observations of the angles. An example of his work, a plan and memoir on the site of Marathon, has been published in Walpole's *Memoirs* (I. page 329).

From Marathon the party returned by way of the quarries of Pentelicus to Athens, which they reached on August 7. Lusieri was still full of his plan for sending the marbles to Rome to be restored, but Hamilton's clear discernment was opposed to any such scheme.<sup>120</sup>

I congratulate you on the late Discovery of a very valuable Group, which formed part of the Procession on the North Frieze of the eul of the Parthenon. Lusieri speaks to me frequently of his Expectation that you intend to send the mutilated originals which are carried away from Athens, to Rome to be restored—I cannot think it will ever be worth while to resign such valuable monuments in a place where all that is precious is every moment in danger of falling into other hands: besides the Expence—the time such an operation would take and many other considerations, among which it may be said that few would be found who would set a higher value on a work of Phidias or of one of his Scholars, with a modern head and modern arms than they would in their present state.

Tomorrow we go to Phylæ, and I shall reconnoitre the foot of Mount Parnes from thence to Acharnæ; and in three or four days we shall set out for Aegina, Corinth, Argos, Tripolizza, and Patross. Captain Ilesku will quit us there: but it is at present Mr. Squire's intention and mine to pass over from thence to Lepanto, and come upon the Coast by way of Salona, Zetoun, Larissa and Salonichi, and probably along the coast of Macedon and Thrace—But the season is so far advanced that I cannot yet say anything positive on this last plan—I trust however we shall be able to execute it.

On the same day Lusieri wrote<sup>121</sup> that Ittar was now arrived at Argos, and that soon eight very heavy cases would be ready to embark. 'I would remind you, My Lord, of the Monument of Lysicrates. Possibly with money your Excellency will find means of getting it from that French Capuchin who resides at Constantinople, and is head of the monastery.'

Lord Elgin was now at Smyrna, and had time to review his whole position:—<sup>122</sup>

After having carefully considered all the circumstances that can affect my operations in Greece, I have determined to send my brig again to Athens, to take thence absolutely every thing that the captain can put on board his ship. He will transport them to Malta whence he will go to Egypt, if the objects that Mr. Hunt took to Alexandria are not yet shipped for England.

It seems clear to me, according to many ideas that I have collected here, and on the way, that the French have it in their minds to occupy themselves immensely with Greece, both in the matter of the arts and in politics. I do not know if any public steps have yet been taken in this respect. But I have reason to believe that from the moment that the Ambassador and the Consuls go to their posts in these countries, artists will be sent into Greece, not without the hope of preventing the completion of my work, and of my collections, and not even without the hope of presenting the same subjects to the public before my works can appear. These ideas are so positive, that for that reason I am

<sup>120</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Aug. 8, 1802.

<sup>121</sup> Elgin to Lusieri, Aug. 6, 1802.

<sup>122</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Aug. 8, 1802.



sending off my brig before I leave Smyrna—whence I have been very much tempted to use it for the voyage to Constantinople. I beg you to weigh these considerations carefully. You know only too well the jealousy that my acquisitions have occasioned, and the jealousy that many artists have felt, because they are not in your place, and occupied with these objects, whose importance has never been appreciated, on account of the impossibility hitherto of studying them. You know too well, I say, how much it concerns us to transport the property, and to pursue our arranged plan with energy, for it to be necessary for me to insist upon it. It is enough for me to assure you seriously that I attach the greatest importance to the transport of these effects, and I beg you to put everything in train to finish all that is specially interesting as soon as possible, in order to be independent of anything that may follow.

I reckon that the brig will reach Malta in time to allow these objects to go on by the warships. The arrangement is bound to follow without delay. [By the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, Malta should have been evacuated in the summer of 1802.] I think, therefore, that it is desirable, that besides the statues & other things in the store, you should also ship the drawings, so far as they are finished. I send some waxed linen for this purpose, begging that you will pack them with the greatest care, and that after fastening the box with paper and sealing it with your seal, you will put on an envelope of waxed linen, nailed, fastened, and sealed in the most careful manner possible.

It will remain for you to number each article, to give the captain in writing a description of each box—and to mark the drawings separately, in order that he may put the parcel into the hands of the Admiral himself, to whom I am writing, to take special charge of them.

I have just heard that M. de Choiseul is at Paris, busy with the publication of the second volume of the *Forger d'Antiquités*, which should contain the part relating to Greece.

I commend the inscriptions to you, both in the store, and at the quarters of the guard, at the entrance to the citadel. My observations in the islands induce me to attach a quite special importance to the acquisition of a capital of the Temple of Minerva. Among so many examples of the Ionic Order, we have seen nothing that can compare with the capitals of the Parthenon. I should like to have one complete.

I also commend to you in the same degree the Ionic columns & capitals of the monastery of Daphni as well as the capitals of the churches near the Stadium.

In short, convinced as I am that this opportunity will be the last for making secure my property from Greece, and certainly the last for getting it transported to England by ships at war, I expect from our friendship that every thing that can be transported will be put on board my brig on this occasion, and with the utmost expedition.

Miladi bids me send her regards. She suffers much, unfortunately, from the heat, and from the necessity in which we are of going by land to Constantinople. The frigate has left for Alexandria, and the north wind makes the passage of the Dardanelles very uncertain.

I see with the greatest satisfaction that you have the statue from the Monument of Thamyllus. Continue your acquisitions, and add to my obligations—the lantern of Demosthenes (!) [The monument of Lysimachus.]

Continue the labours of Vincennes and Theodora. They can always be transported. My best compliments to them. I do not despair of seeing you at Athens in the autumn, but it is quite uncertain. You shall know as soon as I can.

If *M. de Choiseul* wants to go by my brig to Malta, it is at his disposal. I am curious to know whether he has succeeded in his tour.

A word from you, to be sent to Thibaut, to be given to the courier who goes from the Morea would let me know your news, especially after the arrival of the brig—and what you have embarked.

If it is absolutely necessary, or if you think it advisable, it is at your discretion to tell Captain Elgin to come back by Athens, if, that is, he does not go from Malta to Egypt. That would be in the event of your expecting to have some things about that time ready to be shipped, which he might bring to Constantinople.

The letter of instructions to Captain Eglen is dated from Smyrna August 11, 1802.

1. I wish you to proceed with all expedition to Athens, and there to take on board all the statues and marbles which Mr. Lusieri can get ready for you, and which you are to carry to Malta.

2. You will deliver the letter to Mr. Lusieri, and in case of Mr. Hamilton not being at Athens, you will request of Mr. Lusieri to send those for Mr. Hamilton by an Express, in hopes of an answer from him before you sail. Thus you ought not to delay your departure for anything except what Mr. Lusieri may have to put on board.

3. On your arrival at Malta you will have the letters immediately delivered to Sir Richard Bickerton and to Capt. Hoare. Should the letter not be there, Capt. Briggs of the *Medusa* will open Capt. Hoare's letter. I hope Sir Richard Bickerton will receive under his care what you take to Malta, and in particular a box containing drawings, which Mr. Lusieri will point out to you, to be kept, while on board the *Mentor* in the dryest part of the ship.

4. You will use all diligence in disembarking your cargo, whatever you may be directed to land them—whether they are to go to England along with the publick property, or to be kept at Malta, till I can send for them.

5. I have requested Sir Rd. B. to decide whether it will be necessary for the brig to proceed to Alexandria, for the purpose of bringing off any statues and marbles, which Major Byre has under his charge—and in case the Admiral should so direct you will act accordingly, and convey them without loss of time to Malta.

6. Should Sir Rd. Bickerton not direct you to go to Alexandria, you will then ask Mr. Cameron's advice on the propriety of your returning immediately to Constantinople with or without a cargo of Malta stones, or returning by the way of Alexandria, where there may be some porphyry columns and other objects, which are not to go home in the King's ships—At all events you would do well to ballast the brig with Malta stones.

(7. Letters enclosed.)

Hamilton as we have seen, had reached Athens on August 7, and after ten days at Athens prepared to start on a second tour, intending after a visit to Aegina and the Morea to make for the Dardanelles by land, and visit Troy—but his plans were interrupted by an attack of fever, and he did not leave Athens for the Morea till the 20th.

Meanwhile things were not going smoothly at Athens during the month of August, to judge from Lusieri's report.<sup>10</sup> A Prince Dolgorouki had arrived, the Calmuck had been constantly in his company, was doing no work, and seemed to have ambitious schemes of his own in his head. Lusieri judged that it might be well to send him to Rome, to execute his proposed engravings there, where he would have all facilities, and might if necessary get assistance; as his work, if he abandoned it, could be continued by others.

Hamilton and his friends, after their fever, seemed to be thinking of going in the brig to Malta and so to England. This might be a good opportunity for sending the drawings to Piale at Rome, and the Calmuck with them.

'Prince Dolgorouki,' Lusieri continues, 'had a friend to enable him to enter the Acropolis, but as he wanted to draw within it, and as that was not stated in the firman,

<sup>10</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Aug. 30, 1802. Lord Elgin had previously warned Lusieri (July 7) of Prince Dolgorouki's intended visit. He

was a deserving young man, to be received with all courtesy, but it would be well to keep watch on his relations with the Calmuck.



the Dindar refused. He obtained permission, however, by means of the Voivode. The refusal greatly annoyed the Prince, his compatriot, and Pangalo, and the latter believed that it was a sure thing, that through their reports the Dindar would have his head cut off. As, very unjustly, this device might be carried into effect, it would be desirable that your Excellency should put him under your protection in advance.

The *Mentor* had arrived on the 22nd, but Captain Eglen had examined the coves and found that his ship would not take them, since the hatchways were not large enough, a breadth of at least seven feet being needed. Attempts had been made to charter a Hydriote vessel, but the amount asked was excessive.

There were also difficulties of a more domestic kind.

The insolent conduct of that French M. Mertrout,<sup>120</sup> a doctor and merchant who enjoys Danish protection, stopping and cutting the water which should come to our store, to wash continually the different carts, and for the convenience of those who work there, and of ourselves, and allowing even the servants to speak impertinences, obliges me at length to have recourse to your Excellency, to get satisfaction. I have done all I could with Logotheti, but it is his relation and friend and family doctor, and so he has not been able, or been willing to do the least thing. I have even been to see the Voivode several times on this business, but he, after having tried to arrange it, has told me finally that he cannot act on a house that enjoys such protection. This man lives beside the store, he is one of the Frenchmen who were expelled. It is he who has made and continues to make efforts to stop our acquisitions by sowing foolish ideas in the weak minds of the Turks.

I hope that the brig will be able to set sail at the end of this week.

Ten days later Lusieri wrote again.<sup>121</sup> The *Mentor* could not take the large cases, and the demands of the Hydriotes were excessive. He had also failed at Zea. He therefore proposed to embark ten or twelve of the smallest cases, containing fragments of the frieze, and so far as he was concerned the brig might start. He thought Captain Eglen seemed to be waiting for the return of Hamilton from the Morea.

The French had received news of the imminent return of Gaspari, the expelled Vice-Consul, as Commissary, and of Fauvel as Under Commissary, which did not promise to make matters easy.

As the Calmuck has not been doing much for a long time past, and as he would be entirely spent when these gentlemen arrive, I have proposed to him that he should go off to Rome to engrave everything that he has drawn here. He easily wears out of any scheme that is proposed to him, he is in a state of indecision, and his head has been quite turned since the arrival of Prince Dolgorouki. He would like to fix a price for the work as a whole. I know him too well to be able to make up my mind to speak of it to your Excellency. I have told him that the best plan would be to fix so much for each plate, and I am quite sure that it is the only arrangement to be made with a man of his kind. If Mr. Hamilton is about to start for Italy, I will give him all the Calmuck's drawings, to put into Piale's hands. In any event, they might be engraved at Rome under the direction of Mr. Cammerint and of Piale himself, and the work would gain further merit. I will keep the drawings of the architects by me, to send with those that Balottra will have finished. I have had no news of Hizar for a long time. I know

<sup>120</sup> Presumably Andre Mertrout, who is mentioned as dead in 1816. *Ann. Arch.* 3rd Ser. xix. p. 383.

<sup>121</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 8, 1802.

that he has been at Sparta. The conduct of that M. Morcourt (who enjoys the protection of Denmark), of which I have written in my previous letter, is still the same. It is a shame to protect such people. He ought at least to get a *mortification*.

Lusieri's last two letters would have prepared Lord Elgin for a complete change in Hamilton's intentions. On September 12 he wrote himself from Athens, explaining the position. Although considerably improved in health, he did not feel fit to carry out his plan of returning by way of Troy to Constantinople, and had therefore determined to embark on the *Mentor* for Malta :

Mr. Lavieri will have informed your Lordship of our fruitless attempts to hire a Hydriote vessel to take the large cases which cannot be put on board the *Mentor*. There will however only be four left of this size, that is The Bacchus, The two Grapes from the Fountain, and one of the long Bas-reliefs. Mr. L. however has been so successful in his Researches at the Acropolis, that he will probably have several other valuable Pieces ready for the next vessel which arrives. He proposes to give me the Calmuck's drawings to carry to Rome; and put them into Canaccioli's hands to be engraved; if he does so, I shall take all possible care of them, and of course recommend them to be executed in the best manner, and to be as little shewn as possible.

I should have been happy before I quitted Greece to have known of your Lordship's and Lady Elgin's safe arrival at Constantinople; and it would have given me still greater pleasure to have been able to have rejoined you there. But a Voyage thither by Sea is so uncertain, and I am so perfectly unable to attempt it by land, that I must give up the Idea, and look forward to meeting you either in Italy or England: the sooner this happens the better—that I may relieve myself from the load of obligations that I owe to your Lordship for your uninterrupted Kindness and Friendship towards me.

The lading of the *Mentor* was completed. The larger sculptures were fortunately left behind, since Captain Egeu would not enlarge his hatchways. The following is the list of cases embarked, which it is worth while to print in full, since the legend of Lord Elgin's sunken treasures is curiously persistent. The enumeration of the boxes is continued from previous shipments.

Sept. 14, 1901.

LIST OF CASES CONTAINED ON THE MESSING, Capt. Eglen for Malta.

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 73. | Two reliefs, Temple of Victory.   |
| 75. | Part of Parthenon frieze.   |
| 24. | Two other reliefs, Temple of Victory.   |
| 43. | Part of statue, and piece of column.  |
| 74. | Part of Parth. frieze.  |
| 45. | ...   |
| 46. | ... and fragment of Persianino column.  |
| 47. | ... & of porphyry column.   |
| 48. | ... & 3 small inscriptions.   |
| 49. | A part of a small male (now found in Parthenon).  |
| 50. | A part of an arm found in digging beneath the Parth. pediment.                                  |
| 51. | A 2 other pieces of frieze.   |
| 52. | Angle piece of frieze, 2 inscriptions, part of a shield belonging to one of the pediment group. |
| 53. | Part of Parthenon frieze.   |
| 54. | Part of the great relief taken from the modern wall of the Acropolis.                           |
| 55. | The other part of Ditto.  |
| 56. | Box with marble chair taken from the Archbishop's palace, and belonging to Mr. Nisbet.          |
- G. B. L.



The vessel stood out of harbour on September 15, and sailed on September 16. On the same day Lasieri reported to Lord Elgin:<sup>112</sup>

Yesterday morning I gave Captain Elgin the note of 17 cases which I have shipped on board his brig, and which he is taking on this voyage to Malta. He takes a letter for Sir (A) Ball, to whom I have recommended, on behalf of your Excellency, that he should take all possible care of them, as works that cannot be replaced in all the world. This morning early with a favourable wind the brig set sail, and disappeared in a moment. Mr. Hamilton, Captain Luk [Lanke] and Mr. Squayer [Squire] have gone with him. I have sent a message to Captain Elgin, that if he was not obliged to go to Egypt to take the other boxes, he should return here to take on board others, and then to go up to Constantinople. He has not found on board the waxed linen, that your Excellency sent me from Smyrna. There now remain at the Piræus only seven big cases that are waiting for a vessel able to take them; some inscriptions taken from the Acropolis and some Egyptian figures, that Mr. Hamilton brought from Egypt, are there still for want of time to pack them—which is being done at this moment.

I have, my Lord, the pleasure of announcing to you the possession of the 8th metope, that one where there is the Centaur carrying off the woman. This piece has caused much trouble to all suspects, and I have even been obliged to be a little barbarous.<sup>113</sup>

Mr. Legetheli of Livadia has just written to me that I should send someone able to take the inscriptions at Orchomenos. I will send him a master marble worker, and a master mason, the latter to diminish their thickness. At the same time I will indicate to him another marble with inscriptions, that is at Thyllis [Daulis]. Mr. Hamilton says that they are very well preserved and interesting. I hope that they will be able to bring them, by means of horses, to be packed properly and sent with the rest.<sup>114</sup>

The Calmuck, seeing me determined to send the drawings to Rome with Mr. Hamilton, and making threats that the engravings would be executed by other artists, if he did not make a proper resolution to engrave them himself, was so shaken that after a few minutes he promised to begin as soon as he should receive the plates, and other things necessary for this purpose. However, I have been obliged to promise to take him with me, in the event of my making any interesting tour.

The Diolar would like to have the same lot, that the horse which your Excellency has given him, had before. He has tried several others, but cannot hold the horse in with them as he would like.

When the Commissary and Fanel arrive they will claim the big cart which has been of such assistance, and steps ought to be taken at Naples.

<sup>112</sup> Letter to Elgin, Sept. 16, 1802.

<sup>113</sup> This probably refers to the incident described by Clarke, who was at Athens at the time. 'After a short time spent in examining the several parts of the temple, one of the workmen came to inform Dem Barlett that they were then going to lower one of the Metopes. We saw this fine piece of sculpture raised from its station between the triglyphs; but the workmen endeavouring to give it a position adapted to the projected line of descent, a part of the adjoining masonry was loosened by the machinery; and down came the fine masses of Pentelican marble, scattering their white fragments with threatening noise among the same' (Clarke, *Travels*, ii, 2, p. 483.) Clarke supplements

this with the additional detail 'The Diolar who beheld the mischief done to the building, took his pipe out of his mouth, dropped a tear, and in a supplicating tone of voice said to Leontis Taxis. I was present at the time.' Letter of F. D. Clarkson to Byron, in Frothingham, ed., of Byron's *Letters and Journals*, ii, p. 131. Quoted by Byron in a note to *Child Harold* II. ch.

<sup>114</sup> The Elgin Collection contains two important inscriptions from Orchomenos (*B.M. Decr.* 135, 159). They were shipped in November by General Strass from Patras. For others, see footnote, cf. p. 238. The inscription from Daulis is no doubt the long inscription (Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 1732) which was copied by Lanke, but was not acquired.

Lusieri would be very glad of an English saddle, the Calmuck would like another, and the Cadi would like a telescope.

Among the boxes that Captain Elgin has taken there is the great bas-relief that was on the Acropolis walls. Not being well sawn for want of sufficiently fine saws and being a little weak in the middle it parted in two in course of transport, in spite of all the precautions taken. Happily it broke in the middle, in a straight line, at a place where there was no work, so that the accident has helped us to transport it quickly and put it on board.

The relief in question was the great central slab of the East frieze, which had been removed from its place many years before, and was at this time built into a wall of the Acropolis. It is 14 feet 8 inches long, and the line of fracture is, as Lusieri states, very near its centre. We shall see shortly that the accident of the fracture was an aid to salvage.

Before we turn to the *Mentor*, bound on her luckless voyage, we may mark Lusieri's further progress at Athens. On October 4 he reports permission to take one of the Doric capitals from the Propylæa.<sup>120</sup>

I will also take one from the Parthenon, but it is necessary to saw it in two. The Propylææ way is fairly large, but this is enormous. The gates of the citadel are not wide enough to let it pass. The three capitals, one Doric of early style, and two Corinthian, of a different date, and very early, which were in the old chapel near the Stadium, are in the store.

Other inscriptions, capitals, and bases had been obtained. Another metope (making the ninth) had been secured. Utar was not yet returned from the Morea. He had had an attack of fever at Sparta.

That Mons. Mercurio, under Danish protection, and said to be going to pass immediately under French protection, still continues taking all the water that belongs to us. He always allows those rascals to cut it, and even to speak the greatest impertinences. Since the beginning of the summer, Logotheti has spoken to him several times about this affair, but as a kinsman, as a friend, and as with his physician. The Viceroy himself, to whom I have made my complaint three times, has promised much, but has never done anything. . . . The state of humiliation in which I find myself does not encourage me. All the town knows about it, everybody knows the man's bad character, and that I have been unable to do anything.

I advise you, my Lord, to procure a firman for the Dismar, in which everything that he has done for your Excellency is approved. It is a paper that you promised him before you left Athens.

A long despatch from Lord Elgin, of October 8, crossed that of Lusieri, with the information that he was making application to Captain Maling, of the *Diana* frigate, to assist with the transport of the heavy pieces. If that officer found any difficulty in complying,

the Captain's authority will suffice for Captain Elgin to open the brig sufficiently to receive all the boxes. His conduct in that respect has been unpardonable. The officers of the frigates at Smyrna assured him that this opening might be made without injury to the vessel. It is troublesome, it is true, but nothing in comparison with the object. . . . It is only his obstinacy that would have found the difficulties that he raised at Athens. My brig is come from England for my acquisitions. That is its purpose.

<sup>120</sup> Lusieri to Elgin Oct. 4, 1802.



I do not discuss the political intentions that France may have against the Morca. They are causing infinite uneasiness to the Porte, at a moment at which considerable armaments are preparing at Toulon, without avowed object, and very similar to those which preceded the invasion of Egypt. I can only repeat to you, therefore, the observations that I wrote from Smyrna. The moment is precious. Rivalry is ready to show itself in all shapes. The animosity that you experience from your neighbour, M. Mertroud is but a prelude to an infinity of similar steps preparing both by individuals, and by the Powers.

Your commissions are partly completed, and partly in progress.

These included timber, passports, and firmanes—a letter to dispose of M. Mertroud's obstructions, two saddles, waxed cloth, a telescope for the Cadi, an orange shawl and bit for the Dislar. Materials for the Culmuck were *en route* by way of Vienna and Salonica.

I am much vexed to have such annoying news about the Calamuck. I feel the greatest interest in seeing him finish everything. But the essential part being done I don't want you to trouble yourself about him. The engravings can be finished by plenty of people, and there is no hurry about it. Only I would not by any means have him take them from Athens to finish elsewhere, nor would I have you trust them to any artist away from Athens, without my being able to take them, and superintend the work myself.

The Dislar has nothing to fear on the part of Prince Dolgorouki. I have had some conversation with the ministers on these subjects since my return, and if the least threat is made (which I altogether doubt) be sure that the result will be favourable to him. The new ministers have spoken to me with much interest about my occupations and pursuits at Athens. I have the means of watching over his interests. So long as he is my friend he will have solid proofs of my friendship.

As to my general ideas and plans.—In the first place you know too well the objects that I desire to make it necessary to repeat them here. But one reflection that I am led to make from my observations in the islands and in Asia is that the least little things from Athens are invaluable. If I had still three years, and all the resources I have had, I would employ them all at Athens. I beg you to convince yourself fully of this impression—especially in relation to objects that can be transported. The first on the list are the metopes, the bas-reliefs, and the remains of the statues that can still be found. In particular I mention the figures on the pediment of the Parthenon, on the side towards the Propylæa—or at least the figures of the man—so many metopes as you can obtain—to pursue as far as you can the digging all round the temple, to find some further fragments of frieze, and some ornaments. Would it be permissible to speak of a Caryatid? I leave the decision to you, if you have the possibility. Do not forget some capitals on the Acropolis. Nowhere in the world, where we have seen Doric capitals, have we felt the impression that these fine shapes do not fail to produce. I beg you therefore to put some on board ship. To sum up, the slightest object from the Acropolis is a jewel—all the details of the different orders of Architecture. Further, some fragments of Minerva Polias—a capital from these if possible.

He goes on to urge the like zeal in collecting in the neighbourhood of Athens, and also for metals and ancient jewellery.

As for what may happen later, my plans are as follows—Mildly having, thank God, been happily delivered of a daughter, a fortnight ago, I see nothing to prevent our going from here by sea, to reach Italy. I do not know when we shall be able to leave, nor indeed whether I shall be allowed to make this journey now that tranquillity is established in Wallachia and Rumania. Be my destiny (which depends more or less upon others) what it may, my principal object is to make the Greek work as perfect as possible—and

to give you all my ideas, either personally or in writing, while you are upon the spot. This desire has greatly increased in my mind, since I have been able to examine and compare other ruins on my journey, and since I have reflected at leisure on the operations at Athens—and also on the works which the French have published on Egypt, where the details are wanting that exactness and precision on special points, which only would make them useful to the arts.

The first thing then that I should like, is to have been all the measures and all the drawings of the architects, and everything that the Calmuck no longer needs. I also want Stuart on Athens. As to the other books and the things that the Calmuck requires, be so good as to mark them for me on a list. My intention is to study all the architectural books with Balesstra, and also the various authors whose works are all here, with the exception of that of Stuart. I also beg you to send me a detailed note of all that has been unaltered.

I should also like to have the plans and drawings of my own house in England, which may be at Athens. A whole set of these drawings, and especially of those relating to the internal details of the rooms, and of the hall in particular, are wanting.

Would it be best for Don Bernardino, after finishing his work here, to go to Athens, to recase the ornaments of the temple of Erechtheus, under your supervision, to the scale of my hall? Should we have them executed in stucco? or in marble at Rome?

Lastly, and this is the point that interests me most, what is the plan that you yourself reckon on following? I hope that the weather will have been favourable, in order to let you occupy yourself with the big views of Athens, and of the temples, as you had meant to do this summer. I still fancy that these subjects will scarcely be finished in time for the Vale of Tempe, and Delphi this autumn. Let me know in detail your ideas as to your own drawings. The French Government has published the work on Egypt with such display, and its views are turning in so marked a fashion towards Greece, that it becomes of the first importance both for the facilities that you may need, and in order not to be anticipated, that the chief objects should be finished as soon as possible.

In the rest, pray believe that *everything* of Athens is of the highest interest, no less for its form, than for its perfection. Stay therefore, as long as you feel inclined to do so at Athens. Moreover you would oblige me infinitely, if in bad weather, and when you have leisure, you would execute some of the sketches that you have in wash; and if you would send me a few of these pieces this very winter. I am without one drawing of Greece and of Athens.

After explaining that the Neapolitan Minister has, so far as it lies with him, approved of Lusieri's further stay, Lord Elgin adds that a delay in sending the letter enables him to send documents for the protection of the Dischar and the Voivode. These included letters from the Vizier for each official, and other documents: "You will make what use of them you like—you will be able either to shew them, or to present them—and to do either one thing or the other when you think suitable."

To this despatch, one of equal length was sent in reply by Lusieri from Athens on October 28 in addition to a letter of October 24. He sent thanks for the firmans and other documents, and would give the shawl and telescope at the first suitable opportunity. The Calmuck was doing fairly well, but still working slowly. He had finished drawing the frieze of the Parthenon, and would make experiments in engraving as soon as the copper plates arrived. It was still away, making four months of absence. A ninth metope had been acquired. All the architectural drawings were being sent except two of the largest—namely, that of the West pediment, where the Calmuck had not yet finished the Birth



of Minerva [the subjects were still assigned to the wrong pediments], and the other long drawing of the side of the temple, where he had not finished the metopes. The ornaments of the Erechtheum had all been moulded, and the casts might be sent to Rome with Balestra's drawings, and so a beginning might be made in working the marbles for Broomhall. As for the future:—

Here My Lord is my plan! It is to execute here the best works of my life, and to devote myself to them with all my strength, in order to succeed. I must do more still, and I much want to try it, so that some barbarisms that I have been obliged to commit in your service may be forgotten. I must work quietly. When the work of collecting is going on so furiously, how can I find the time to draw, or have the head for it!

The Voivode and the Disdar have been much pleased with the letters that your Excellency has procured and sent to them, and I have thought it necessary to give them to them today, in order to encourage them.

All that remains for me to wish, My Lord, is to see the drawings of the figures in the hands of an artist of delicate taste, and engraved under his direction and to be able to employ myself as I ought and as I wish. Too many objects and preoccupations have made it impossible to manage without my continual presence everywhere—or else, with people of the utmost indolence who never stir themselves, we should still be at the beginning.

During October, Lusieri reported, he had leave to take two 'heads of philosophers,' much damaged, but capable of restoration, from the high walls of the citadel. These may be supposed to be the hitherto unidentified Elgin heads, Nos. 1956, 1957, in the British Museum. He had also obtained an Ionic capital and pilaster capital, both belonging to 'the little temple of Aglauros.' These no doubt are the two fragments of the temple of Wingless Victory now in the Museum.

A note dated Oct. 28, gives the complete list of objects moulded to this date:—

- The entire frieze of the Monument of Lysicrates. [In B.M. One figure could not be reached.]
- The whole of the West side of the Parthenon Frieze. [In B.M., except two slabs in original marble.]
- Other portions of the best preserved parts of the North side. [Lost.]
- Two metopes of the Parthenon. [In B.M.]
- Bust of a Caryatid. [Lost.]
- All the different ornaments of the portico [of the Erechtheum] and of the temple of Erechtheus, and of the Pandroseum. [Lost.]
- The whole frieze of the Tholos on the East side. [In Brit. Mus., but portions are lost.]
- The West frieze will soon be finished. [In Brit. Mus.]
- Four metopes, the best preserved on the South side. [In Brit. Mus.]

This formidable list of sculptures moulded represents the two years' work of the formator and their assistants, and proves the zeal and liberality with which Lord Elgin pursued a part of his enterprise which critics are apt to overlook.

Hunt, who was now at Constantinople, was sent to Greece on a special mission to watch and report upon the movements of Colonel Sebastiani, an emissary from Napoleon to the Levant. At the same time

he was able to report progress at Athens, and to give what help he could towards the salvage of the *Mentor*.

He left Constantinople on the 15th of November, and reached the Piræus in the *Victorieuse* (Captain Richards) on November 21. To that part of his proceedings that concerned the *Mentor* we return later. As regards progress at Athens, he wrote <sup>120</sup>—

There are twelve or fifteen cases of Sculpture at the Piræus, ready for unloading, but many of them are too large for the hatchway or Stowage of such a Ship as the *Victorieuse*: but Capt<sup>l</sup> Richards observed that if his decks had not been so encumbered by the spars he has on board for weighing the *Mentor*, he could have taken some of the Smaller ones. It is not easy to describe how much our Commander required being humoured. His Hobby horse seems to be, that every action of his life shall appear to originate from himself: and he is more jealous than can be conceived, of the most trifling request or even suggestion coming from anyone but such as the strict rules of service authorize a Superior Officer to give him. On my first hinting to him the danger your acquisitions here were in on any change of Interests in Turkey: he mentioned a number of difficulties, and concluded by saying he had been unable even to take Lady Elgin's chest on board at Constantinople, but after a walk with me among the ruins of Athens, he melted into good humour, and has taken two cases on board, containing parts of the Frieze of the Parthenon in good preservation, and which Lusieri marks with the most valuable in your Lordship's possession. The Consul Legotheti, Mr. Lusieri and I are to dine on board the *Victorieuse* today: Capt. Richards is to sail tonight with the Land breeze, which generally begins about Eleven or Twelve O'clock.

Vincenzo is finishing his labours at the Temple of Theseus. The workmen are sawing the last bas-reliefs that are transportable from the Parthenon. Lazieri is as usual superintending the operations at the Magazine &c—and is to set out tomorrow for the Monastery at Daphne, in order to get the three beautiful Ionic Capitals formerly belonging to the Temple of Venus. The Calane is to begin his excavation of a Tumulus near Ye Piræus tomorrow.

I never experienced a more delightful transition than from the gloom, physical and moral, which hung about Pera at the moment of my departure, to the mild and May-like climate of this place. I hope your Lordship's family is equally happy in the climate of Belgrade.

Nov 24th Seven O'clock in the morning.

P.S. After dining with Capt<sup>l</sup> Richards yesterday I found him in so good a disposition as to prevail on him to hold out his launch, and give a birth to a third Case of Sculpture which had just come down from Athens, and was very valuable. He then immediately weighed—and this morning is out of sight.

Capt Richards has also taken the marble ornaments found in Agamemnon's Treasury at Mycenæ, and I believe makes room for the third case he has taken in his own Cabin.

Towards the end of November<sup>121</sup> Hunt reported that the Turks were seriously considering the question of renewing the fortifications of the Acropolis, and had sent an Engineer and a Mubashir to report and send estimates.

It is supposed here by the Turks that as the English and French have lately shown so much interest about the Antiquities of Athens, as if it were like Mecca to the Mahometans, or Jerusalem to the Crusaders, this will be the first place of Attack in

<sup>120</sup> Hunt to Elgin, Nov. 23, 1802.

<sup>121</sup> Hunt to Elgin, Nov. 28, 1802.



case of a War with either the French or us.—The Greeks, on the contrary, think, that as so many Franks visit Athens, who go to no other part of the Turkish Empire, it is intended to repair this Fortress to strike Travellers with a grand idea of their Military Establishments.

Lusieri<sup>124</sup> reported during November the acquisition of a continuous run of six slabs of the Parthenon frieze. The two large Parthenon drawings were ready to be sent off, together with one of the Monument of Thrasyllos.

The Calmuck has drawn on that of the pediment, the dispute between Minerva, and Neptune, making use of the position of the figures that were extant, and which are now in your possession. The figures in the drawing are a little heavy, and though well understood, they are wanting in that delicacy that always marks the works of the ancients.

Hunt gave a less satisfactory account<sup>125</sup> :—

The Calmuc Theodore is employed in doing nothing—his idleness seems invincible; the sooner Your Lordship gives Passports to him and Co with the exception of Lusieri, the sooner you will be freed from an useless embarrassment.

There were also signs of a coming change in the political situation. A firman had come from the Porte to restore to the protected French subjects their sequestered property, and the Chief of the Capuchin Monastery, Père Hubert, has written very threatening letters to his Prior here, for having suffered Your Artists to use the Carriage, &c., and model the Chortagic Monument in his Monastery.

Mr. Logotheti of Lavadea has made himself very unpopular amongst the Russian peasantry, by procuring the Berat or protection of Muktar Pasha, the Haid Apparent of All Pasha of Yannina, for which he pays 5000 Piastras per annum. In consequence of this they have broken into mutuels, some Inscriptions at Orchemmos which Logotheti had wished to procure for Your Lordship. When a Tartar presented himself lately before this Muktar Pasha with the news of the birth of a Brother, he shut the bearer of the news, the moment he had told him.<sup>126</sup>

An opportune accident, immediately after the dispatch of this letter, brought a ship of war to the Piræus, well disposed to assist as required.

No. 8.

ATHENS, Dec 24<sup>th</sup> 1802.

(Interpolated) The Brakel is safe in the Piræus.

My Lord,

A few hours after I had dispatched a Possillion to Lavadea . . . and my No. 7 of Dec 22<sup>d</sup> to be forwarded by the first opportunity, a large Ship of War was discovered under Egina, apparently making for Athens; but as it was so different in its form from all the English men of war I had seen on this station; and as its flag was formed of the peculiar Turkish Red, and some other colours I could not ascertain; I left the Pnyx at Sun-Set, under an impression that it was the Cornelia French Frigate, which had sailed from Zante on the 4<sup>th</sup> Inst. with M. Sebastiani on board. In that state of suspense I went to bed, but was waked before Dawn, by an Officer who informed me that the Brakel Man of War, in making for Port Piræus, had run ashore among the rocks, on the promontory that separates the Piræus from Port Phalerum; that she was in imminent danger of being lost, and that he had been sent up hither to procure such aid in men, boats, &c. as the country could furnish; adding that the Brakel being a Troop Ship had but a small Complement of men on board.

<sup>124</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Nov. 16, 21, 28, 1802.

<sup>125</sup> Hunt to Elgin, Dec. 22, 1802.

<sup>126</sup> Hunt to Elgin, Dec. 11, 1802.

I immediately repaired to the *Vaivode*, and on observing the phlegmatic aliveness with which he was going to execute my request of sending down a hundred men, I spoke in the name of His Majesty, and insisted on the gates of the residence being instantly closed by the Armed Guards, and the requisite number pressed for the service out of the gaying multitude of Greeks and Albanians who were in the courtyard.

This *manducarro* completely succeeded, and I left the Consul, and my Interpreter M. Diolati, to conduct them to the *Brakel* with a guard of the *Vaivode's* Tartars, to keep them from deserting, and to superintend their working. I then galloped down to the Sea, and beheld a most distressing scene.—The *Brakel* with her bowsprit almost touching the land, and her hull on a hard rock. Captain Clarke's exertions during the night, and his mental agitation, had reduced him to a most pitiable state. Above a hundred Greeks, independent of the guard, soon came on board; and they were followed by the *Vaivode* and his Cortège; but all the efforts that were used during that day proved ineffectual. In this dilemma, I repaired to a *Polacca* [*polacca*] Ship in the *Piræus*, belonging to one *Pantaleone* of *Santa Maura*, (well known to M. Pison,) and under Russian Colours; but he refused stirring, without a formal contract signed by the Captain of the *Brakel*, by the Consul, and myself, stipulating that he was to be paid (two hundred and) five *Paras* (52,500 *Piastres*) in case of losing his Ship &c, tho' *Legothati* estimated her at 23 *Paras* only: To this shameful condition we were going to accede, taking care to keep attentive persons on board him, to see he did not scuttle his ship for so exorbitant an indemnification; when he added, that, independent of this guarantee, he must have 1,500 Spanish Dollars advanced for the price of his services, which was merely to repair along side and take the *Brakel's* provisions, and stores, &c on board: we therefore declined his assistance, (after in vain tempting him with 1000 *Piastres*), making the provisions &c on shore, and making the *Cannon* with *baoya*, to show how to fish them up again. She still remained fixed.—The men therefore worn out with fatigue were sent to repose a few hours. About midnight the wind shifted a little: broke her cable, and she swung off; but tho' absent, the night was so dark, and the rocks surrounding us so numerous, and so close, that we could only attempt to secure her where she was till dawn.—At half past one, the wind changed eight points, and blew a gale; she parted again from her Anchor, and ran close on Shores amidst the rocks, in a worse situation than before. Here the swell of the Sea became very great, and she began to thump and rock very violently on many parts of her bottom. In this awful state we were forced to remain till dawn, (6 o'clock a.m.) the rain pouring, and the gale threatening to increase, and to come more on shore, in which case she must go to pieces. Our presence was so useful in interpreting, and in animating the Greeks, &c, that we resolved to stay by the Ship to the last. The Consul was terribly alarmed, but I must do him, and M. Diolati the justice to say that they behaved with uncommon zeal and activity. At length the wished-for dawn came, the wind fell, and tho' the swell increased, she was warped off by the exertions of the Crew; and the very essential aid of the Athenians. She is now in the inner harbour of the *Piræus*, close to the Magazine, Monastery, &c with no injury to her hull or rigging, and the comparatively small loss of some Anchors and Cables.—The Stores are safe, and the guns can be weighed by Country Craft.

The *Vaivode* became very active, offering more men &c, and actually drew the Ship's baroscope, or some magical or astrological diagram, from the result of which, he asserted us: there was no doubt, she would be saved. Among the Greeks who were pressed, there were some Albanian Priests, who on applying to me were suffered to go on shore, as they had to celebrate mass today in honour of the great Saint Spiridion, whose festival is kept with great devotion at the adjoining Convent of the *Piræus*: These good Pastors assured me with great Ferocity, that their Patron Saint would not suffer the Ship to be wrecked on his own territory, particularly on so auspicious a day, and with so many Christians on board. At one great thump of the Ship on the Rock, *Legothati* valued fifty *Piastres* to his Patron Saint, his own Christian name is Spiridion. The poor Greeks really did wonders.

Captain Clarke seems disposed to take on board everything that is ready for him.



and the stay he must now necessarily make, to recover his guns, &c. will give Lusieri time to get not only the Ionic columns from the Temple of Venus at Daphne—but every other marble in the Magazine.

Your Lordship has been fortunate in thus getting so roomy a Ship, and a Captain so disposed to serve you. He desires me to say that if any difficulties should arise about your Lordship's being accommodated with a passage in the *Diana*, he would be most happy to resign to you his Cabins, which are handsome and commodious. He seems a worthy creature; and unless I have formed a wrong judgement from having seen him under peculiar distress, he will leave you more a freeman on board his Ship, than I have hitherto seen your Lordship. A Naval person can hardly believe, that the *Breakal* ran smack on a boldish shore, with a wind off the land—in a clear night, and fine weather. It is attributed to a terrible obstinacy on the part of the Master, who had the Midnight watch when it happened. [Interpolation] Capt<sup>o</sup> Clarke began taking the cases on board today the 25<sup>th</sup> Xmas Day.

I have the honour to be,

With the utmost respect and deference

etc

PAMEL HUNT.

But we must leave the *Breakal*, safely moored in the inner harbour of the Piræus and beginning to take in her cargo, and return to the *Mentor*. She had started on her voyage as we have seen, on September 15, and Lord Elgin, on October 12, in confident expectation of her safe return to Athens was preparing fresh instructions for Captain Eglen.

On your return to Athens, you must positively receive on board everything which M. Lusieri wishes to embark—and bring any marbles etc. which are not already packed to be packed at Constantinople. I am very much disappointed that you did not take on the Deck, or open the Hatchway to receive the large cases which M. Lusieri had ready for you, when at Athens in September. Captain Craswell informed you in my presence that the opening could be made without materially damaging the vessel, and certainly without danger. I therefore expressly direct that (in case M. Lusieri wishes it) you have the Hatchway opened sufficiently to receive on board all the cases.

Any Maltese stone or the like was to be put ashore at Athens to make room for the marbles.

But had news been more quick in transmission, the Ambassador would have known that the *Mentor* had long previously been wrecked. No account of the voyage and shipwreck seems to have survived among the Elgin papers. The deposition, however, which was made by Captain Eglen before the British Vice-Consul Emmanuel Caluci of Corigo, has become accessible, with other papers relating to the wreck and salvage. They were presented by a descendant of Caluci to the Greek Historical and Ethnological Society, and have been printed for the most part by A. Myliarakis in the Greek periodical *Bestia* xxvi. (1888), pp. 681–709, in the course of a general study of the history of the Elgin Collection.<sup>14</sup> The story as told here is constructed from the Elgin and Caluci papers in combination. References in the following pages to Caluci's *Letterbook*, refer to an abstract of his letter-book for several years, which is among the Elgin papers:

<sup>14</sup> Strocione, *Athens National Museum*, p. 62, refers also to *Bestia*, No. 1223 (Feb. 18, 1901). Apart from the Caluci papers the

materials used by Myliarakis are for the most part already accessible to Western readers.

On September 18, 1802, William Eglen, son of James Eglen of Wighton,<sup>144</sup> Scotland, aged 42, made deposition in Aulemono Harbour, before the British Vice-Consul. The ship's company of the *Mentor* consisted of twelve persons, including the captain, Peter Macpherlan the purser, and Manolis Mafis, of Melos, a pilot. At Athens he had taken on board seventeen cases of antiquities, three passengers with three servants, and a Gibraltar seaman. He started on September 15, and reached Cape Taenarum at 6 p.m. on the 16th. A strong West wind blew during the night, which changed in the morning to West-North-West. Tacking, the vessel was driven 40 miles to the South. Much water was being made at the bows, and two men were continually employed to keep it down. For this reason, and because the wind increased during the morning of the 17th it was necessary to make for some harbour. On the advice of the pilot, it was determined to make for Cerigo. They reached Aulemono or S. Nikolo Bay at 2 p.m. and cast two anchors. As the anchors did not hold, they cut the cables, and hoisted sail. The ship, however, drifted, struck on the rocks and sank. For a wonder all were able to jump ashore, though somewhat hurt by the rough rocks. In the first instance they were hospitably received on board an Austrian ship that happened to be in the bay, and were given clothing, etc. Nothing had been saved, not even the passports, log-books, and bill of health. Nothing had since been recovered so far except some oars and sails. Eglen hoped to recover the anchors.

This deposition was confirmed by Hamilton, Macpherlan (i. Macfarlane), and the pilot.

Immediately after the wreck, on September 17, Calogi sent out a circular to the leading inhabitants, asking them to appoint persons 'according to the laws' for purposes of salvage—*διὰ τὸ ρυκύνεσθαι ἂν εἴη δυνάτεις τοῦ περισυλλέγειν*. The notables replied on the following day, with a high-flown resolution of willingness to help.

In order to understand the exact situation of the wreck it is sufficient to compare the annexed Fig. 6 from a sketch plan in Hamilton's hand of the position of the wreck, with Fig. 7, taken by permission of the Hydrographer from the Admiralty Chart No. 1685. In order that the orientations may agree, Hamilton's sketch is inverted. His note '12 & 13 fathom where the *Mentor* lies' shows that the position must have been between the figure 13 and the dotted 5-fathom line on the chart, between Port S. Nikolo and Mothom Point.

Hamilton's statement of expenses opens 'Cloathing of Captain Leake and Mr. Squire 300 Turkish Piasters. Do. of myself and Captain Eglen 200 do.' That when the vessel foundered the Englishmen had no time to save their personal effects, is also stated by Leake, in the preface to his *Researches in Greece* (1814), p. x. 'In his passage by sea from Athens to Malta, the ship in which they were embarked was cast ashore on the coast of Cerigo, where, the passengers having hardly had time to gain a footing upon the

<sup>144</sup> So Mylirakis (p. 714), but perhaps by error, as one of the seamen was called Wighton.





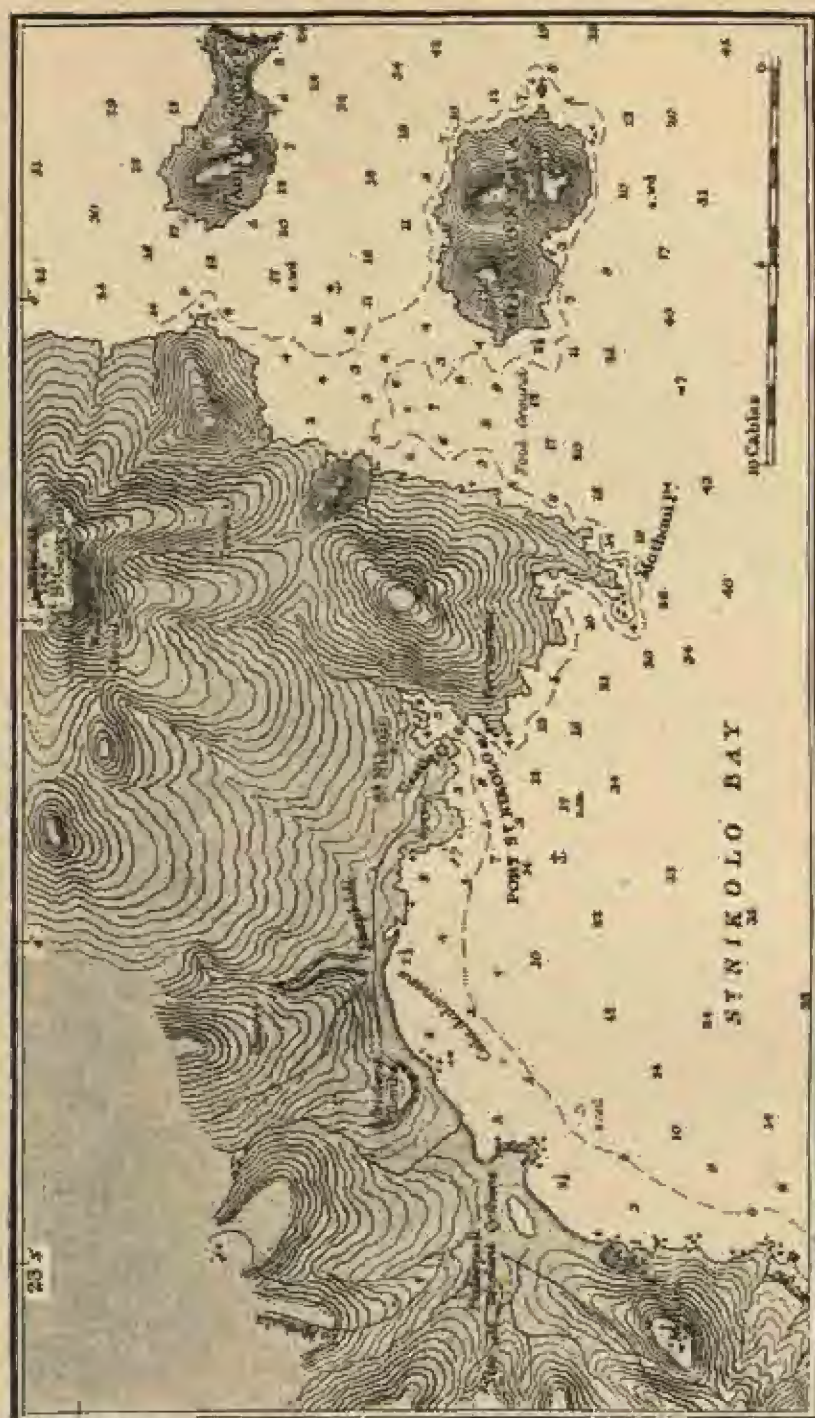


FIG. 7.—St. Nisakoo Bay. (From the Admiralty Chart.)



rocks, before the extremity of the masts was the only part of the vessel visible above the water, he lost the greater part of the memoranda of his former journeys—a misfortune little to be regretted in regard to his travels in Egypt and Syria, as he had the advantage of accompanying Mr. Hamilton, whose papers upon those countries have since been recovered and in part published.<sup>142</sup>

Among the effects lost were several hieroglyphic papyri.<sup>143</sup>

A testimonial by Leake and Squire dated September 29, 1803, appears in the *Letterbook* of Emmanuel Caluci, and runs to the effect that he 'treated us with the utmost kindness and hospitality during our stay in this Island since the 17, and has shewed the greatest activity in rendering us the assistance our unpleasant situation required.' On leaving Cerigo, Leake travelled home by way of Trieste, Venice and Mont Cenis, reaching London in January, 1803.<sup>144</sup>

An entry of Captain Eglen in the *Letterbook* shows that the crew were dispersed—some left on September 28 for Spezzia, others on October 5 for Constantinople, and on October 6 for Melos—John Wigton alone was left with the captain.

On September 20 Hamilton made an agreement with the Austrian, and a Spezzioti vessel to raise the *Mentor*, and tow her into harbour, for 15,000 piastres each, but nothing came of this attempt. On October 8, he made an agreement with Calymniote divers to save the cargo for 7,000 piastres. So writes Myliarakis, *Hestia*, l.c. p. 716. Hamilton, *op. cit.* speaks of 2125 piastres as a quarter of the total, which implies 8500 piastres. The next day they recovered one box belonging to Leake, and in November they recovered the four boxes with the slabs of the frieze of Wingless Victory. These were sent to Smyrna.

Jamieson, at Athens, apparently did not receive the news till after October 4, since the packet sent to Nauplia had for some unexplained reason remained there with the Vice-Consul, and had not been forwarded. He did not think it would be of any use to go to the scene himself, or to interrupt the operations at Athens, then at a critical stage, for that purpose.

The news reached Lord Elgin at Constantinople about October 25; and he immediately took active measures in all directions. One Peter Gavallo,<sup>145</sup> Hamilton's servant, was instructed to proceed to the Dardanelles, with a letter now barely legible, asking the help of Captain Richards of the *Victorieuse*. In the event of Captain Richards being able to go to Cerigo he was to beg a passage on the *Victorieuse*. That failing, he was to ascertain the best way of reaching Cerigo independently, and go on at once. If he went by way of Melos, he might, if possible, also secure the help of the British Agent, Michola. Having carefully ascertained the position as to the saving of the *Mentor*, he was to consult with Strane.

<sup>142</sup> Hamilton, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 467.

<sup>143</sup> Marsden, *Memoir*, p. 12.

<sup>144</sup> The name is variously spelt, but the owner signs thus.

Consul at Patras, and Foresti, Consul-General at Corfu and Zante, as to further steps. If he had authentic information at any point on his journey that the *Mentor* was saved, from any person actually belonging to the brig, and in that case alone, he might return to Constantinople. On arrival at Cerigo, if the brig was recovered, or if further stay at the island would be useless, he might return. In any case he was to write, by all possible routes. The letter to Captain Richards was delivered to the care of Israel Taragano, the British Consul at the Dardanelles, and reached its addressee on October 29. Taragano<sup>100</sup> reported that Captain Richards found some difficulties in the way of immediate action as to which he had written to Lord Elgin in a letter which does not seem to have survived. Taragano had also communicated with Captain Riley of the *Sampson*, then in reach, but had found that that craft was unprovided with the necessary tackle for salvage service. Cavallo had continued his voyage on board the ship in which he had come from Constantinople. He had also been entrusted with a memorandum of instructions for Captain Eglen in the following terms:—

Memorandum for Captain Eglen or the person left in charge at Cerigo.

1. I am informed that the *Mentor* foundered in the entrance of the harbour of Cerigo about the 29th Sept. and that Mr. Hamilton took measures to endeavour to get her up.

2. I trust that you as well as Mr. Hamilton will make every exertion to recover the Brig and the cargo. I set the highest value on every article she has on board.

3. I now send Mr. Hamilton's servant to make enquiry into the misfortune and assist in procuring all aid that may be further wanting.

4. If the Brig is recovered and requires much repair, before she can put to sea again I desire you may consult with Mr. Serme, British Consul at Patras and follow his advice.

5. If she can proceed with her cargo to Malta, that should be done; and she should afterwards return to Constantinople.

6. If she cannot be again put into repair you must let me know every particular, and not dispose of her till my orders come.

7. If you cannot proceed with her cargo you must have every article that can be saved put into a place of safety, under charge of Mr. Serme or Mr. Consul Foresti. If any King's Ship comes to Cerigo, you must apply for assistance in my name to the Commander and follow his directions.

This letter was sent to Werry at Smyrna, who replied<sup>101</sup> (November 1) that Captain Maling of *La Diane* had arrived at Smyrna and confirmed the news of the loss. It was his intention to send the *Victorieuse* to Cerigo as soon as she returned to Smyrna. In the meantime there was every reason to hope that the cargo would be saved, but the recovery of the ship was hardly possible.

Three days later Werry could send more detailed news, but to the like effect. The *Mentor* was said to be sunk in ten fathoms of water.

Cavallo also carried a letter from Lord Elgin to Calcut, stating that the salvage was very important. 'The cases contain stones of no great value in themselves, but it is of great consequence to me to save them.' (*Hentia*, &c. p. 717, retranslated.)

<sup>100</sup> Taragano to Elgin, Oct. 29, 1802.

<sup>101</sup> Werry to Elgin, Nov. 1, 1802.



Meanwhile, an elaborate contract was drawn up and signed at Constantinople (November 3) between Basilio Menachini of Spezzia (or Spetsue), and Lord Elgin in which a Vice-Consul's nomination was made dependent on Menachini's zeal in the work of salvage. The contract recites that Basilio having represented 'that being able from his experience in naval affairs and the quantity of vessels at his disposal to render service in the neighbourhood of Greece to any British vessels or British Subjects, who may stand in need of such aid' he solicited nomination as Vice-Consul, with liberty to transfer the firman of British protection which he had previously enjoyed to one Demetrio, who was to become his assistant for the purposes specified. The Ambassador assents to the nomination of Menachini as Vice-Consul at Spezzia. It was further agreed that, if on arrival at Spezzia he should find the brig had not been raised, Menachini should proceed to Cengo to give such help as might be required. He was subsequently to proceed to Athens to consult with Lusieri as to further transport, and to send suitable vessels to Porto Leone (Piræus) for such service. Any expenses incurred by direction of Hamilton, or of a naval officer, or which were otherwise reasonable would be reimbursed; thirty piastres per ton would be paid for all effects taken to Malta, sixty to Gibraltar.

It is therefore stipulated that the conduct of Mr. Basilio for the recovery of the Brig Mentor and her cargo, and for transporting the effects of the Ambassador from Greece, shall be the test of his ability and willingness to render those services to the British Nation, for which the ambassador grants to him the appointment of Vice-Consul, and the disposal of his Firman of protection—and that if in those instances he does not give satisfaction within the space of two or three months from this date, the whole of the arrangement now made for the Vice-Consulship and his Firman shall be null and void.

All these steps had been taken by Lord Elgin upon very insufficient information. On November 11 he wrote to Lusieri:

It would be needless for me to express my profound sorrow for the misfortune that has occurred to the Brig Mentor. It is only in the last three days that I have had certain information, and that from the sailors themselves who have arrived here. Previously the rumour had been spread, but having no news, either from you, or from Mr. Hamilton, or from anybody, I could not believe that which is only too true. However my news only go as far as the 4th of October. Mr. Hamilton was then remaining alone with the Captain at Cengo, not having received any answers to the applications which, as they assure me, had been made to Napoli di Romania, nor to those which Captains Leake and Squire would not have failed to make at Zante, and at Patmos, they having started from Zante at the end of September. Finally, I know nothing except the verbal report of the sailors, as I have had no letters either from Hamilton, or from you.

He goes on to state that Peter Cavallo, Hamilton's servant, had been despatched with such instructions as his lack of accurate information allowed him to give, and he also explains the arrangement with Basilio, of Spezzia, already recited above. He adds that Basilio had been strongly recommended by Lord Nelson and other English admirals, and owned a considerable amount of shipping. Turning to affairs at Athens, he congratulates Lusieri on the successes reported in his letter of October 28.

I hope in no long time to testify my gratitude. In token of it, seeing that your watch is a bad one, and wishing to assure you how valuable your time is to me, I beg you to accept a Breguet watch, that I have used for some years, and in whose merit I can certify. It being a repeater, you will judge that I want you to repeat as much as you have done for me, and as much as you can—I will send the money for the Calmuck to Rome.

Hunt, as we saw above, reached Athens on November 22. At the Piræus he heard a circumstantial report that the *Mentor* had been raised at a cost of 80 purses, and was now on the way to Malta.<sup>147</sup>

But I am sorry we have not been able to authenticate the rumour further than that it came thither from Hydra. Dalmar of Napoli [Nauplia] had sent an express to Pangali, which reached the Convent here this morning; but he did not accompany it with a single line to Lusieri or Logotheti respecting the situation of the *Mentor*. His conduct appears to have been uniformly most culpable, as well in not forwarding Mr Hamilton's letters, as by thwarting every service in which he has been concerned for the recovery of Your Lordship's Brig.

Basilio, the New Consul of Spezzia sailed at Daybreak this morning in a country-boat for his own Island, from whence he is to proceed in a large Ship of his own to Cerigo. He seemed inclined to think that a Selassonian Ship (which is said to be still waiting at Cerigo, to take on board any of the cargo that may be saved) would be sufficient for weighing the *Mentor*, with the *Victorious's* aid; but I insisted on his fulfilling literally his contract, and he set out with much apparent zeal and promptitude on the service. Nobody here has yet had any information respecting Mr Hamilton's Servant Pierre.

ATHENS Nov 24<sup>th</sup> 1802

An Express has reached us from Hamilton at Cerigo, an extract of which I send. It gives me much satisfaction to think how great the probability now is, of recovering both the Cargo and the Brig herself, and that most of our unfortunate friend Hamilton's difficulties and sufferings will cease by Capt<sup>e</sup> R's arrival.

Pierre reached Cerigo on the 18<sup>th</sup> inst—and has set out for Spezzia to procure additional ropes and cables. The *Mentor* Pirates threaten an attack on Cerigo. Eglen has sailed in the *Selassonian* (with four cases recovered from the *Mentor*) to Smyrna. The approach of winter had begun to alarm Hamilton, for tho' She had held out against two Gales from the S. yet a repetition of them, might break her up, and the Divers cannot bear the cold under water after ye middle of December—Hamilton has recovered his Travelling notes on Egypt and Syria and his Arabic MSS. but they are much injured by the wet—his notes on Greece and his few Greek medals have not yet been got up. He has however rough sketches of Marathon, Plataea and Thermopylae. Leake and Squire had reached Corfu on their route by Trieste and Venice home.

The full history of the rumours of a Pirate attack is told in *Hedra* i.e. p. 745.

Peter Gavalle turned out to be a mischief-maker, whose head was swelled by the importance of his mission. At Spezzia he took upon himself to try to dissuade Basilio from carrying out his contract, on the ground that the *Mentor* was altogether destroyed, a total loss. Nor was he happy in his dealings with Captain Richards, who, as we know, needed to be handled with tact.

I am sorry to add that Pierre Gavalle seems to have disgusted every person to whom he has addressed himself in his new commission—Capt<sup>e</sup> Richards has been offended

<sup>147</sup> Hunt to Elgin, Nov. 23, 1802.



beyond conception by his seating himself at his side, and speaking in a tone of more than familiarity, and his conduct has been similar throughout.

On December 9 Hamilton reported direct to Lord Elgin as to the results of the visit of the *Victorieuse*.<sup>148</sup>

I had indeed My Lord hoped before this to have given you a more satisfactory Account of the Mentor and her Marbles, as the Arrival of Captain Richards of the *Victorieuse* in particular promised such good Success. He anchored at St. Nicolo the 26th ulto, and remained till the 8th instant. The weather during his Stay was very favourable and if he had had the Assistance of another Vessel of equal force, I cannot doubt but he would have succeeded: And it was in this persuasion that, after I had heard from Pierre on his return from Spazio (Speszia) where I had sent for some Boats, I again sent to Captain Basilio<sup>149</sup> to lose no time in coming hither in order to perform his Engagements with Your Lordship. He answered that he would be here immediately, and I prevailed on Captn Richards to remain a few days for his Arrival. He accordingly continued here long enough to allow the Spanish ship to come, but after 13 days he could no longer delay his Voyage to Malta, and accordingly set sail in the morning of the 8th<sup>150</sup> inst. & had only been gone about two hours when the Spanish ship arrived according to his promise—but without the V. Consul who writes me that he remains behind in order to bring one or more larger ships for the same purpose. This indeed was very provoking; however to make the best of it, I have engaged the Captain of The Spanish ship who is Brother in Law to the V. Consul, to do his utmost to start the flukes of The Mentor's deck, that so the main-hatches being enlarged, The Divers may be able to get out in a few days the remaining Cases. This same Service I had frequently pressed upon Captn Richards, but he would do all or none, that is he would raise The Mentor entirely out of water, or leave her as She was. The Hawsers indeed which he brought from Constantinople, being Turkish, were unequal to the attempt, and he was unwilling to risk his own Anchors and Cables. The reason that the Divers are now at a stand, as to getting out any more cases, till they are assisted in this Manner, is, I believe, that the case which is now nearest to the Hatches and of course the first to come out, is a very long one, containing I suppose one half of the Bas-relief taken from the South wall of the Acropolis, and which broke in two, as they were carrying it down. The Spanish captain seems very well disposed, and I hope he will succeed the first fine day, tho' indeed his Ship is but small, only carrying 4000 lb. of weight. The Season is very much against us, and particularly the cold, which will soon prevent The Simiotes diving any

<sup>148</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Dec 9, 1802.

<sup>149</sup> 'I have been anxiously waiting for some satisfactory information relative to the Mentor; but I have hitherto only received a letter from Vice-Consul Basilio of Speszia, repeating the reason of his not having sent the two large Ships to Corigo, agreeable to his Instructions. He then informs me that he has since had a letter from Mr Hamilton dated on board the *Victorieuse* in Astenona Roads, expressing his surprise that no ship had yet come to him from Speszia and requesting Mr Basilio to send him one instantly with fifteen or twenty men, to aid Captain Richards in weighing the Mentor. Mr Basilio informs me that he sent a Ship immediately to Corigo with sixteen men, and that he waits the result with anxiety, promising to write to me as soon as he hears from thence.

'His account increases my surprise at Pierre's

having told Basilio, and having written to me that the wreck of the Mentor had gone to pieces etc. I have since written to Mr Basilio a strong Philippick, telling him how improperly he had acted in following any other person's advice when he had Your Excellency's written instructions for his guidance; and warning him against similar conduct with regard to his mode of fulfilling the other part of his contract about taking the cases of Marble from hence to Christendom. I have also written to Hamilton a statement of Pierre's conduct.'

Hunt to Elgin, Dec 22, 1802.

<sup>150</sup> On this date Captain Richards wrote to Cabinet's *Letterbook* a certificate that the Consul had 'been very attentive and assiduous' during his stay, and that he commended and highly approved 'his zeal and activity for his Majesty's Service.'

longer—and they tell me they must give it up entirely the 18th of this month: however if the weather continues fine, & there is any prospect of finishing the whole shortly, I shall probably prevail on them to break thro' their general rule of leaving off on the Holiday of St Nicolas.

Captain Richards has given me the pleasing hope of seeing your Lordship and Lady Elgin on your return Home towards the close of this Month—Never did an unfortunate Prisoner look with more anxiety for the happy moment of his Release, than I for that Day, on which I may escape from this wretched Island. I may have the pleasure of seeing you and yours and my friends with you in good health, and when the frigate in which you will come cannot fail of doing all that may then be requisite towards recovering the Marbles and will be able to carry away them, & what else may be of Value. But I am always in fear lest the Critical Situation of public affairs, which notwithstanding the general peace still appears to exist with regard to Turkey, may oblige you to remain another winter amidst the plagues of Constantinople.

Decr. 13th.

It has not been possible to break up the Decks and the Divers almost despair of getting the Cases up by the Hatchway—we shall therefore on the first fine day, try to widen the hole in the Menter's Starchard Bow, which was made when she struck; that so the cases may be dragged out of the hold, and easily brought up.

A further letter from Hamilton, or December 28, continues the story of events at Corigo. Between 1800 and the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) the Ionian Isles were a Republic under Russian protection.

It is now sixty-two days since I dispatched Giacomo my Servant with the Scholastic to deliver to your Lordship my letters of the Date of 13th November. Those I have since written to your Lordship by way of Athens will I trust soon inform you of my further proceedings towards the Recovery of the Menter's Cargo, and by the same Opportunity you will learn that the small Polacca dispatched by the Vice-Consul at Spargis, has also left Serigo without having effected any Service. I was sorry that the Departure of the Captain was so sudden that I was neither able to write by him either to Your Lordship or Mr. Hunt, nor give him a Certificate of the time he remained here, the Exertions he made, or the Damages he has suffered. He did indeed all he was able, with the small means he was Master of, but his Ship had not force to break up the Decks, so as to free the Cases of Marbles, and these are so large that without this operation they will not come out. Therefore the only hopes that remain, are that some large Corvette or frigate will do this Business for us or that the winter storms will entirely destroy the Belg—though the great depth of water in which she lies, makes this very uncertain. On the 19th, instant the Delegate (Count Metaxia) and the Russian Garrison arrived and there is every appearance of perfect tranquillity and Security being restored to Serigo in a short time. The Delegate has received Mr. Leleouchio's letter to the popular Government and would, I am confident, give me every possible assistance. He has himself, (and I and my friends here have seconded him) earnestly recommend(ed) the affair to the Captain of the Russian frigate which brought the troops. His Name is Lewandoff and he is well known to your Lordship at Constple. He has however constantly answered that without express orders from his Superiors he cannot consider himself authorized to risk his Ship on the Service, particularly in this advanced Season of the Year, and at a Port, whose entrance is frequently difficult and attended with Danger: it is a Service also which cannot be attempted but on a Calm Day or with a light land Breeze: the Days are short; his frigate is large and not easily manageable—weather uncertain &c. &c. these are his Difficulties and nothing, I believe will induce him to overlook them, but an order from Messinigo at Corfu, in consequence of Mr. Tomars's letter to the same: but this order should it be given, cannot reach Serigo in less than a Fortnight, and the frigate will put to sea in five or six days from hence.

Together with the above frigate, a Turkish Corvette left Corfu, destined for Corigo: This vessel I am confident from what Mr. Foresti has written me, had orders to assist



in every possible way for the Recovery of the Mentor, or her Cargo: but in consequence of bad weather the two Ships parted Company, and nothing has been heard of the Corvette since she was at Paxos, and the Delegate is of opinion that she has returned to Corfu. Our hopes therefore from this are, as it were, destroyed, or at least deferred to an indefinite time.

My Sheet-anchor, My Lord, on which I rest my last and best hopes, is the Arrival of your Lordship in an English frigate which I look for also with the greater certainty, as it is reported by a vessel 8 days now from Constantinople, that the Diana has gone to Smykdere, to take in your Lordship's Baggage. Should you come, and if Captain Maling undertakes the Service, the best and shortest means, unless he is quite certain of being able to raise the brig at once, is to attempt nothing but to break up the Deck so as to make the Divers able to recover the Cases which they certainly will do in two or three Days.

After mentioning this, you will, I fear be the more surprised at what I am going to add, which is that, if the Russian Captain will not consent to attempt the above Service, or if he does not succeed in it I have resolved to leave Serigo with him: and I shall do this with the less reluctance, as I feel that by Remaining here I can no longer be of use to your Lordship whether the Turkish Corvette or English frigate arrive, the Service will be done equally well and with equal ease, whether I am here or no: and whatever is recovered from the Mentor, will remain in perfect Security. As long as there was no established Government in the Island, I felt that my presence here was necessary to ensure this Security, and for the free adoption of those Measures, which I had hoped, would long ago have fully succeeded. This necessity now no longer exists, and I cannot let pass so good an opportunity of going to Zante. Should I there hear that your Lordship is at Athens and intends to make any stay there, I will come. Otherwise I shall proceed homewards as Circumstances tempt me.

I had hoped, My Lord, by remaining here, to have served you more effectually, and should have looked upon this as a full Reward for my long Banishment in this Island. But I have now been here for nearly 3 months & I and I am (no longer useful. You will therefore allow me to think of another Duty to my Father, my friends, and to Myself which is, as long as I remain out of England, to spend my time as profitably as I can: and I am afraid there are many who will think that that which I have passed here does not merit this name: I must therefore make up for it.

Before I close this letter I shall state to your Lordship the full account of my expenses here and also my further Engagements with The Divers.

I cannot omit this opportunity of recommending to Your Lordship in the strongest terms, Mr. Emmanuel Calvet, British Vice-Consul here. I have already mentioned his zeal, fidelity, and activity in our Service, and I have since only had occasion to experience further proofs of the same in the worthiest best-informed, and most liberal of the Inhabitants of this Island. He merits every Attention from your Lordship, should it be your fortune to touch here, where I should have found my Residence insupportable, without his Conversation and his Assistance: and I am confident he will afford Your Lordship the same assistance, if wanted, on your arrival, and in the progress of your attempts to recover the Mentor's cargo.

For your Lordship's Information I must acquaint you that under the Venetian Government when a Baila was returning from Constantinople and touched at any of these Islands he was never subject to the laws of Quarantine but was freely admitted to Frattuke, and the island in which he landed was put, as they called it, in *Remero* for 14 Days.

*Inter. 30th.* I have this Morning dissolved my contract with the Divers I had hitherto employed in Your Lordship's Service, on their Declaration that it was no longer possible for them to dive on account of the cold: and that it was in vain to make any further attempt to get out the remaining Cases until the Decks are opened: Judging therefore that from what they have already Recovered, they were fully entitled to receive one fourth part of the Sum, agreed for on the Extraction of the whole,

I have had to pay them 2125 *Plasters*. As they have already received of this 300 *Plasters* for the remaining 1525 (sic) *Plasters* I have given them a bill on Signor Logotheti at Athens, for which place they will set out in a day or two, together with Pietro, to receive that sum, and to offer themselves to your Lordship or to Mr. Hunt, to run any Contract you may think proper, by which they are to be employed in the Same Service the ensuing Spring, on the Supposition that they will then be able to recover the above Cases, or to accompany your Lordship in the frigate, in case you intend to touch at Serissa, on your passage, and the Captain will make the attempt.—

I leave with the Vice-Consul a Commission to act in my absence, for your Lordship's Service; with Directions—how to make the best use of the Turkish Corvette should it come—to take every care of your property on shore of every kind—to assist the Divers should they return from Athens, with a new Contract for the Recovery of the Cases—to dispose of in the most advantageous Manner, all the effects recovered, which cannot be used; in recovering the rest with the reserve of the Brig's Boat, and setting the price of 1000 *Plasters* on the four (5) Guns—to communicate with Your Lordship or with me, on the Expenses he incurs and all the measures he may take &c.

I have also recommended, by letter to The Delegate, to afford every protection and assistance hereafter wanted, in whatever may be done in Your Lordship's name in this Service, and I doubt not but the Consul will find no difficulty in obtaining the same.

*Decr. 21st.*

The inclosed Papers A & B contain the statement (of) all (of my) Expenses here chiefly regarding my attempts to recover the Mentor's cargo:—and also a List of the Drafts I have drawn since the 17th. of September for Sums to answer those Expenses. I am confident your Lordship must declare them very excessive and perhaps you may conceive them useless and imprudent, but I hope that you will do me the Justice to believe that I should not have incurred them, had I not had at all periods, till this present moment, the most reasonable hope, that these exertions would have proved wholly successful; in which case I believe no one would have called it money ill-spent—Unfortunately I have been thwarted by untoward accidents in every measure I have undertaken; & at last the weather and other circumstances oblige me entirely to abandon the attempt.

P.S. I must beg leave, My Lord, to add that in case you wholly disapprove of what I have done, I shall be ready in England to repay to your Lordship the sums I have expended relying on your goodness to give orders for the acceptance of my bills for the present.

(Signed) WILLIAM HAMILTON.

(A Copy) PHILIP HEST.

A few items, selected from Hamilton's accounts, are interesting:—

Maintenance of Sailors, Captain, Pilot and Servant till they left Corfu	650.0
Given to divers on recovering the first case of marbles	130.0
Do. to the Slavonian Sailors for assisting with their boats	120.0
One quarter of the whole sum agreed by me with Divers on the extraction of all the Cases	2125.0
120 mals for making up the four cases after cleaning the Marbles	3.0
Tobacco given to Divers	5.0
A Rope bought for the Extraction of the cases	40.0
Labour of Passants on Shore at the Request of Captn. Richards	131.30
Do. at the request of the Spanish Captain	15.0
Wine given to the sailors of the Victorienne	50.30
Or given to Do.	34.0
Wine given to Divers while they worked with the Victorienne	5.0
Five knives for Divers to cut away ropes	4.8

The total cost in Turkish piastres amounted to 13,986.31.



Hamilton's testimonial (December 29) in Calugi's *Letterbook* is unwontedly oriental in style. After acknowledging the many acts of kindness received he proceeds: 'My heart will be ever penetrated for the many benevolent and friendly attentions rec<sup>d</sup> from your amiable Family and nearest Relations. I shall esteem it a happiness to dye with such sentiments, and glory in declaring them to the World. On leaving Corigo, after this prolonged detention, Hamilton went to Zante, and while there received Lord Elgin's acknowledgments of his exertions. In reply, he wrote <sup>121</sup> :—

I know not how to return your Lordship my grateful Acknowledgements for the kind terms in which you have been pleased to express your Satisfaction with what my wishes to serve your Lordship to the utmost had prompted me to attempt towards the Recovery of your Brig and her valuable Cargo: not indeed that it was this idea alone which encouraged me to begin and persevere as long as there were hopes: I felt also that I was labouring for Posterity, and that I might recover for my country, the Works of a Phidias, under the Direction of a Pericles, and which once formed the boast and Glory of the most polished Nation of Greece. But for the loss of my time and labour Two Lines of your Lordship's letter were amply sufficient.

I wish that it was in my power to accept Mr. Hmit's Invitation to meet Your Lordship at Athens: I need not say what pleasure it would give me, but as I have told him, Being without my Saddle, I am absolutely unable to ride—particularly long Journeys. The late constant Rainy Weather has rendered the Roads and Rivers nearly impassable, and I should have very little hopes of finding your Lordship there when I arrived: as I cannot suppose that any thing but Bad Weather and contrary Winds would detain you there above eight or ten Days. My plan is therefore to pass the Remainder of the winter among the Islands, and in the Spring to pass into the Morra for a few Months, and thence homewards.

As to his further movements, we know that he was at the Court of Ali Pasha at Janina, on May 6, 1803. He had an important secret interview with Ali as to what part that Prince would take in the approaching war with France, and wrote to Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Nelson, and to Sir Arthur Paget at Vienna.<sup>122</sup> On May 26 he was in Thessaly,<sup>123</sup> in July he was at Athens, in September he visited Corigo again,<sup>124</sup> and in March, 1804, he was at Vienna, on the road home (see below, pp. 259, 296).

Lord Elgin's departure from Constantinople was now at hand. On December 18 he wrote to Lusieri, welcoming the new series of the frieze, and adding that to all appearance he would embark for Athens on January 1, 1803. There must, however, have been delays in starting, and it was not till the 25th that the *Diana*, in which the Ambassador was taking his passage, was lying outside the Piræus, and he could send a hasty note to Lusieri of his arrival. A series of short notes survives written during the visit, but, as before, they are imperfectly dated. The *Braquel* must, by this time, have completed her repairs and recovered her jettisoned guns, and both vessels were to proceed as soon as possible. A note (probably written on Thursday, January 28) urges the immediate embarkation of all that could be put on board, for a departure on the 29th or the 30th. But there was still a delay of a few days, and on Sunday Lord Elgin writes:—

<sup>121</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Jan. 29, 1803.

<sup>122</sup> A copy of the dispatch is in the Nelson

Letterbook, *Br. Mus. Add. MSS.* 34016, fo. 78.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.* *Revue*, l.c. p. 729.

May tomorrow be memorable in the annals of Athens! The people of the Brakel, under the orders of the 1st Lieutenant, start at four o'clock in the morning for the Column [of Daphne]. Endeavour, I beg of you to have it set in motion at daybreak, and that the people who go from here [Athens] should be there in good time.

The people of the Diana ought to be at the Piræus at dawn, for the excavation of the simulacra. Theodora will show them the place.

For you there remain the boxes in the store, the Parthenon-marble, and any other work that you think feasible. Put your hand to it, I implore you, that I may be able to start on Tuesday, and not lose the moon, which is so essential for the attempt that is to be made to recover the Mentor. Adieu and good night.

Next day, Monday, further instructions followed as to the embarkation of the artists.

As we embark, tomorrow after dinner, it is necessary that the artists and the luggage should be on board in good time. The plan is that they shall have a little cabin to themselves, where they will dine and sleep. They must take as little baggage as possible—each his own bed. I beg you to see that everything is done towards midday. I also beg you to remember the list of what is shipped on the Brakel, and of what has gone off today, or is ready to go tomorrow. I should also like to have a note of the drawings, measures, sketches, etc.—etc., that you are busy packing. Please give me the medals that you have got, without packing them, so that I may add them to my collection, before I begin it afresh in Sicily. I am sending Melvitz (a courier) to explain to the artists what they will want for the ship. Good night.

The start could not be made on the Tuesday, as proposed, and a further note followed on Wednesday—

We shall start without fail, so that if the column does not arrive soon it will be too late. If the Salamis boat cannot come, would it not be possible to find another? Hurry with the box that yet remains. And if you can devise the means, you would oblige me infinitely, by transporting the Captain's marble (not otherwise mentioned). If you made a sledge with some bits of wood, I should hope that some oxen could draw it with the help of a few men, and if I knew that they were on the road, I would get the captain to go to your aid, although all his people are very busy with the Brakel.

But these latter arrangements presumably could not be carried out. A hastily scribbled note of farewell runs:—

M. LESIEUR.

Comme le vent nous chasse, je ne peux que vous faire mes adieux par écrit et vous assurer de mon amitié, de ma confiance, et des vœux sincères que j'offre pour votre bonheur. Adieu. ELGIN.

*Ce mercredi. [Feb. 3, 1803]*

Tassieri,<sup>154</sup> on the same day, had written to his friend Piale at Rome, no doubt with a sigh of relief:—

The Ambassador leaves this, today, for Malta, on board an English frigate, on which I have at last succeeded in getting all these gentlemen embarked, to do their quarantine there, and then to return to their own country. My stay in these regions ought to continue for some time yet, in order that I may employ myself with the pencil.

As you will hear from the aforesaid gentleman, my health is excellent, and if it continues so, I have a field where I can gain credit. Be so good as to give the enclosed to my sister. I should like a box of anti-pestilential powder.

<sup>154</sup> Lesieur to Piale, Feb. 3, 1802.



Various other commissions follow, the goods to be sent to the care of Lord Elgin at Malta.

I cannot say on what day the *Brigade* sailed. She carried a heavy cargo of the marbles, including the principal statues of the East Pediment, viz. the Theseus, the Demeter and Kore, the Iris, the single Fate, and the pair of Fates; and from the West Pediment the Heracles and the Illases. There were also two metopes, seventeen cases of Parthenon frieze, seventeen inscriptions, the Dionysos from the monument of Thrasyllas, seven Egyptian pieces, parts of the cornice and architrave of the Erechtheion, the soffits of the Theseum, the four slabs from the frieze of Nike Apteros, which were the first objects saved from the *Mentor*, the two fragments (B.M. Sculpture 5, 6) supposed to be from Mycenae, the sundial of Phaidros, and many minor fragments. There were also moulds of the South-West Parthenon metope, and of parts of the friezes of the Parthenon and Theseum.

Lusieri's list<sup>156</sup> of the cases shipped (forty-four in all) has long been in the British Museum, to which it was sent by Hamilton<sup>157</sup> with the comment: 'I send you a paper which I have just found amongst a parcel of old letters.

It can be but of little value, but it may as well be preserved under the same roof with the marbles themselves, and amongst the documents relating to them.'

Little was accomplished at Cerigo. More than a month later<sup>157</sup> Lord Elgin wrote to Lusieri from Naples: 'We took more than four weeks reaching Malta, after spending one day only at Cerigo, whence we were driven by bad weather. This same weather took us to Candia. At a second attempt we failed altogether to reach it.'

An entry in Vice-Consul Calucci's *Letterbook* states that on February 4, 'on board the *Diana* at Aulirona' the Ambassador expressed to Calucci his sense of that officer's zeal and hospitable aid to the shipwrecked company. In a letter (*Hestia*, l.c. p. 717) he said that he would try to make arrangements at Malta, and urged Calucci to take good care of the wreck in the meantime. On the same day he wrote to the Governor of Cerigo, regretting that he could not call, on account of the shortness of his stay, and begging the Governor's good offices towards further attempts at salvage.

Sebastian Ittar was left behind at Malta, under the terms of an engagement signed at Malta on March 11 by Lord Elgin and Ittar with Hunt as witness. He undertook to finish the fair copies of his work. His admirable drawings were forwarded in due course by Captain Dickens, Commandant of Royal Engineers at Malta, to the care of the Dowager Lady Elgin at Shooter's Hill. They were dispatched in November, 1803, and July, 1804, and appear to have travelled without misadventure. They were included in the purchase, and are now (together with the rough working drawings (cf. fig. 2) in the British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities).

<sup>156</sup> Dept. of Antiquities, *Letters on Antiquities*, l.c.

<sup>157</sup> Hamilton to Howkins, July 23, 1834.

<sup>158</sup> Elgin to Lusieri, March 16, 1803.

Here we part with Itar, except for one subsequent glimpse. In 1821 Lord Elgin met him at Catania and discussed the possibility of engraving the Athenian drawings, only to put the idea on one side. He suggested, however, to Hamilton (at that date Minister at Naples) that Itar might be commissioned to pick up Sicilian vases.<sup>122</sup>

It was Lord Elgin's intention to spend the Holy Week of 1803 at Rome (Easter fell that year on April 10), and he appears to have done so. On April 11, an agreement was executed with Feodor, binding him to come to England to finish and engrave his drawings, on terms of a salary of £150 per annum, £50 for the expenses of each journey and free board and lodging in England. The agreement was duly signed, and in Lord Elgin's statement of expenses in 1811 he says that his draftsman was two years in England, but we seem to have no further information on the subject.

Of Feodor, as of Itar, we here take leave, with one later mention. In a letter of October 15, 1820, written to Hamilton from Munich, Lord Elgin says: 'Here the Dowager Margravine of Baden (mother of the Queen) has given me accounts of the Calmouek who is still with her at Baden, and after a long struggle seems to have sufficiently conquered his propensity for drink to be usefully nonemployed.' From the Dictionary (Mueller-Singer, *Allgemein Künstler-Lexikon*) we learn further that he was Court-painter at Carlsruhe, that he executed a series of bible-scenes in the Evangelical Church of that city, that he engraved a series of 12 plates after the Ghiberti gates at Florence, and a plate after a Deposition of Michelangelo. He died at Carlsruhe, 27 January, 1832.

While at Rome Lord Elgin discussed the question of restoration with Canova.<sup>123</sup>

The decision of that eminent artist was conclusive. . . . He declared that however greatly it was to be lamented that these statues should have suffered so much from time and barbarism, yet it was undeniable that they had never been retouched; that they were the work of the ablest artists the world had ever seen . . . that he should have had the greatest delight, and derived the greatest benefit, from the opportunity Lord Elgin offered him of having in his possession, and contemplating, these invaluable marbles, but (his expression was) 'it would be sacrilege in him or any man, to presume to touch them with a chisel.'

From Rome Lord Elgin proceeded homewards by way of Genoa and Marseilles. It was his misfortune to be in Paris at the time of the notorious decree of the First Consul (2 Prairial, an 11 de la République) making all Englishmen between the ages of 18 and 60 prisoners of war. He was arrested on or about May 23, 1803. He remained at Paris until July, when he was allowed to proceed to Bareges in the Pyrenees, and subsequently to Pau, where he took a house near the town in October. From November 28 to December 13 he was confined in the Château Fort at Lourdes by way of reprisal for severities said to have been exercised on General Boyer in England. Word had reached France that that officer

<sup>122</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, Jan. 8, 1821. In 1812 *di Catania*. Obi. col. Catania.

Itar published a *Racconto degli antichi vasi*. <sup>123</sup> *Memorandum* (1816), p. 30.



was a prisoner in Newcastle-under-Lyme. The name suggested such alarming ideas to the French mind, that Lord Elgin's arrest was the consequence. After his release he was allowed to return to Pau. He remained in France as a prisoner of war until 1806, when M. de Talleyrand in person forced him to sign a declaration engaging him to return to Paris whenever summoned by Napoleon. This parole was never rescinded, and Lord Elgin continued under the restraint of it till the Emperor's abdication in 1814.

The period of the French imprisonment makes a break between the earlier and the later stages of our story. During the period of his Embassy (1800-1803) Lord Elgin was not far from Greece, and though communications were slow and irregular, he was able to exercise a general control of the operations. During the period of his imprisonment (1803-1806) communication almost ceased, and Lusieri was carrying on his work almost single-handed and unsupported. During the third period, after Lord Elgin's release in 1806, his main preoccupation was to bring home what remained of the collections, and to effect their transfer to the public. The narrative of Lusieri's later years at Athens can be told briefly in the following section before we turn to the story of the Marbles in England.

### PART III.

#### *Later Years in Greece.*

The Company of Artists, as we have seen, left Athens in the spring of 1803, and Lusieri was thenceforth relieved of the duty of supervising their operations. The work of collection, however, was carried on with vigour. On April 27 he made a report to Lord Elgin.

Mr Drummond<sup>98</sup> [Lord Elgin's successor in the Constantinople Embassy] had arrived on board the frigate *Medusa* (Captain Gore) and had received the assiduous attentions of Lusieri both at Athens and Eleusis. A change had taken place in the Voivode, and Lusieri had not failed to make use of Mr. Drummond's presence to impress him. The new acquisitions included one of the Caryatids, the column from the Eastern Portico of the Erechtheum, various inscriptions, small reliefs, marble vases and fragments. Captain Gore had taken seven cases on board the *Medusa*, namely the Caryatid, two metopes, three cases of moulds and one case with the porphyry column. Three days later, a Ragusan brigantine the *Dorinda* 320 tons, which had been chartered on Lord Elgin's behalf by Mr. Alexander Macaulay, of Malta, reached the Piræus.<sup>99</sup> The vessel had called at Cerigo where apparently it had expected to find Hamilton, but had not found him, and all work was suspended. This must have been a chance cessation, since the divers

<sup>98</sup> Sir William Drummond (1770-1828).

<sup>99</sup> Lusieri to Macaulay, May 11, 1803. Lusieri to Elgin, May 12, 1803.

had returned to Cerigo in February. The vessel was laden with one case of moulds and 24 cases of marbles, 'not things of the first class, but still of value and service' making up to the present a total of 128 cases shipped. It was arranged that the vessel should call again at Cerigo on the return voyage to Malta (cf. *Hestia*, l.c. p. 732.) The captain was doubtful whether his resources would enable him to be of service, and was unwilling to visit such a dangerous port as S. Nikola without a new bargain, but he was given authority to take on board the cannon which were in the hands of Vice-Consul Caluci in order to defend himself from the pirates who infested the neighbouring waters. Lusieri would have gone himself to Cerigo, but judged the moment favourable for work on the Acropolis. 'Logotheti has shown some zeal, but for fear of the pirates has stayed at home.'

Two letters written by Lusieri during the summer failed to arrive, or have been lost, and the next account that survives is dated September 26. The acquisitions to be reported were 10 consecutive slabs of the South Frieze, the three metopes at the South-East corner of the Parthenon, and the two horses' heads from the South angle of the East pediment, which were now in the store and for the most part packed.

There were, however, difficulties arising. No letter had been received from Lord Elgin since he had left Naples. Mr. Drummond had not sent a new firman, and Mr. Tooke had not sent the watch and gold snuff-box which the new Voivode had been led to expect.

Owing to the delay in sending me the presents and the new letters, I have run a very great risk. In these last days. Two very rich English gentlemen were on the point of offering as much as 50,000 piastres, to obtain the frieze. Happily I was told of it, and I made them see that it was impossible, that it was necessary to have firmans, but that in any case I would not have let Your Excellency be second to anybody. In consequence they did nothing, and will do nothing. I will work at this new acquisition with all the necessary vigour, and I hope, My Lord, that the firman will be yours. Lord Aberdeen who has been here since the beginning of this month, starts tomorrow for Constantinople, and it is with him that I send this letter to Mr. Tooke.

The Lord Aberdeen here mentioned was the fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860) who was now travelling at the age of twenty, and who, on his return home, founded the Athenian Society (confined to those who had travelled in Greece) and acquired the name of Athenian Aberdeen.

There is again a long pause in the letters, and the next which is preserved from Lusieri (February 6, 1804) is full of complaints and discouragement. He cannot hear from Lord Elgin, from whom he had last received a letter of June 3 previous.<sup>102</sup> Mr. Drummond is evidently opposed to the enterprise and gives no support. Fauvel (who had returned to Athens in January, 1803, with the rank of Sous-Commissaire—

<sup>102</sup> In this letter, which is extant, Lord Elgin writes: 'Au milieu de toutes les chances de cet époque memorable, celle de reunir le caractère d'ambassadeur et la situation de

prisonnier de guerre, s'étoit présentée dans mes calculs. Me voyant cependant arrêté à Paris, en qualité de Prisonnier de Guerre,



*Rev. Arch.* 3rd ser. xxx, p. 201) was taking a hostile attitude. One new piece of the frieze, that adjoining the North-West angle, had been secured.

but at present I must stop. Fawcett has frightened all the Turks. After a number of extravagant *lanfarromades*, he told the Dedar that he had received an order from his Ambassador to take a note of all the marbles that your Excellency has taken, and to send it to him. Let him do whatever he likes, though he may get Brimade empowering him to take, I very much doubt his succeeding without his paying. Then, we shall see.

The position of affairs was not materially altered during the following months. On May 18, 1804, Lusieri wrote again. A letter from Lord Elgin of September 11 had reached him on April 2. From other nearer correspondents at Constantinople and Malta he was unable to get replies to his letters. The conditions were still unfavourable, and work on the Acropolis was suspended.

In the meantime the workpeople were being employed in excavations elsewhere not without success, especially at the so-called 'Tomb of Aspinia.'

In the excavation of the great tomb in the vineyards, on the way to the Piræus, which had been very badly begun, I have found, at ten feet below the general level a big vase of white marble, quite plain, seven feet in circumference and two feet three inches in height. It contains another bronze vase of good execution, 4 ft. 4 in. in circumference and 1 ft.  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in height. In the interior of this latter, there were some burnt bones, upon them a branch of myrtle, of gold, with flowers and buds. The exterior vase, pressed down by the enormous weight of the tomb, was broken, and the complete preservation of the interior vase was thus prevented. On the outside, and beside the vase, there was another, very fine indeed, of alabaster, much bigger than anything I have seen in that style with a length of 1 ft. 7 inches, and 1 ft. in circumference. . . . The tomb which has a height of about 80 feet, and a circumference of 240, and the form of a mound, was made with earth brought from different streams which cross the plain of Athens. . . . I did not think there was any interest in keeping the bones. I collected them, placed them in an antique terracotta vase, closely shut, put them back in the same place, and restored the tomb to its former state.

The vases of marble (Brit. Mus. No. 2415) and bronze stand, one within the other, in a corner of the Elgin Room. They are brought into the centre of Archer's picture (Fig. 16). The myrtle wreath is at Broomhall.

The writer adds that the collection of coins was making progress, though Lord Aberdeen was buying freely.

At the Piræus and in store there were 38 boxes containing slabs of the North and South frieze, two pieces of the West frieze, the three best preserved metopes from the South-East angle, two horses' heads from the East pediment [the horses of Helios already mentioned], and other objects. The letter closes with a request for several books and some quinine.

We must now return to the protracted operations for the salvage of the *Mentor*. The divers had returned to Cerigo in February, 1803, and seem to have worked during the summer without a fresh contract. In July, Hamilton was again at Athens, and in communication with Calucci. We learn from Calucci's *Letterbook* that on July 20 he wrote to Calucci that he had received his letters of April 22, saying that no instructions had been

received as promised, from Malta. He therefore thought he was acting in the best interests of Lord Elgin in authorising Caluci to take the best means of salvage in his power within a limit of 6,500 piastres. Hamilton left Athens on July 23. In September he visited Corigo, and an elaborate contract, dated 20 September, was drawn up between Caluci and the divers. The objects to be salvaged in the first instance were 16 cases and the throne, which had lost its case. The four cases with the slabs of the frieze of Nike Apereus had been recovered at an early stage and sent away, and there were therefore 13 objects to be dealt with. Five of these had been salvaged during the summer of 1803, and eight remained in September 1803. The contract provided that the divers should continue their work to recover the remaining eight objects and should receive 400 piastres for each salvaged, together with their board and an allowance of 150 piastres for their boats and expenses. (For the contract in full, see *Hestia*, *loc. cit.* p. 729.) Six of the remaining cases were recovered before work was broken off on 29 December, 1803. The divers were sent to Logotheti at Athens for their money, and on 7 January, 1804, Caluci wrote to Lord Elgin that he had bound the divers to return in April. He added that he had endured much from the barbarous conduct of the divers, who were men of unstable character, and mostly drunk. (*Hestia*, *loc. cit.* p. 730.) The twelfth case was recovered on 9 June, and finally the marble throne, which had given special trouble, for want of a case, was recovered in the later summer.

At length, on October 24, 1804, more than two years after the wreck of the *Mentor*, Lusieri reported<sup>102</sup> the complete success of the salvage operations:—

I have the satisfaction to inform you that at last all the marbles at Corigo have been recovered, and we have good reason to rejoice, for they all deserve to be jealously guarded. I confess however that I live in a state of uneasiness seeing that both those and those here that are even better, and ready for shipment, are still in these barbarous shores. I have not failed on my part to write several times to all those who ought to have interested themselves both on account of Milord Elgin, and still more on account of the national advantage. But unfortunately I see plainly that in these regions there are no true friends of Milord, and still less are there lovers of the fine arts. . . .

My diggings continue to increase the collection of vases but so far I have not had the good fortune to find any of such a kind as was promised long ago by several fragments of big vases of the greatest perfection, from these same diggings. I always have a pencil in hand at the same time. I have had no direct news from His Lordship since September of last year.

Before the actual completion of the salvage Lord Elgin had managed to get into communication, through Sir Alexander Ball, with Lord Nelson, who wrote as follows to Captain Schomberg, of H.M.S. *Madraz*<sup>103</sup>,—

Victory, at Sea, 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1804

Sir,

Lord Elgin having requested through Sir Alexander Ball that I would allow a ship to call at Corigo, to bring from thence to Malta some marble antiquities, and as I am

<sup>102</sup> Lusieri to Hamilton (7), Oct. 24, 1804.

<sup>103</sup> The letter is printed in Hershey's *Memoir of William Martin Leake*, p. 12.



perfectly disposed to meet his Lordship's wishes on this occasion. I am to desire you will send a small transport to Cerigo, with the first convoy going up the Lævian, and leave her there, for the purpose of receiving the antiquities before mentioned on board—provided it is a safe place for her to remain at—till the return of the convoy. You will then direct the officer in charge thereof to call at Cerigo, and bring the transport with his Lordship's antiquities on board safe under his protection to Malta, where Sir Alexander Ball will direct the disposal of them. And if it is intended to send them to England, you will give the necessary orders accordingly.

I am &c &c

NELSON & BROOKE

For the better protection of the boxes from pirates and weather, they were buried by Calcut under seaweed and brushwood, covered with big stones, and remained thus on the Antemoro bench. The only incident that occurred was the abstraction of the stones by peasants at work on a garden wall near by. Calcut reported the matter to the Governor (or 'Prytanis'), who required the village authorities to replace the stones at their own expense.

The shipment ordered by Nelson took place on February 16, 1805, by means of the British transport, *The Lady Shore Stewart*, Capt. George Parry, under convoy of the schooner *Reynold*. The consignment consisted of the marble throne, twelve boxes of marbles, numbered 1–12, and A.M., and various guns and ships' stores. Hamilton, on hearing the good news, sent cordial congratulations to Calcut.<sup>125</sup> I do not find any record of the date of the further transport of the rescued marbles to London. The big relief is shown in Cockerell's sketch of 1810 (Fig. 10).

Difficulties of finance suddenly made themselves felt during the autumn of 1804.<sup>126</sup> Mr. Tooke, of Constantinople, upon whom Lusieri had been drawing, gave notice that no more bills must be drawn upon him on Lord Elgin's account. The funds left with him were exhausted, and the London bankers had refused to send more. Tooke is quoted as writing: 'I fear that Mr. Hamilton has very imprudently encouraged the disburse of more money on the business you have been employed in than Lord Elgin proposed, and it does not suit me to make any advance.' He speaks, Lusieri goes on, 'as if important sums had been spent here, whereas since His Lordship's departure to this moment, not more than 20,550 Turkish piastres have passed through my hands, for the acquisition of about twenty pieces of Parthenon frieze, of three metopes, and for diggings, transport, cases, etc. Bills were coming in (including one of 651 piastres for digging in the tomb of Agamemnon), and Lusieri had been obliged to represent to Tooke that he could have drawn on Hamilton (?) for a certain sum while waiting for further instructions, and so not have brought the operations to a sudden and ignominious conclusion. He must, therefore, beg for support and assistance. Lord Elgin at Pau (January 12, 1805), wrote lamenting that he had only just received the first letter that had come to hand since he left Greece. He promised all such help as it was in his power to give, and urged excavation in Attica, and at Eleusis, Megara, Corinth, Argos, Epidaurus, Salamis, and Aegina, but the

<sup>125</sup> Calcut's *Letterbook*. His letter to Hamilton, *loc. cit.* p. 731–2.

100 and the reverse are printed in *Harvey*.

<sup>126</sup> Lusieri to Hamilton (?), Nov. 7, 1804.

letter was long in arriving. On July 4, 1895, Lusieri was again writing to Lord Elgin—

No news from your Excellency. I understand however from the French who are here that you are well, and also Miladi and her family. My last letter<sup>46</sup> (of May 30) informed you that Mr. Tooke had determined not to allow me to draw money as usual. This strange and wretched decision which he formed, of sending me an express message dated the 15th Oct. with orders not to draw any more either for continuing your Excellency's operations, or for my own salary, was based on a refusal of your Excellency's London bankers to supply further money. But this reason is insufficient, since he could not have risked more than two or three thousand piastres while waiting for fresh orders. Unable to borrow money at 10 p.c., I should have had to suspend my operations altogether, or else to borrow money at 20 p.c., for which M. Logotheti obtained offers, since he had none himself. I communicated all that to Mr. Morier, who was at that time at Orfu, and begged him to send me two or three thousand piastres, but after various letters that I sent him, he wrote at length that he could not lend me money since he had none, with any of the Constantinople bankers. Captain Laska however, having heard of my need, wrote to me from Tripolizza generously offering me money and sent 2000 piastres, at my request. That sum I returned to him at once, having heard of new arrangements on the part of Mr. Tooke at that moment. Mr. Tooke died at the end of the month of April, and I have not yet received any letter from his successor, of whom I do not even know the name. The first thing that I did when I received the money was to pay 600 piastres to Mr. Vlamopoli of Argos, for the cost of the excavations that he made at the tomb of Agamemnon by your Excellency's orders.

Some time since M. Pisani wrote again to Mr. Logotheti, that thenceforward I was not to take any more statues, or columns etc. The various diggings continue to yield very fine vases but not any coins.

For the last two months there have been several English here—the Cher, Monk, with her Ladyship (who has just given him a boy), Mr. Doddwell, Mr. Gell, who comes of descent from Anna Gellius, Mr. Boken [Bacon?] and Mr. Stakenio. The latter is a very amiable man. As for the others, they conduct themselves in such a way as to disgust everybody, and I think that those who come after will not find the same civility either here or at Argos. These gentlemen have wanted to undertake diggings without firmans, without asking permission of the Voivode, or of the landowner, and without making any return. The Voivode has been so much disgusted that he has stopped them from going on, letting all know that he would not allow anyone whatever to dig except me.

On August 30, Lusieri wrote that his excavations had been successful. He had been finding six marble urns, with vases and alabaster, beyond the Museum hill and near the Hissar. He was hoping for a ship from Malta, for which forty cases were ready and waiting. 'I have just finished, entirely after nature, a coloured drawing of three feet, of the very picturesque monument of Philopappos, and am working at present on another, still larger.' Presumably this drawing of the Philopappos monument is the one which is extant at Broadhall (see below, p. 289) and which is here published (Fig. 8) by Lord Elgin's permission as an example of the artist's finished work. Lusieri adds that the vases which he had been finding require mending and cleaning, and that they have designs which will come out after cleaning. This work was not undertaken until a century had passed and the vases

<sup>46</sup> This letter is missing.



thus cleaned were shown at the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of ancient Greek art in 1903. The particular vases described in this letter were probably a part of the collection confiscated by Ali Pasha.

The enemies of the Voivode were charging him with having received 150 purses for the license to remove marbles and were asking him to account for the money, but nothing had been taken from the Acropolis since the arrival of the Voivode in question.

On October 4 Lusieri wrote to an unnamed correspondent—probably Hamilton—

Your letter of April 15 only reached me on the 25th of last month. I was much concerned at Milord's recent loss, and at the state of grief to which he lay on account of the death of his child [a boy, William, who died in infancy]. I have not failed to write to Milord every two months at least, and am very sorry that nothing has reached him except my letter of August of last year, as he is without all details of my works and operations. My letters have always been addressed to London, for the most part, by way of Mr. Tooke.

He adds that he cannot leave till all the collection is shipped and would be grateful for French translations of classical authors—Herodotus, Thucydides, Pausanias, Plutarch, Homer, and others, as well as a book on Greek coins. The present Voivode is causing him much vexation by forbidding all excavations, and he attributes this to Gell, 'who has not by any means English manners.' Four days later Lusieri<sup>100</sup> wrote to Lord Elgin, attributing his difficulties to Gell, who had been saying freely among the French that the operations were discontinued by the present Ambassador. These utterances had reached the Voivode, who had in consequence forbidden all excavations. Lusieri was therefore writing to the Ambassador, to Pasani (the chief Dragoman) and to Tooke's successor, begging the latter to urge the Ambassador to obtain what was necessary for a continuance of the work and for shipping the collections. 'The month of October is an unfortunate one for me, for in this month last year I was prevented from drawing money, and in this I am stopped from excavating, which is worse. I am full of bitterness, but I hope in God, that this unfortunate moment will soon pass.' This phase of discouragement was not, however, as brief as Lusieri had hoped. In the spring he was still asking for further support. Writing to an unnamed 'Excellency,' apparently the Dowager Lady Elgin,<sup>101</sup> from references in a subsequent letter, he says:—

The reason why I take the liberty of writing to Your Excellency is the general nonchalance about an object which is the passion of Milord Elgin, and which will charm the whole nation. I have not failed to write at various times, according to Milord's instructions to all the persons who had ought to be interested, but without the least profit. For the last two years there has been here a very considerable cargo, which is steadily increasing, and amounts to 40 cases, ready to be put on board. Twenty-five of these contain masterpieces of ancient sculpture, and of a preservation superior to every thing that has been sent us yet. They ought to be exported from here. I have advised it many times to the ministers, &c. the British Ambassadors at the Porte, I have written

<sup>100</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Oct. 4, 1805.

<sup>101</sup> Lusieri to the Dowager Lady Elgin (?), Feb. 24, 1806.



FIG. 9.—THE MONUMENT OF PHILOPAPPUS AT ATHENS.  
(From the drawing by C. H. Lloyd.)



about it often to Mr. Ball at Malta, to Mr. Hamilton, but so far nobody takes any interest. It seems to me that all these gentlemen who ought to favour this acquisition, do not want to take part in it, without some special instruction or recommendation.

Letters were therefore urgently needed for Constantinople, and for Ball at Malta, that he should send a ship.

The same condition of affairs lasted through the summer, and on August 30 Lusieri was still writing in the same mood.<sup>126</sup> After expressing his satisfaction at hearing of Lord Elgin's good health, and his hopes that he was now happy in the middle of his family, he continued that in spite of the absence of letters to the Vovode, and want of money, the operations were going on daily, but that without the one and the other it was impossible to work on the scale desired by Lord Elgin in the Morea and the islands, as well as Attica.

Captain Brown [?] has not yet appeared. It will not be superfluous to find some other means also, for it seems to me rather difficult for a single vessel (unless it is a ship of the line) to take on board 40 cases and more, full of marbles.

Sailing neither ship, nor letters, and short of money, I took the resolve in the month of January to write the state of things to the Countess of Elgin, Milord's mother, but so far unfortunately I do not see any help from that quarter either, and what is still worse, I am surrounded by people of the most insupportable illness.

Lord Elgin, meanwhile, had written a cordial letter of encouragement (July 22, 1806) immediately after his return, urging the shipment of the sculptures, and adding that he was sending 'everything that had been asked for, and everything that he had imagined might be agreeable.' The letter is embossed as received through Walpole, on November 3, 1806. Another letter followed (November 3, 1806) urging that as public interest in Greece was increasing, the drawings of the tour with Hunt should be sent home at once, in wash. A suggestion, forwarded by Lusieri, that a clock should be presented to the town, was cordially accepted, and information was asked as to whether the face should be European or Turkish.

Before the first of Lord Elgin's two letters had been received, Lusieri had heard a report of his liberation, and wrote to him on the whole situation.<sup>127</sup>

I have the satisfaction of learning by public rumour that your Excellency is in England, and I have many causes for rejoicing exceedingly thereat. The unfortunate position of your Excellency had cast too over all your friends, for none has ever stirred himself for the least trifle, though I have not failed, and that very frequently to let them know all that I needed. They have not even deigned to answer. — How often have I not written about it to Pissini? He does not answer me. It is almost a year since he wrote to Logotheti that there was nobody at Constantinople who wanted to provide money on your Excellency's account. Then I, not knowing what to do, took the resolution of writing to H. E. the Dowager Countess of Elgin; but although several months have gone by since then, I do not yet see any satisfaction to my demands. This wretched state of things, and the rumour which circulated from time to time that I could be prevented from shipping the boxes, put me into a condition of insupportable bitterness. The letter that Your Excellency sent me, dated Jan. 12, 1805 only reached

<sup>126</sup> Lusieri to Lady Elgin (1), Aug. 30, 1806.

<sup>127</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Oct. 10, 1806.

me on March 13 of the present year. I answered it in the manner indicated, but for want of means I have not been able to undertake the excavations as I ought, and as I should like.

I cannot dig in the Isles without a permit from the Captain Pasha, nor in the Morea without letters for the Pasha of that region. Among the vases found in the diggings, there are some which ought to be cleaned, and others which ought to be restored. It is at Naples that skilled persons are to be found, who were employed by Sir [William] Hamilton to put the vases in order that he sent to England. If circumstances allow, I should like to land in Sicily, to get my drawings, by the first ship that comes to land the marbles. Then I will bring the vases as well to put them into proper condition, and send them, quite complete to your Excellency. . . . If political affairs are settled, could I not take in the same voyage all those fragments of the frieze, and the three metopes, to have them restored at Rome? I await your Excellency's decision on this point. As I have never received either the leave of the king or of Sir [John] Acton,<sup>112</sup> for which I begged you so earnestly, I need a letter for the English Minister, and another for General Acton, to enable me to land safely in that island. It is necessary to send me a very strong cart to use here and elsewhere. Those that I had have been reduced to a pitiful condition. I am utterly disgusted with the intolerance and persecution of old Lagotheti. He has always had the same faults, but at present he is at the limit. He prolongs business to infinity, and in that way favourable moments are often lost. He is ill regarded and has not the least influence on account of the bad conduct of all his children, and the folly of Nicolao (his son). Several English have even threatened to make him lose his *ex-consulte*, and sooner or later he will lose it. As your Excellency's affairs will be much better in my hands, I intend from henceforth to have nothing to do with the Greeks. I don't need them. I talk the language sufficiently, and I shall begin directly to learn Turkish, to dispense with them.

Those two poor men who have been working from the beginning for your Excellency, and for whom you gave me patents, will be ruined immediately I leave this country, because Pisan has never sent the *Armana* for them. If they have the patents alone, without being supported as they ought, they will have to pay, after all, what they have not paid so far, or else they will be ruined by Lagotheti. I commend them to your Excellency's recollection. Each day I am busy drawing from nature, my drawings are on large paper, they take me a great deal of time, because I study as much as I can, to make them resemble nature. I am convinced that it is not by the great number of drawings that an Artist makes his reputation, because quantity in such a difficult art only indicates imperfection. Unfortunately people have a crazy mania for filling their cabinets with pictures that are only looked at once. I wait with the greatest impatience to undertake the execution of your plans, and for the arrival of a vessel to ship all the boxes. Without that, I cannot leave the town for a moment.

At length in the following spring (February, 1807)<sup>113</sup> Lusieri had the satisfaction of receiving the two boxes of stores. Some he had asked for; others he said were unexpected, but all of great utility. The excavations were continuing successfully. With regard to the architecture, he urged that it was necessary to measure the monuments with the utmost nicety. Such a request at this stage of the proceedings must, one would suppose, have rather dismayed Lord Elgin, who no doubt thought that this had been provided for seven long years before. The Parthenon must be measured carefully.

Dalozzo was very capable of this operation, but on account of his physique (It will be remembered he was a hunchback) he was often obliged to trust this matter

<sup>112</sup> Sir John Francis Edward Acton (1736-1811), Prime Minister of Naples.

<sup>113</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Feb. 3, 1807.



to his pupil, who was nothing great in the matter of accuracy—and they were both unable to wash in a drawing well.

I think therefore, that while I am here, it would be a good thing to have all these monuments measured drawn and washed in over again, and under my eye.

For this purpose he would need a copy of Stuart, or at least of his plates, and would also take moulds of all the mouldings. He had already been making enquiries in Italy for a competent architect.

The boxes are still here. May le bon dieu grant that they be embarked without opposition.

But political movements in a wider area cut suddenly athwart all these schemes. In 1802, Russia had received a pledge from the Porte that the appointment of the Hospodars of the Danubian Principalities should be for a term of seven years, and that they should not be dismissed without the concurrence of the Russian Ambassador at the Porte. In 1806 the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, who had engaged in intrigues in favour of Greek and other revolutionary movements, were dismissed by the Porte, contrary to the arrangement of 1802. War was declared by Russia, supported by England, in February, 1807, and the British Fleet made a demonstration opposite Constantinople. A confused period of revolution and massacre ensued at Constantinople, but an armistice was arranged between Turkey and Russia in August.

The change in the position quickly made itself felt at Athens. Rumours began to circulate that the further export of marbles in the collection of Lord Elgin would be stopped, and Lusieri made up his mind to withdraw from Athens, with the best of the painted vases. Arrangements to that effect were made with the Voivode, and the desired permission was obtained. But two days later, on February 20, at the very moment when the cases of vases were about to be embarked, a Turkish notable, the Kehaya of the Voivode, Logotheti and a Greek of Janina presented themselves at Lusieri's house, saying that by the orders of the Pasha Ali all the antiquities found in the excavations were to be sequestered. The objects were put in two rooms and sealed up, at Athens, but samples of the vases were to be sent express for Ali Pasha's inspection, and it was made a condition that Lusieri should find sureties and remain at Athens. He determined instead to fly, especially as the Russian fleet was close at hand. Leaving at night for Salamis, he went thence to Zee, and falling any opportunity of reaching Tenedos (the station of the British fleet) or Malta, he made for Corfu, which he reached on April 9. He writes thence to Morier,<sup>174</sup> the Consul-General at Zante, that he is there, without money, in poor health, and in debt, without clothes or drawing materials.

'My chief desire' he adds 'would be to know whether the order to sequester the vases really came from Ali Pasha, and I hope that you will easily be able to satisfy yourself of this. The conduct of Logotheti has seemed to me suspect for a long time past, especially on account of his familiarity with the French and chiefly

<sup>174</sup> Lusieri to Morier, April 14, 1807.

John Philip Morier (1770-1823), afterwards

Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Envoy Extraordinary to Saxony.

with those who have been most conspicuous since my departure in taking part in the searches made in my house and stores, and in opening the boxes at the Piræus.

P.S. The day after my flight the Voivode sent his guards to my house, and when they failed to find me there, they searched all the city with extreme urgency. I ought therefore to thank God that he has delivered me from their barbarities.

The papers of Lusieri's chief rival, Fauvel, which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, throw some light on the incident.

The seizure was probably suggested to Ali Pasha by Pouqueville, the traveller in Greece, at one time French Consul-General at Janina. In June he wrote to Fauvel: 'J'ai envoyé à Paris tous les vases saisis chez Lusieri, et le Vizier a donné des ordres pour que tous les objets d'antiquité fussent sequestrés. Il les enverra à notre empereur. Ainsi voilà les projets d'Elgin à van-l'eau. Si les Anglais ou leurs partisans lèvent la tête, dites leur que le vieux pacha de Janina les fera rentrer dans la coquille.'

Presumably the vases in question were those which had been sent as samples to Ali. So far as the sculptures were concerned, these schemes came to nothing. Ali's messengers satisfied themselves that the marbles could not be carried across Greece on mule back, and no ships were available.<sup>173</sup>

On April 14, Lusieri,<sup>174</sup> still at Cerigo, wrote to describe the difficulties of his position to Lord Elgin. He had employed his time at Cerigo drawing up a protest addressed to the Voivode, claiming that he would be responsible for any loss or damage to the sealed effects at Athens and the Piræus. He had also made up his mind to address General Sebastiani (then French Ambassador at the Porte) with a request to obtain the withdrawal of the sequester, a firman for excavations, and an order on a banker for 3,000 piastres. By this request the General's disposition was to be tested. The attitude of Logotheti had throughout been indifferent or hostile, and it would be necessary to return to Athens with the means to overpower his opposition.

The letter closes with requests for further drawing materials and for a cart.

I have made use of a strong cart to transport the big boxes. This cart belongs to the French. I do not know if on my return I should be able to go on using it. Besides it is not in the best condition, in spite of continual repairs.

Many thanks for all the articles that your Excellency has had the goodness to send me, and especially for the medicines. But as I don't know how to use them, and the doctors here know no more about it than I do, Dr. Scott must take the trouble to instruct me. There are pills and liquors of which the uses are unknown here.

During May and June the position remained unchanged, and in July Lusieri was still writing<sup>175</sup> from Cerigo in the same strain. His health was recovered, but he was in need of assistance both pecuniary and political. He

<sup>173</sup> Fauvel's papers, quoted by Legrand, in *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd series, xxi, p. 389. In 1814 Pouqueville informed Foresti that the vases had been sent to Napoleon by Ali, in July 1807, in the care of a renegade monk named Mahometan, one Mahomet Kihandil,

who left them behind him at Spalatro, when he learnt that he must seek Napoleon at Vilna.

<sup>174</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, April 14, 1807.

<sup>175</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, July 4, 1807.



had had some communication with Athens, and had learnt that one of the party who had descended on his house had been the Voivode himself in disguise. But the difficulty of communication to and from Cerigo was extreme, and he was unable to get money or news, and an occupation of the island by a French garrison was reported to be imminent. He therefore determined to leave Cerigo for Malta, and arranged for a special passage. Malta would seem to have been reached on September 14, since we hear of Lusieri's release from the Lazaretto on October 4, after 20 days' quarantine. At Malta, while still in quarantine, he was able with some trouble to obtain an advance of money from Mr. Edward Hayes, a Smyrna merchant whom Lord Elgin had invited in the previous spring, as well as at an earlier stage, to assist in the enterprise.

The outbreak of war had compelled flight to Malta, and had thereby lessened his power to give effective help. 'Situated as we are now,' Hayes had written on June 29, 'for your Lordship must have heard of the precipitate manner in which all British subjects were forced away from Smyrna, we do not see what means we can pursue in order to accomplish your wishes, and particularly as we have heard that Mr. Lusieri was obliged to abandon Athens and return to Cerigo.'

Lusieri, safely arrived at Malta, began to make his plans for an expedition to Taormina to recover his drawings (presumably they had been left there eight years before) with the intention of occupying himself with their completion. But at the same time he was making other schemes, for finishing the Levantine drawings, for shipping the remainder of the antiquities (if only he could get his strong cart) and for a visit to England. No substantial progress could be made, and at the end of October, Lusieri wrote that he had received no instructions since the previous November, but was still planning a visit to Taormina to secure the Sicilian drawings.

In the late autumn he carried out his plan of visiting Sicily and reached Messina. In February, 1808, he was at Taormina whence he wrote that he had found all the drawings, but much the worse for wear, as they had 'had to be shewn too often to English travellers'. He was still waiting for Lord Elgin's instructions, and watching for a favourable moment to return to Athens.

Lord Elgin meanwhile (January 5, 1808) wrote making application to Hayes for help. At the present juncture he saw little hope of naval assistance or of support from the Admiralty, and he was obliged to rely on the help of personal friends at Malta, and, in the event of peace, at Constantinople. 'In the latter event there will be no difficulty in obtaining for Mr. Lusieri the passports and firmans he applied for. And as Ali Pasha is represented as having occupied the territory of Attica with a military force, his co-operation and consent will at all times be necessary. For this object I must rely on the exertions of Mr. David Morier; in case the public service should lead him to the coast of Albania. In the meantime something might be done more privately, and Hayes was therefore begged to pay Lusieri £500, in the event of his returning to Athens, and also to arrange for chartering

a vessel, should Lusieri think it advisable to attempt embarkation, and furnish it with the extra tackle it might require, and on that occasion, use my name in the most earnest manner with Sir Alexander Ball, or the commanding Naval Officer at Malta, requesting them to order a frigate or brig of war to convoy the vessel to her destination, if necessary, and assist in the embarkation of the marbles, and to make at least a demonstration of force, by which it might be protected.'

Further steps were taken by Lord Elgin as the spring advanced. On February 16 he appealed to Lord Mulgrave (First Lord of the Admiralty, 1807-1810) to interest Admiral Martin and other naval authorities in the matter, to arrange for a naval demonstration, possibly in concert with the Voivode. At the same time also he wrote to Sir John Stuart (the victor of Maida, in 1806), who was then in London, but about to start to take up military command in the Mediterranean —

If you are likely to sail soon I should wish you to let Mr. Hamilton (a young man who was abroad with us) call upon you and explain a matter in which it is possible you may have opportunities of being of service to me. The case is this. A considerable quantity of marbles and other antiquities of mine are still at Athens. Why no exertion was made during my detention in France to remove them to Malta I cannot comprehend. Be that as it may, they are still there, and if they continue, must fall into the hands of the French.

Don Tito Lusieri, the painter who collected them came lately to Malta and went I believe to Tarsusina, where he had been long employed before going to Greece with me in 1799. By my last accounts he had a prospect of returning to Turkey in company with M. Itakinski, the Russian Ambassador, and had some vague hopes from his influence. I can point out no line of action for recovery and removing those effects. I spoke to Admiral Martin, and have often written to Sir Alex. Ball, and have sent a credit to Messrs. Hayes, Smyrni merchants, now at Malta . . . . M. Lusieri may probably be within your reach, and will immediately attend your summons. He is old and but whether he has formed any tender connection at Athens which might render him cautious in any attempt to be made I know not. I make the hint only as it has been made to me, the fact will easily be ascertained if you meet.

Situated as Athens is, in case the articles were at the Port of Piræus I conceive they might be removable, if any ship of war took them under her convoy, in one or two stout counter vessels which her appearance and her guns would amply protect, while they were embarking the cases. If as I fear, much of the property be still in the town of Athens, which is between four or five miles from the port, then the operation becomes far more difficult. There are indeed no troops whatever in that part of the country, no artillery, no thoughts of defence. Still the population of the town is sufficient to set aside all idea of military proceedings, which God knows I am sensible could in no case whatever be employed with a view to force. The only combination which occurs to my mind from hence is, supposing it possible that a secret communication could be made to the authorities at Athens, I mean the Voivode, making it worth his while to permit, or counteract the removal of such of the effects as were easily transported to the Port — Perhaps then a demonstration of disembarking a few machines, especially if there were more than one ship of war in the offing, might justify his compliance, and could easily be done, while there was not a possibility of any resistance being made. M. Lusieri is personage I believe by the King of Naples whom he always had to be with me. I shall be obliged to you for having this hint extended. At all events, whether you can enable him to do anything in the present business or not, I earnestly recommend him to you, as a man of intrinsic worth, of very great taste and knowledge, and of first-rate ability and zeal for the work. A little peculiarity of manner, which is marred for pride,



has, I have observed, made him enemies and in fact he does not conceal his own dislikes, but I never saw anything in him that did not fully justify and elicit admiration. . . .

I spoke to Lord Malgrave on this subject, before I left London, begging him to encourage Adl. Martin to do in it whatever he could. And the grounds of my application were that as I undertook the extensive plan, on which I have proceeded so long, and at such expense, for the purpose of rendering my collection of publick utility and publick property, I could say that what should be farther saved by any such exertions should belong to the country, and not remain in my private possession. At the same time aware that were this to be known, or even suspected, the enemy might and would instantly seize them; it was agreed that no allusion whatever should be made to their destination, and in this communication Lord Malgrave offered his radical assistance.

Sir John Stuart's reply (February 24) promised assistance if possible, in general terms. Hamilton's proposed call was duly paid and he could send a favourable report to Broomhall (March 5) of Sir John Stuart's disposition.

Three weeks later Hamilton wrote to Lord Elgin with new and important proposals. He had become aware through a friend that one Stephen Maltass, 'your old cancellier' (and an official of the Levant Company), would be very willing to go out to Athens on a special mission, and was anxious to know how such a scheme would be regarded by Lord Elgin.

The suggestion was favourably received. Early in April Hamilton reported<sup>173</sup> that Maltass was 'so ready and to all appearances so well able' to do what was required, that he was not only introducing Maltass to Sir John Stuart, but also was sending him to Broomhall 'if he can get a place in the mail' to talk the matter over. The visit was duly paid, Maltass leaving for Scotland on April 7, and a week later matters had so far advanced that his instructions were drawn up in a letter of 26 paragraphs, headed 'most secret' and dated Broomhall, April 13, 1803. It recited that Maltass had undertaken to go without delay to Malta, Sicily, and the Archipelago for the purpose of removing the collections from Athens to Malta. Lusieri would supply the necessary information as to details. If possible, the assistance of the Voivodé was to be secured, and it might be also, that of Ali Pasha, who might perhaps order the shipping of the marbles ostensibly for his own purposes. The local conditions would admit of the assistance of a man-of-war and a military demonstration might be effective. Possibly, it was suggested, 'French agents residing at Athens and some of the Magistrates' might be captured by a ruse, and then held to ransom. It would be necessary to have transports or country vessels able to enter the harbour. Strong carriages, harness and, if possible, four stout horses, tackle and a barge should be sent. Maltass was to receive £200 per annum while on this business, travelling expenses and board. Failing a passage on a man-of-war before the end of the month he was to sail in the Malta packet of the beginning of May, and would receive a credit for £1,000 on Messrs. John Ross, of Malta.

<sup>173</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, April 5, 1803.

Maltass had left Broomhall on April 14, taking with him a cordial letter of introduction to Sir John Stuart. 'His perfect acquaintance with the languages, habits, and interests in Turkey, an extremely good comprehension and a great zeal of character, are qualifications which you would have had great difficulty in finding on the spot, tho' indispensable if anything is to be attempted in my business.'

To Hamilton at the same date the draft instructions were forwarded for submission to Sir John Stuart, with a covering letter.

Your first impression will, I'm confident agree with mine, that such instructions ought not to be entrusted to any man out of the country. I therefore told him, what I now say, that I propose he should take such illegible copies of these instructions as satisfy himself but should leave them under his own seal, if he will, in your custody. After Morier's pocket book (I find no other reference to this incident) I cannot be too cautious. In a word, I would not on any consideration, they should ever for a moment go out of your hands. You will easily combine with him some safe aid to his memory for their contents.

Maltass was soon back in London, making his last arrangements and anxious to leave by the Falmouth packet. On April 19 Hamilton wrote as to the necessary money arrangements, the letter of credit on Ross, and a draft of £200 for immediate expenses. 'The purchase of presents would not exceed £20 or £30 of that sum; and I can procure from Hammond the proper cover for the pistols, or other presents if it be necessary.' On April 28 the fair copy of the instructions was signed by Hamilton, who wrote: 'As the above instructions are not signed by Lord Elgin, I undertake the responsibility of their being punctually fulfilled by his Lordship, or his Executors, Assigns, etc. William Hamilton, April 28, 1808.' Maltass at the same time wrote at the foot 'I agree to observe the above instructions on the implied conditions to the best of my abilities, and as far as circumstances will allow me. London, April 28, 1808. Stephen Maltass.'

Maltass left for Falmouth<sup>129</sup> on April 29, furnished with the memoranda of the instructions, the letter to Sir John Stuart, and an open one from Lord Mulgrave to Lord Collingwood about the business; containing a statement that as the works of art were destined for the British Museum he therefore recommended the recovery of them to his favourable attention. Together with these papers, he took 'a double barrelled gun from Mortimer's, a brace of silver mounted pistols, and four of Prior's watches made for the Turkish market,' as also 'a Dirk (quasi yataghan).' He was 'to go in a swift sailing armed merchantman (the Snake) which he expected to find at Falmouth, ready to sail for the Mediterranean.'

We must leave Maltass facing a gale at the mouth of the Channel, and return to the Mediterranean. We left Lasteri at Taormina in the beginning of February. He was recalled thence to Malta by Hayea, who had conceived a scheme of taking advantage of a ship which was about to visit Patras, and of writing to Ali Pasha for his permission to remove the effects from Athens. 'I must confess,' Morier wrote<sup>130</sup> to Lord Elgin,

<sup>129</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, April 29, 1808.

<sup>130</sup> Morier to Elgin, March 4, 1808.



'that the business in the very outset appears difficult, because nothing has been done on our part (I mean on the part of government) to assure the Pasha of our friendly dispositions . . . But I am persuaded that if we do ever enter into confidential communications with him, it will be no difficult matter to get everything away.'

Three weeks later Lusieri wrote<sup>121</sup> from Malta that he was ready to go to Athens at any opportune moment, but that his advisers Foresti and Morier both thought that matters were not sufficiently advanced with Ali. 'But if these fortunate moments that they are expecting do not arrive as quickly as they think, I shall make a great effort to attain our purpose by the ordinary means.'

Maltass, who had left Falmouth early in May was not able to report his arrival for nearly two months. On June 30 he wrote<sup>122</sup> to Lord Elgin, 'I only reached Malta on the 24th instant after a passage of fifty days from Falmouth, attended with imminent danger, having twice carried away our maintopmast and being forced to heave away for Ireland in a gale of wind, the vessel nothing able to keep the sea.' Although the state of his health made it necessary to rest at Malta, he was seeking the first opportunity of going to Messina to join Sir John Stuart. In the meantime he had had a whole day's conversation with Lusieri, and had obtained much useful information.

To state here the substance of our conversation would not only be superfluous but for the reasons you know, very improper. Suffice it to say that Mr. L. much approves of the plan, and I flatter myself is pleased with my treatment of him. I am sorry to say that his health is very much impaired, and that the climate of Malta does not agree with him. He talks of going to Tino.

A similar account of the meeting was sent by Lusieri,<sup>123</sup> who added that he had advised Maltass to go at once to Ali. In a postscript (July 20) he wrote:—

I have just had the satisfaction of receiving a letter of your Excellency of April 23, the only one in the space of nearly two years. My state of bitterness need not be aggravated by the annoyance of such a long delay. Mr. Maltass writes to me from Messina that he must await an answer from Admiral Collingwood. He tells me he will not go to Athens without me. I will follow him if necessary.

In the meantime he was busy with a large drawing from a point called Il Boschetto, now a public garden to the south of Città Vecchia.

Maltass duly reached Messina, and presented Lord Elgin's letter to Sir John Stuart. The latter wrote<sup>124</sup> in most cordial terms, but regretting his inability to take any immediate step.

Your Lordship will feel how small my means must be at this moment, when I tell you that we have not a single vessel of war of any description here at this moment, that at no period since my arrival have we had any thing but a Brig, and that it is only by casual opportunities of once or twice in the course of two months that I have the means of communication with the Admiral commanding in the Mediterranean Station.

<sup>121</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, March 24, 1808.

<sup>122</sup> Maltass to Elgin, June 30, 1808.

<sup>123</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, July 7, 1808.

<sup>124</sup> Stuart to Elgin, July 14, 1808.

He could, therefore, only advise Maltass to send his letters to the naval commanders and await their answers. The remainder of a long letter is devoted to the military situation. 'I begin to hope that the tide of iniquity has begun to turn, and I really feel some satisfaction that my own humble efforts have contributed to render this Island an obstacle to the career of the Usurper.' The impossibility of obtaining naval assistance (confirmed not long after by a letter from Lord Collingwood at Cadix) became clear to Maltass at Messina, and he wrote (July 29) to Hamilton in a tone of discouragement, that he saw no prospect of accomplishing anything until peace should be made with Turkey. He was also anxious to make sure that the Levant Company would overlook his continued absence from his post, and begged Hamilton to make the necessary inquiries at headquarters. As to the nature of the appointment in question the papers seem to furnish no information.

Meanwhile some news as to the position at Athens reached Lusieri, and on August 4 he reported to Lord Elgin<sup>18</sup> that he had heard that the collection of marbles was still intact, but that several visits had been made to his house, at the instigation of the French agent, and the vases had been carried off for Ali. He had promised to accompany Maltass if an understanding could be reached with Ali, but if a *coup de main* was to be attempted, it would be better for him not to appear, as his future would be compromised.

Perhaps in their voracity they might break or burn everything in the stores and at my house, and that is the best there is. Three mosaics, the best preserved, and the best pieces of the frieze, of the most picturesque part of the procession, making a sequence of several slabs are in the town. . . . One of these reliefs, which they cannot find, though they have made holes in all the corners of my house, is the despair of the Viceconsul (Favrol). They have opened all the other boxes on purpose to find it. It is finer and better preserved than all the rest.

A fortnight later<sup>19</sup> he supplemented his account by adding that a part of the vase collection had been stolen by Turks, who were selling it secretly in the town. David Morier<sup>20</sup> at the same time was writing to Lord Elgin that the plunder was by order of Vely Pasha, the Governor of the Morea, 'who justifies it by the plea of a cruiser of ours having stopped some horses which were sent to him as a present from the Pasha of Egypt.' As the summer of 1808 went on, the possibility that peace might soon be concluded began to modify the plans of procedure. Sensational *ruses de guerre*, such as had been contemplated, became inadmissible and inexpedient. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Adair (1763-1855), who had occupied for a time the embassy at Vienna, happened to be returning by way of Malta in the spring of the year, when an urgent invitation to negotiate (intended for Sir A. Paget) was received from the Turks. Adair had in his possession the home Government's terms of peace, and conceived that, though he had no

<sup>18</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Aug. 4, 1808.

<sup>19</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Aug. 16, 1808.

<sup>20</sup> David Richard Morier (1784-1871).



commission, he might attach himself to Lord Collingwood, naval commander-in-chief, and so arrange an armistice on terms to be afterwards converted into a treaty. The plan could not be carried out, and Adair reached London in May, to be sent out again immediately with full powers. He travelled by way of Gibraltar, Palermo and Malta, and reached Palermo on August 3, and Malin on September 7. He reached Tenos on September 26, on board the *Seahorse*, and found that the Semakier of the Dardanelles claimed to have full powers to negotiate a peace.<sup>129</sup> The *Seahorse* was admitted to anchorage at Barbieri Bay (near Abydos, and therefore within the gate of the Dardanelles), and dilatory negotiations were carried on till the end of the year. At the last moment, when the *Seahorse* was actually making preparations to sail the terms were accepted. The peace of the Dardanelles was agreed on January 5, 1809, and on January 26 Adair was at Pera. On August 17, 1808, Malta's wrote to Hamilton from Malta that Sir John Seuart had advised him that Collingwood would certainly not be willing at this juncture to send a frigate to Athens, and that his best plan would be to see Adair at Palermo. He had had a satisfactory interview, and had received promises of help. In the event of peace it would be clear that a firman and other orders would be necessary. He had therefore determined to go at once to the Archipelago, to be ready to proceed to Constantinople if peace were signed and had arranged that Lusieri should go to Athens as soon as the firman, etc., had been procured. In a postscript he adds: 'Lusieri has begun to build the cart for the carriage of the M-bes.'

Lusieri was also busy with other objects more difficult of attainment, and on August 29 he presented Adair with a memorandum of the documents he required. These were an English patent of protection; a firman allowing him to embark the whole of the collection at Athens; a firman directing that all the vases and everything else taken from the house and the stores, should be returned to him, and also the house itself and the stores, with compensation for all loss; a new English patent of protection, and firman in favour of two Greeks who had been employed from the beginning; an order to the Vaisvode to protect Lusieri in all his new enterprises, to give him all necessary aid, and to cash his bills; a firman giving free entry to the Acropolis and elsewhere to draw, and freedom to excavate wherever he should think appropriate, on condition of making good the soil afterwards. He also desired the aid of a ship of war.

How Adair received the list of Lusieri's requirements is not on record. Lusieri wrote from Malta<sup>130</sup> while Adair was still at Palermo, sanguine that all would be granted. He added: 'I know now for certain that Vely Pasha of Tripolizza, son of Ali Pasha of Janina, sent some of his people to take all that was specially choice at my house, in the stores, and at Port Pinens. They opened all the boxes, but not being able to transport them, as being too

<sup>129</sup> See *The Negotiations for the Peace of the Dardanelles in 1808-9*, by Sir Robert

Adair, O.C.R. 2 vols. 1843.

<sup>130</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 2, 1808.

heavy, they chose the best vases for the French Chancellor and took them to him. His intention was to make a present of them to the Emperor Bonaparte.'

But Constantinople was in the throes of revolution, and Adair was detained, as we have stated, by Turkish manoeuvres at the Dardanelles, and the months went by. In the late autumn a characteristic letter was received by Lord Elgin from Ali Pasha himself,<sup>129</sup> drawn up in rather illiterate Italian. After compliments he proceeds: 'With reference to the antiquities left by your Excellency at Athens, if my Seit Aga were still there as governor, I would have served you promptly. At present however, as there is a foreign person there, we must be patient until I meet with a good opportunity to serve you as I ought and as you wish, and be assured that I shall be careful and zealous to please you.' After further compliments, he begs leave to trouble his correspondent with a commission. He wants two pistols worked with diamonds and emeralds. He sends a memorandum and a wooden pattern, and begs that they be ordered at once from the best professors, to be worked in the most perfect style. The price should not exceed 60,000 Turkish piastres, and he would like delivery if possible by May. He will repay the money at once, when informed in what way payment should be made. After further compliments and apologies, 'I only beg that you do not fail to attend to them, in order that they may turn out in the best taste, and of perfect workmanship, without the smallest defect.' Signed Wissr Aly Pascia.

Peace was signed, as we have mentioned above, on January 5, 1809. Before the end of the month the news had reached Malta. Hayes<sup>130</sup> sent congratulations on the improved prospect, and Lusieri<sup>131</sup> wrote letters full of schemes for the future. He was hoping soon to have the firmans from Constantinople through Maltass.

Now that peace was made he hoped his friend Calcei, at Cerigo, would be replaced in his Vice-Consulate. Gropina the protégé of Aberdeen and Gell, was pressing for the Vice-Consulate at Athens, but if Lusieri could obtain it, it would certainly facilitate his operations. Foresti had just received the letters and model pistol from Ali Pasha to forward to Lord Elgin. It was possible the letter contained important messages about the marbles, but they had not ventured to break the seal. The mere fact however, of the correspondence was an encouragement.

But events continued to move very slowly. At Constantinople, Adair was occupied countering the moves of the French agent, and on March 4, Maltass, newly arrived at Constantinople, could only report that he meant to apply for the necessary assistance to Adair when he should have had his audience. 'The enclosed,' he adds, 'is a letter from Eleni, Lord Bruce's Nurse [i.e. the Paramaná] whom I left well at Tind in the full enjoyment of your Lordship's pension.'

Early in the spring of 1809 Captain Leake<sup>132</sup> had been sent on a special

<sup>129</sup> Ali Pasha to Elgin, Nov. 24, 1808.

<sup>130</sup> Hayes to Elgin, Jan. 27, 1809.

<sup>131</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Feb. 4, 1809.

<sup>132</sup> Marsden, *Memoir of William Martin Leake*, p. 31.



mission as resident at the Court of Ali Pasha, together with a vessel laden with military stores, to be presented to that potentate. As soon as the peace had made the way open, Lusieri had planned to go to Prevesa, and there to take Leake's advice as to whether he should go on to Janina or return to Athens. On April 12 he wrote<sup>100</sup> from Malta that he had received from Maltass on the previous day firmans which would allow him to return to Athens, and he was therefore starting to join Leake at Prevesa. Two days before he had sent news of a famous piece of sculpture in the hands of Notara at Corinth, which would, he thought, be a valuable addition to the Elgin collection. This was the 'Guilford parcel,' a piece of archaistic work which subsequently came to London, and was lost to view in comparatively modern times (*J.H.S.* vi. p. 46). He also reported:—

The archons of Athens have just written to me, begging me to provide them with a clock for public use. This request calls to my memory the promise that I made to them, on behalf of your Excellency, so I think it would be very apropos if you would send it, and I would make use of it, if things go as they should, to encourage the people of Athens to favour my operations.

It was not till May 19 that Lusieri could start on a brig of war for Prevesa. To have started sooner would have been unsafe on account of the French privateers, who, he reports to Lord Elgin, abound in these waters.<sup>101</sup> He added that the Notara (or Guilford) marble had been taken over by Ali or his son Vely, who were holding it till he could secure it.

When this letter reached Lord Elgin, it called forth an impassioned remonstrance.<sup>102</sup>

It is with the most lively feelings of regret and vexation that I have just learnt by yours of the 17th May, that you were only then on the point of leaving Malta—that you were going thence to Prevesa, notwithstanding that you had already our firmans for Athens—and that Sir A. Ball was only to give you a ship when you should have told him from Athens that all was ready for shipment. Heaven! why the delay? How, at a time like the present, can you believe in the possibility of a lasting peace? What is the use of the cruel experience we have had already? For the love of God, don't lose another instant, at whatever cost. Take any ship that you can possibly get, either from Smyrna or Malta, to get the things into a place of safety. When you have once made them secure, then we will go forward with more confidence and calmness. But remember all I have suffered for the last six years. Think of all the opposition you have met with, and that you still have to fear. Think of all the delays inseparable from one's object in those countries. Recall the entire trust that I place in you: that I send you all the means that you can desire, or that I can procure for you. Think of all that we have done; of the marvellous work at which we labour. Give yourself up entirely to the impetuosity of your character, as the object itself, our past success, and in short everything unite in requiring.

If my soul in this pursuit gives you pleasure, know that these very last days I was busy with a journey, the object of which would be to see you at Athens in the course of the autumn. If affairs allow, or when they shall allow, it is decidedly my intention.

The dispatch of a courier gives me this opportunity of writing these few words. As to the clock, it is in train. It will be worthy of the place it is to occupy.

<sup>100</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, April 12, 1802.

<sup>101</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, May 17, 1802.

<sup>102</sup> Elgin to Lusieri, July 23, 1802.

Prevesa was reached after a voyage of fourteen days 'made pleasant by good company,'<sup>100</sup> and thence Lusieri made his way to Janina and presented himself to Ali Pasha. Ali was ready to promise that if no firman arrived from Constantinople, he would send one of his own men to arrange matters at Athens, and Lusieri in sanguine mood lost no time about writing to Sir A. Ball at Malta, saying that a suitable vessel should be sent at once to Athens. But, as usual, matters did not move quickly, and on July 21 Lusieri was still writing from Janina.<sup>101</sup> He had preferred to wait for firmans from Constantinople rather than trust to Ali's emissary, and, meanwhile, at Captain Leake's instigation he was occupying himself with a view of Janina. 'Ali Pasha, stated quite frankly that the vases had been seized as spoils of war and sent to Napoleon, and that he had received his thanks. The residue, which had been refused by everybody, he gave as a present to Captain Leake. In my presence he begged him to surrender them and to let them reach your Excellency.'

M. Étienne Michon has been good enough to send an extract from Fauvel's papers<sup>102</sup> relating to this collection. It would seem that the 120 vases in question failed to reach the Emperor (cf. note 175 *ante*); but in Fauvel's opinion the loss was not important, as for the most part the vases were small and only decorated with leaves of ivy. Some, however, had 'chariots finishing their race, an emblem of life finished,' but these being meant only for use in the tombs were of the worst execution.

Ali Pasha's thoughts, Lusieri said, were turned towards the pair of pistols that he had commissioned, and it was eminently desirable to have his support for any further operations.

Lusieri was also exercised with reference to the safety of the pair of Greeks who had done such good service, and were now at Malta. He would be glad to have them with him again at Athens for the final campaign. He had written to Maltass as to a patent of protection; but Maltass had advised him to give up the idea on the ground that the Greeks had previously attracted the notice of the government and there could be no doubt that if they were discovered the governor would have them cut to pieces. 'I do not understand,' is Lusieri's plaintive comment, 'why these poor Greeks should be cut to pieces. I beg your Excellency to write on this subject to the Ambassador.'

The desired letter from Constantinople did not arrive, and late in August Lusieri started from Janina for Athens, accompanied by a Tartar or courier, and fortified with letters from Ali Pasha. After a laborious journey through the mountains, in which Lusieri suffered much from rheumatism, Athens was reached on August 31.<sup>103</sup> Ali's letter was duly presented to the Voivode and received with respect, but after a night's reflection that official decided that nothing could be done with reference to the marbles without a general authority from Constantinople. Lusieri

<sup>100</sup> Lusieri to Hayek, June 13, 1800.

franc. 22871, folio 102, verso.

<sup>101</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, July 21, 1800.

<sup>102</sup> Lusieri to Leake, Sept. 7, 1800.

<sup>103</sup> *Papiers de Fauvel*, Publ. Nat. MS.



was therefore obliged to send messages to Pisani and others at Constantinople pressing for such a letter. In so doing he was going contrary to the advice of Leake, who had advised that in case of a hitch the matter should be referred back to Janina, and who seems to have been somewhat offended at the course adopted.<sup>200</sup>

Soon after Lusieri's arrival at Athens his house was solemnly opened in the presence of the Voivode, the Cadi, and the Greek and Turkish Primates. But the formality was somewhat futile, for 'the back doors were all found open, with a ladder against the garden wall, by which anyone could descend to rob, with all convenience.' Everything of any use or value had been stolen, including the collection of vases, a box full of English goods intended for presents, a specially fine 'Etruscan vase,' which Lusieri had bought on his own account, together with a quantity of timber, rope, stores and provisions. Common rumour laid the blame on the Agia at the time when the war broke out. He had, it was said, taken goods for himself, had sent many of his adherents, with Fanvel, to do the same, and finally had left the doors open.

Relations had previously been very strained between Lusieri and Logotheti, and the former had been anxious to supersede the latter in the British Vice-Consulate, but he was now able to write magnanimously of the poor old man that 'all he did; it seems; he had to do to save his family, so I have forgotten everything.'

Meanwhile, at Constantinople no progress was being made. Adair<sup>201</sup> wrote to Lord Elgin that difficulties were being caused by the want of a firman issued before the war, by uncertainty as to Lusieri's wishes in the matter of the Vice-Consulate, and by the fact that Lusieri was still asking authority for further researches. 'By a dispatch which I have received from the Foreign Office, I am now enabled to ask in a more pressing tone for permission to embark these cases. I have accordingly done so although by an understanding with the Reis Effendi I have not presented an official note about it.' In October, Lusieri<sup>202</sup> wrote to Leake, that 'Stano had warned him that he might expect the early arrival of two respectable personages, Lord Byron and Othman [Hobhouse]. Meanwhile the autumn wore away, and without authority from Constantinople or a ship from Malta, Lusieri turned his mind elsewhere, and in December he was attempting negotiations with a vessel of Hydra. At this stage, however, a ship of war made its appearance, but all to no purpose, since the authority from Constantinople had not yet been obtained, or it would seem even applied for.

'It is a matter of great regret to me,' Malass<sup>203</sup> wrote to Hamilton, 'that so far from having any good tidings to give you . . . I have to say that it now appears too evident that no success can be expected, for it is now ten months since my arrival here, and my endeavour in stimulating Pisani who is, I must say, unfortunately the instrument by

<sup>200</sup> Leake to Elgin, Oct. 14, 1800.

<sup>201</sup> Adair to Elgin, Sept. 25, 1800.

<sup>202</sup> Lusieri to Leake, Oct. 7, 1800. Byron

reached Athens on Christmas Day.

<sup>203</sup> Malass to Hamilton, Jan. 4, 1810.

must necessarily make use of (as chief dragoman) have I assure you been unobtruded, but all to no purpose. To enumerate to you the great variety of impediments which Pissini alleges to have lain in the way of his obtaining a simple letter to the Voivode of Athens for the purpose of his suffering the antiquities to be shipped, would take up more time than I have to spare or you to read. Suffice it to inform you that to this day he has not found an opportunity of asking for this letter and of getting a decisive yes or no: and what adds to our misfortune is the arrival of an armed vessel at Athens, which is come for the express purpose of taking the things away, a circumstance which has occasioned at that place great altercation between Lusieri and the Voivode, who opposes the shipment on the plea of want of orders, and who has despatched a Tartar with the intelligence to the Reis Effendi, through whose channel only we know of the arrival of this vessel at Athens."

The writer adds that Pissini has written to Lusieri that the ship should be ordered away to a neighbouring port until the desired opportunity of asking should arrive.

In London, Lord Elgin was not idle, and Lord Wellesley,<sup>294</sup> then Foreign Minister, was induced to send an official letter to the Admiralty, asking that a transport should be sent on special duty to Athens. The assent of the Admiralty was given on the next day. While this was passing, Lusieri's difficulties were greater than ever.<sup>295</sup> Despairing of the arrival of a transport, he had chartered a Hydriot polacca in the month of December, and had obtained the permission of the Voivode to embark the marbles.<sup>296</sup> But at the moment that the vessel was ready to set sail, a message arrived from the Kaimakan that the embarkation could not be allowed without a firman from the Porte, and everything was unloaded again 'in such fashion as to cause the greatest possible pleasure to our enemies,' and to make matters worse at the crisis of these transactions, a letter arrived from Hayes at Malta, saying that a bill drawn on London had not been accepted, and that no further advances were possible. Lusieri was obliged to address himself to all the friends within reach, such as General Oswald, Lenke, Strane, and Foresti, to make fresh appeals to Hayes, and in the meantime was unable to discharge his obligations to the Voivode or for the hire of the vessel.

Further urgent representations were also sent to Adair, and at length the course of events became more favourable. On February 27, the Ambassador<sup>297</sup> could write to Lord Wellesley, 'I have at length succeeded in obtaining an order from the Kaimakan to the Voivode of Athens, for the embarkation without further detention of the antiquities collected by Lord Elgin and now lying at Athens.' Morier wrote to congratulate Lord Elgin, and Maltess sent the news to Hamilton. A little later, Morier<sup>298</sup> wrote that the

<sup>294</sup> Wellesley to Croker, Feb. 14, 1810.

<sup>295</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, March 24, 1810.

<sup>296</sup> Compare Byron, *Appendix to Childs Herald*, Canto 2, note A: 'At this moment (Jan. 3, 1810), besides what has been already deposited in London, an Hydriot vessel is in the Pyraea to receive every portable relic.' Under this date Byron records *ibidem* 'Between this artist [Lusieri] and the French Consul

Fauvel, who wishes to reserve the remains for his own government, there is now a violent dispute concerning a car employed in their conveyance, the wheel of which—I wish they were both broken upon it!—has been locked up by the Consul, and Lusieri has laid his complaint before the Waywaki.'

<sup>297</sup> Adair to Wellesley, Feb. 27, 1810.

<sup>298</sup> Morier to Elgin, March 17, 1810.



order had been sent to Lusieri on March 3. The presents made on this occasion to Turkish officials amounted to 1480 piastres, and Adair had also found it necessary to make a present to the Kaimakan.

Efforts had been made through Consul Werry at Smyrna for a cruiser to visit Athens to protect the embarkation, and to furnish a convoy. The *Pylades* sloop of war left Smyrna on this service on March 11. The authority for the exportation reached Athens on March 20, and no time was lost about replacing the boxes on the palacca. By the evening of the 21st they were on board. The delays had caused demurrage charges of 3000 piastres, and all vacant parts of the palacca were filled with wood for sale at Malta, to redeem the costs. Among the cases was one filled with votive reliefs, excavated by Lord Aberdeen at the Pnyx, and still his property. It somehow happened that they remained in the Elgin collection, and passed to the British Museum, where they were joined fifty years later by two examples which had been retained by Lord Aberdeen. There were 48 cases in all. Five of the largest were still left behind. They contained the cap and the drum of the Parthenon, the cap of the Propylæa, and a colossal sepulchral cippus. The Daphne column was also wanting, as it was waiting on the beach at Eleusis. On the 26th Lusieri wrote<sup>209</sup>

Covering up all my past woes with eternal oblivion, I wholly give myself up to joy, when I see the antiquities on board the palacca, ready to set her sails for Malta. I regret that I cannot follow them, as I am obliged to stay here as a surety for paying what I owe, and carrying out my promises to the Voivode, and I should be delighted if I saw the clock make its appearance for the public.

The vessel at length left the Piræus for Hydra on the evening of March 26.<sup>210</sup> It was to wait there two or three days for a convoy,

but with the formidable North wind that is now blowing I think that the impatience of the Captain and crew went be held in, and that they will set sail unaccompanied for Malta. There is more reason to fear some sudden change, than Consular, as the Captain of the *Pylades* has assured us that there were none in the Archipelago. Besides the palacca is a good ship, and has forty men on board ready to fight.

However, the vessel did in fact wait eleven days at Hydra,<sup>211</sup> and started for Malta in company with two other Hydriote vessels (but without naval convoy) on April 5. In the course of the same month letters were received from Hayes, putting Lusieri once more in funds. Only the arrival of the clock and a certain compensation due to Logotheti were now wanting, but excavations had again been started, and there were already three more boxes with vases and other finds waiting an opportunity, together with the five heavy cases which the palacca had been unable to take. The palacca's happy arrival at Malta was duly reported by Hayes.<sup>212</sup>

By a most singular coincidence these objects arrived here on the very same day that an order reached this place from the Earl of Liverpool directing that a transport should be sent to Athens for their removal. Had this order been obtained and sent out long ago it would have saved your Lordship much anxiety and expense.

<sup>209</sup> Letter by Elgin, March 25 and 26, 1810.

<sup>210</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, March 28, 1810.

<sup>211</sup> Letter to Elgin, April 23, 1810.

<sup>212</sup> Hayes to Elgin, April 17, 1810.

The boxes were landed and put into a store before the end of the month, and Hayes wrote<sup>232</sup> to urge that arrangements should be made for them to go home with a convey or, better still, on board a transport. But there were still the remaining cases to be fetched from Athens, and as a result of the official instructions of Lord Liverpool, the senior naval officer made arrangements for a transport to call at Athens on her return from Constantinople.

But nearly a year was to elapse without further progress. During the summer of 1810 Lusieri was engaged on various minor excavations,<sup>233</sup> and on a great general view of Athens from the foot of Anchesmes (i.e. Lycabettos). He also reported the visits of various Englishmen, Lord Sligo, Lord Byron, and Messrs. Fred North (Lord Guilford), (Gally) Knight and Fazakerly. 'Vely Pasha of the Morea has had digging done at Argos and Mycenae. He has found various fragments of sculpture which he has sold to Messrs. Knight and Fazakerly and some columns which he has given to Lord Sligo.' It will be remembered that the columns in question from the Treasury of Atreus (briefly referred to in Laurent's *Classical Tour*, page 145) passed out of general view and remained nearly a hundred years at Westport, in Ireland. They were again identified in 1904 by the then Lord Allamont, and were presented by Lord Sligo to the British Museum.

The English visitors were not too well disposed towards Lord Elgin, and were spreading rumours as to the ruinous state of his fortunes. Lusieri in consequence wrote anxiously to correspondents (such as Clarke and Walpole,<sup>234</sup> and a little later to Hamilton) for information as to the state of affairs. Clarke and Walpole forwarded their letters to Hamilton, with a joint covering letter, with the comment, 'As there seems to be some unfair play going on at Athens, or that the English are gulling poor Don Baptista for their fun, we think it right to make the matter known to his Lordship.' In November Lusieri wrote again to Lord Elgin that he could get no news and no answers to his letters and no money, for Hayes had stopped all supplies till a protested bill should be discharged. The promised transport did not arrive to take the marbles, and the clock was still awaited with impatience by the public of Athens.

The winter went by. Only in the following spring Hayes<sup>235</sup> wrote from Malta that, after constant efforts to obtain a transport to bring away the remaining effects, he was at length able to report that the *Hydra* transport had sailed a few days before for Athens. Ropes, blocks, and other stores had been purchased to the amount of £200, but it might be hoped that most of the value would be recovered on resale. Lusieri had written that he had been very successful in his researches and acquisitions for the collection. The *Hydra*, with Lusieri and the marbles and Lord Byron<sup>236</sup> on board, sailed from the Piræus after some days' delay, on April 22.

<sup>232</sup> Hayes to Elgin, May 1, 1810.

<sup>233</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 2, 1810.

<sup>234</sup> Laurent to Clarke and to Walpole, Sept. 20, 1810. <sup>235</sup> Hayes to Elgin, April 2, 1811.

<sup>236</sup> Byron had written *The Curse of Minerva* a few days earlier. It is dated 'Athens, Capuchin Convent, March 17, 1811.' It was not published till 1823. Cf. note 287.



It chanced that Charles Robert Cockerell and his party were leaving the Piræus at the same time for the visit to the temple at Aegina, which resulted in the historic discovery of the Aeginetan marbles, and in Cockerell's diary we have a glimpse of the *Hydra* at sea.

April 11<sup>th</sup> Lord Byron embarked to-day on the transport (which is carrying Lord Elgin's marbles) for Malta. . . . The whole affair [of a drunken jenny] delayed us so long that we did not walk down to the Piræus till night. As we were sailing out of the port in our open boat we overtook the ship with Lord Byron on board. Passing under her stern we sang a favourite song of his, on which he looked out of the windows and invited us in. There we drank a glass of port with him, Colonel Trevor and two of the English officers, and talked of the three English frigates that had attacked five Turkish ones and a sloop of war off Corfu, and had taken and burnt three of them. We did not stay long, but bade them 'bon voyage' and stepped over the side. We slept very well in the boat and next morning reached Aegina.—*Journal of C. R. Cockerell*, p. 50.

The *Hydra* reached Malta on the 30th of that month, and the question of what should be done next with the marbles thus far on their journey was the subject of conference between Lusieri and Hayes<sup>216</sup>. Both finding that they had no directions as to the further steps to be taken after Malta, it was agreed that the marbles should remain at Malta till fresh orders arrived from home. It was not, however, altogether easy to effect this, as the senior naval officer, having got the property on board a transport, was very reluctant to part with it. It was pointed out to him that there were no instructions as to what should be done after reaching Malta, and he at length agreed that the boxes should be landed and stored pending the receipt of orders.

No such orders were, however, forthcoming. Not only were the agents at Malta somewhat mortified at receiving no congratulations, but, what was more serious, news reached them that a bill of exchange for £1,200 drawn in April had been protested. Mr. Hayes sent a dignified remonstrance:—<sup>217</sup>

I can no longer refrain from representing to your Lordship that such conduct on the part of your agent is not only highly unpleasant, but calculated also to be very prejudicial to me as a merchant. Your Lordship must be well aware that the respectability and credit of a mercantile house entirely depends on the due fulfillment of its engagements, and none of its engagements are more sacred than those it contracts in bills of exchange. Your Lordship therefore will confer a particular favour on me by making timely arrangements to prevent anything of the kind occurring again, should I have occasion to draw further sums on your Lordship's account.

Unfortunately, this was not the last occasion of such difficulties, for two years later the mishap occurred again.

During his stay at Malta Lusieri 'reconditioned' the boxes in which the marbles had so long been stored, and wrote what an impression a fresh sight of the fragments had made on his mind. On June 2<sup>nd</sup> he sent a letter by the hand of Lord Byron (who sailed by the *Vulgate* on June 3, though the *Farewell to Malta* is dated May 26) announcing his immediate

<sup>216</sup> Hayes to Elgin, May 15, 1811.

<sup>217</sup> Hayes to Elgin, July 20, 1811.

return 'next Wednesday' [i.e. June 5] to Athens. His journey was, however, somewhat delayed by the necessity of finding an escort. He reached Athens on July 4 and continued his great panoramic view of Athens from the foot of Lycabettos.

We have seen above that Cockerell and his company left Athens for Aegina at the moment that Lusieri and the *Hydra* were leaving for Malta. The excavations were now complete, and it is interesting to note Lusieri's first impressions of a collection of sculptures so new in style, and so different from those with which he had been dealing.<sup>103</sup>

All that has been found of good quality recently is the very ancient sculptures belonging to the two pediments of the temple of Jupiter Paellinium (sic) at Aegina. They are respectable for their antiquity, there are some fragments that are very fine and some that are very curious. They want the perfection and elegance of the age of Phidias.

In the same letter Lusieri reported that the collection had been recently increased by several fragments, and 'by a big sarcophagus of Pentelic marble, sculptured all round and even on the top cover.' I presume that this is the ornate Græco-Roman sarcophagus of Arlius Epicrates, now at Broomhall.<sup>104</sup> I do not know of any other to which the description would apply. He also mentioned that the bronze vase from the big tumulus was at Malta. 'I have the little gold spray of myrtle that was in it here. The person who had stolen it was so kind as to sell it to me.'

Cockerell had sent home sketches and descriptions of the Aeginetan marbles to his father, a well-known architect, who obtained access to the Prince Regent, and got authority to send out an offer of £6,000. The *Pauline* brig of war, Captain Perceval, was also ordered to Athens to bring away the marbles. Hamilton (see below, p. 298) had introduced young Cockerell to Lusieri as his 'particular friend' when he left London, and this no doubt heightened his interest in the discoveries. A memorandum on the marbles was drawn up by Hamilton, on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti (to whom Gell had sent drawings and commendations of the sculpture) to be submitted to the Trustees of the British Museum.<sup>105</sup>

The *Pauline* arrived at the Piræus about November 26, expecting to take the Aeginetan collection, and learned that it was at Zante. She proceeded to Zante, and took the sculptures on board on January 13, 1812, for Malta. With the subsequent unfortunate misunderstandings which took the collection to Munich instead of to London we are not concerned. We only have to note that the call of the *Pauline* at the Piræus enabled Lusieri to ship two more cases of minor antiquities of marble and terracotta, the latter consisting of two antefixal tiles. These reached Malta in the latter part of January, but too late to be forwarded with the main collection.

On January 18, 1812, Hayes wrote to Lord Elgin that by request

<sup>103</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 4, 1811.

<sup>104</sup> Michailis, *J.H.S.* v. p. 154, No. 22.

*J.H.S.*—VOL. XXXVI.

<sup>105</sup> *Papers on the Aegina Marbles* (Brit. Mus. Dept. of G. and R. Antiqu.)



we have forwarded to you the remainder of your property under our care, consisting in sixty-eight cases no. 1 to 68 shipped in the transport *Navigator*, Captain Robert Forster. This vessel sailed from here the 1st instant under convoy of H.M. ships *Leyden* and *Halcyon*.

The receipt of the master of December 31, 1811, for sixty-eight cases containing marble antiquities, condition unknown, was enclosed.

The two boxes brought by the *Pandine* were taken in March by the *Malabar* and were landed at Deptford. The adventures of the main consignment by the *Navigator* were not yet at an end, but may be reserved for the English side of this narrative. A rough list of the objects forming this supplementary collection was supplied by Hamilton to the Select Committee. It included the upper part of the torso of Poseidon and the horses of Helios from the pediments, three of the best metopes, twenty slabs of the frieze (eight or ten among the least mutilated, six very much mutilated), ten or twelve heads of statues, most of the marble vases, and all the grave reliefs; the exvotos from the Phryx, a cedarwood lyre, and two cedar flutes, the bronze urn with enclosing marble urn, and a variety of inscriptions. The above list represents the cargo of the *Hydriote polacca*. We must add the massive objects which were left over for the *Hydra*, namely, a Daphne column, the capital from the Propylæa, the capital and drum of the Parthenon, the big cippus (B.M. Inscr. 87), and other objects. It will be seen that the supplementary collection, in the number and importance of its contents, was fully deserving of the prolonged exertions which were necessary to secure it.

When matters at Athens had been practically wound up, Lusieri began to turn his mind to the question of excavations at Olympia and to the town clock.<sup>241</sup>

Perhaps the Ambassador who is coming, could get me a Firman for this purpose [digging in the Morea] and especially for digging at Olympia. I hope that your Excellency will have spoken to him, in favour of your operations, and it would be well to press him on this point. Next to Athens, there is no place like that for finding masterpieces.

I am delighted to hear of the clock. People thought I was laughing at them—and I shall not say anything about it, until I know it is arrived in this country.

He continued to press for the Olympia excavations during the autumn of 1811, and returned to the subject at the end of 1812. He had been trying to get permission from Ali Pasha, or failing that, from Vely. Intricate negotiations of the usual kind followed.<sup>242</sup> Vely was recalled from the Morea, and in 1812 with some difficulty a bargain was made with his successor, Said Ahmet, that permission to dig at Olympia would be granted for a cash payment of 500 sequins and a gold repeater. But Hayes declined to advance the required sum and no news arrived from Scotland. In September, 1813, Lusieri was writing that he had had no news for two years and two months, and still needed the money and the gold repeater

<sup>241</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 4, 1811.

<sup>242</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Dec. 11, 1812; April 10, June 3, Sept. 3, 1813.

to make a start at Olympia. 'Another Dispatch from Don Tito—I do not imagine that you are disposed to encourage his extensive and expensive projects' was Hamilton's comment,<sup>22</sup> forwarding this as well as an earlier letter to Lord Elgin.

The town clock at last arrived. Everybody, Lusieri reported (September 3, 1812) was enchanted, but the clock was still in the boxes in which it had travelled, and Mr. North (afterwards Lord Gifford) had left 1,500 piastres with Logotheti to build a clock tower, and inscribe his name. 'I objected,' Lusieri adds,<sup>23</sup> 'affirming that your Excellency, after incurring the cost of the clock, would be ready very cheerfully to build the tower, without the aid of anybody, be he who he may. But I had other reasons for not allowing it.' It would seem that the question of the clock tower had become a party matter, and a definite offer to build the tower on a lofty site at Lord Elgin's cost was unsuccessful. Two months later a position was chosen for the tower, but in the lower town, against Lusieri's protests. The inscription<sup>24</sup> indicates that the tower was built by the town. The clock is said to have been replaced by one of German make in 1850. Clock and tower were destroyed on the evening of August 8, 1884, when a fire took place in the Bazaar. (*Hestia*, *loc. cit.* p. 770.)

Before the end of the year Lusieri received a long delayed letter from Lord Elgin, saying that for reasons of economy excavations must be suspended, and the scheme of digging at Olympia, which again seemed to be approaching maturity, was abandoned.

The year following, 1814, was uneventful. Lusieri was writing at intervals that excavations were suspended, that he was in urgent need of money, and of large sheets of paper for his drawings, and adding to every letter that Edward Hayes at Malta deemed himself to have a lien on the drawings deposited with him till certain sums were repaid. Nor was the position very different in 1815, except that a letter received from Lord Elgin authorising drafts on Morier had restored Lusieri's finances, and he began again to discuss the possibility of an excavation at Olympia.<sup>25</sup> The old Logotheti had died of apoplexy in January, and his place as British Vice-Consul was not filled up. Lusieri would gladly have received the appointment as a help in his further plans. A few boxes of objects had again accumulated, and were awaiting the chance of a transport.

A long silence follows, since two letters never arrived. In June, 1817,<sup>26</sup> Lusieri again wrote to Lord Elgin. The news had reached him of the success of the negotiations for the sale of the collections, and he had also heard that Lord Elgin was contemplating another visit to Greece. Both pieces of intelligence gave him equal pleasure, but on the other hand the

<sup>22</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Nov. 25, 1812.

<sup>23</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, Oct. 2 and Dec. 10, 1812.

<sup>24</sup> The inscription ran

ΘΩΡΑΣ ΚΟΙΝΩ  
ΔΕ ΕΛΓΙΝ

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. ΗΡΟΔΟΤ. Δ. Δ.

A. F. G. A. SEER, BOLLING  
A. D. M. M. M. M. M.

Reston, *Achaea*, p. 104. A distant view of the clock tower is given, *ibid.* p. 221.

<sup>25</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, June 3, 1815.

<sup>26</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, June 18, 1817.



supply of money had again failed, and he was suffering from rheumatism and anxiety. All excavations were at a standstill, since the Pasha's terms were too high. He was entirely devoting himself to his drawings, but was badly in want of large rolls of paper. Perhaps [C. R.] Cockerell or [Grecian] Williams would undertake the purchase.

In July, a chance call of H.M.S. *Tagus* at the Piræus enabled him to send three cases containing in all 619 vases, and another with two fragments of sepulchral relief, not specially identified, but *bien jolis et intéressants*.<sup>227</sup> They are doubtless part of the collection at Broomhall. There remained yet another large box too heavy to be taken down to the Piræus in the short time available. Captain Dundas, of the *Tagus*, wrote from Malta (August 30, 1817), 'I fear your agent is on his last legs. He was too unwell to see me, and I heard from others he was in a sad state.'

The rheumatism continued with great severity during the summer, and a visit to Iechia began to be contemplated.<sup>228</sup> Happily his health improved during the following winter without the need of such a step, which the want of funds made impossible; and in the spring of 1818<sup>229</sup> he reported himself again fit for work. He added that he had been able to ship two more boxes on the brig of war, H.M.S. *Satellite* (Capt. J. Murray).<sup>230</sup> One contained the largest vases of bronze and clay. The other 'a marble chair, on the two sides of which is represented the celebrated deed of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.' This chair is now at Broomhall, having arrived at a date altogether posterior to the date of the public purchase.<sup>231</sup>

The year 1818 passed without incident. Lusieri was working at his drawings, but in great difficulty for want of paper, money, and letters, which continued into the spring of 1819. In May he reported the visit of Lord and Lady Ruthven to Athens.<sup>232</sup> 'Milord and Milady Ruthven with her brother have been here for several months. The Lady draws like an artist.' Lady Ruthven lived to a great age, dying in 1883. A very charming relief of a girl Aristonache was excavated during the year she spent in Greece, near Cape Zoster. This sculpture, long at Winton Castle, was bequeathed by her to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.<sup>233</sup>

As year after year passed with little visible fruit, Lord Elgin naturally became anxious to bring the engagement to a close. In January, 1819, he wrote<sup>234</sup> to Lusieri, desiring him to put the accounts in order, as well as the drawings and acquisitions.

<sup>227</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, July 31, 1817.

<sup>228</sup> Lusieri to Hamilton, Sept. 20, 1817.

<sup>229</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, April 3 and 12, 1818.

<sup>230</sup> Captain Murray was himself a collector. In June, 1818, he removed the torso of the Naxos Apollo (*B.M. Sculpt.* No. 130) and the Triton torso (*B.M. Sculpt.* No. 2220) from Delos, and presented them to the British Museum. W. Kinbold, in Stuart and Revett, 2nd ed. iv. *Antiq.* at Athens and Delos, p. 24, claims that the fragments were brought

on his suggestion. This does not appear in Captain Murray's letter of presentation, Aug. 5, 1818, written from Malta.

<sup>231</sup> The reliefs are published by Michaelis, *J.H.S.* v. Pl. 48, p. 146. For a general view of the chair, see Stuckelberg, *Griechen d. Hellenen*, p. 23.

<sup>232</sup> Lusieri to Elgin, May 7, 1819.

<sup>233</sup> G. Baldwin Brown, *J.H.S.* vi, p. 16.

<sup>234</sup> Quoted in Lusieri's letter to Hamilton, Aug. 16, 1819.

If it were possible, I should have nothing so much at heart as to continue to employ your talents on a theatre so worthy of them. But the injustice I have suffered with respect to this collection, many misfortunes that have come on me, and a numerous family have so curtailed my means, that with real regret I submit to the necessity of bringing everything to a close that can cause expense.

The decision was received with some mortification by Lusieri, but in truth his drawings were making no progress, and he had probably lost the power of finishing them. Even now, making the best of the position in his letter to Hamilton, he could only say that there were two finished drawings, one of the Parthenon, and the other of the monument of Philopappos. To finish the remainder a long time would be required. Hamilton's comments<sup>200</sup> in forwarding the letter were: 'I enclose a packet from Lusieri, which you should only read on a very fine day. It shows him an arrant Jew. His excuses for his idleness are abominable, and he evidently has finished nothing—nor indeed *done* anything to the purpose, in any way whatever, for the last four or five years.'

The statement of accounts was sent off on August 30, but again the difficulties of communication made themselves felt, and in March, 1820, Lusieri wrote that he had had no answer and had no money. Lord Elgin had not been idle, but was considerably perplexed as to his best course. In October he wrote from Munich to Hamilton (then British Minister at Naples):—<sup>201</sup>

In the event of your finding any occasion of seeing Lusieri, I wish to mention how matters stand with regard to him. Immediately on my return to Italy, I consulted Sir H. Lushington, and some eminent merchants of Naples, in the hopes of getting some one to go to Athens, for the purpose of a full discussion with Lusieri, on the ideas conveyed to him in my letter of July 1819. This being unavailing, I had it in view, in going down to Sicily in July to have proceeded to Greece. But the Season, plague, war with Aly Pacha, and quarantine rendered that excursion wholly impracticable. I then wrote to him from Naples, referring to that letter of July, 1819: Fixing the termination of our engagement to the end of this year: and begging him to communicate fully His sentiments on the very difficult predicament in which we are placed by the having no one drawing in a state to be delivered over after several years in which He has done nothing else—a consideration which indeed bears, upon the whole period of our connexion, this in a small (comparative) degree, during the exertions to form the Collection.—I have seen a number of travellers of late, well acquainted with the state of his labors: and from none have I collected any hope, That his lifetime will suffice to make any effectual progress towards the finishing even a small share of what He has on hand. The drawings, if terminated, it appears on all hands, would be most valuable. But the difficulty is to know how, that can be accomplished. Taking them off his hands now would, on every account, be out of the question. It would be destructive of all the benefit to be expected from his exertions and the possession of such sketches would be a poor compensation for my expense. On the other hand, it is quite out of the question, That I abd. continue to pay his time for a series of years, only to finish what I might have hoped to have had some time ago.

A further source of discussion arises from the nature of many of his charges. As long as he had on hand the collecting the Sculpture, and making extensive

<sup>200</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Nov. 9, 1819.

<sup>201</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, Oct. 15, 1820.



excavations, extra-charges came to be necessary, both for his personal aid, and for the courtesies of the Turkish authorities. But for many years, those occasions have ceased:—and I know from recent travellers, That no *bachiches* are now as formerly required. Ld Ruthven who was long at Athens, and in many other parts of Greece, never gave any except for Lodging—Whereas Lusieri charges me for *Horses* etc:—*Bachiches* etc: etc: etc: down to the period of this last account—which, of course, it is not incumbent upon me to pay. The settlement of these two difficulties, and the obtaining from Lusieri what he may have collected for me, especially the golden wreath of myrtle, found in the vase, in *Aspasia's Tunicus*, are points in which it is impossible not to attach the most anxious interest: one which, I can have no hesitation in saying I could rather see undertaken by you than by any other individual whatever. How far, your plans and residence in Italy may admit of your sending for Lusieri to meet you at Rome or Naples, or whether the state of affairs in Greece may have induced him already to come over to Italy, are points upon which I can have no conjecture. But I do not foresee how matters are to be arranged otherwise than by verbal discussion: Because I confess, I am unable, much as it has been in my mind, to devise any plan of settlement, which may be just to all parties, applicable to the peculiar objects of my Athenian enterprise, and suited to the feelings of a man of whose sentiments I have so high an opinion, as I have of Lusieri's. I think him much to blame, in having commenced so much more, than he has terminated, or can finish at present. His conduct in all this is unaccountable. But of his principles I entertain the impressions expressed to him in my letter of the 19-July 1819 and I shd. be extremely sorry, that in this closing transaction, I shd. shew of an idea as if those impressions were not perfectly sincere.

I am sure you will enter into all my anxieties on this delicate series of dilemmas—I repeat it, I know of nothing effectual to be done without verbal discussion. If you think otherwise, I need not say, how welcome you are to write to Him on the subject. But in the event of there being no chance of your meeting, There is still the alternative of sending any person to Him, on whose qualification for such a mission you can rely. The sooner the business is settled, of course, the better.

The long file of Lusieri's letters terminates with one dated February 19, 1821, again dwelling on the want of funds and of news. A passing visitor (Mr. Bond, an architect)<sup>228</sup> had undertaken to send him some paper, which would be very useful when he returned to Sicily.

*Ma santé est en très bon état, et je m'occupe tant que ma présente situation et mon âge le permettent.*

*J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un profond respect,*

*De Votre Excellence,*

*Très humble serviteur,*

JEAN-BAPTISTE LUSIERI.

The end was close at hand. Lusieri died suddenly (no further details are given) at Athens on March 1, 1821.<sup>229</sup> The British Consul, Alexander Logotheti, placed his effects under seal, and sent an intimation of the death to Lady Ruthven, at Rome, to be communicated by her to the next of kin.

He was buried in the precincts of the Capuchin Monastery—whether in the little chapel, or in the pleasant garden, in which Stuart (I. chap. iv, PL I) shows us a monk contemplating a skull and a crucifix, I do not know. The

<sup>228</sup> Probably John Samuel Bond, who was in Greece and Italy in the years 1818-1821. *Gen. Mag. New Series*, viii. p. 635.

<sup>229</sup> I cannot reconcile the date given here, with that of the epitaph, *Jura*, 30.

monastery was burnt and ruined in the course of the Revolution. When the site was re-excavated by the French Government, as owners of the soil, some of the tablets of French citizens were left lying in the square. But the stone which English residents had contributed to the memory of Lusieri was placed appropriately at the entrance of the English Church at Athens. The inscription <sup>229a</sup> ran:—

IOANNI BAPTISTAE LUSIERI  
ANGLI IN ATHENIS  
QUOD IN MONUMENTIS ATTICIS ILLUSTRANDIS  
VIRUM BENE MERITUM  
ET IN TERRA PEREGRINA  
AMICUM  
PERDIDEREUNT  
PICTOR ISSIONIS ANNOS XXV(?) HIS LOCIS ARTEM EXERCUIT  
ET INTER OPUS MORTE INOPINA SUBLATUS EST  
NOCTE III KAL. FEB. A.D. MDCCCXXI  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXX.

Twenty-one years had passed since the fateful contract had been signed with Lord Elgin at Messina, and during all that time Lusieri had been nominally Lord Elgin's agent. The first twelve years had been spent in strenuous and devoted service, in the collection of the marbles, and it is impossible to overstate the extent to which the success of Lord Elgin's enterprise was due to the skill and pertinacity of his principal agent. During the last eight years it seemed as if all power of finishing work had ceased, and the delivery of the drawings was at a standstill.

The drawings and other effects in which Lord Elgin might be supposed to be interested were partly at Malta and partly in Greece. Unsuccessful attempts had already been made on Lord Elgin's behalf in 1819, and 1820 to gain possession of the former. Two boxes and a tin case containing drawings and antiquities had been deposited by Lusieri in the care of one Robert Corner, the harbour master of Valetta. Corner had died, and his executor, one Hunter, had declined to surrender the drawings, which he had placed in the custody of a Mr. Locker, except to the order of Lusieri himself, on the ground that Lusieri had never indicated that any other than himself was the owner.

Hamilton was still British Minister at Naples, and after the receipt of the news of Lusieri's death, he was in communication with Mr. Locker at Malta, who had also received a claim drawn up by Lusieri's deceased sister's husband, Rosati, on behalf of his two sons as next of kin.

The boxes were sent, by the *Cambrian* Man-of-War, to Naples, and deposited with Hamilton. They contained drawings, a few models and vases, and miscellaneous artistic property, such as palettes, drawing implements, etc. Discussion followed between Hamilton and the heirs, and Hamilton and Lord Elgin, and resulted in an elaborate agreement between Hamilton and the representatives of the heirs dated February 10, 1824. The finished drawing of the monument of Philopappos, the myrtle-wreath from the tomb of



Aspasia,' and a few vases were recognised to be the property of Lord Elgin. The Italian drawings, made before Lusieri's engagement, were given over to the heirs, and bought back from them for 2,000 ducats (£340). The remainder of the contents of the Maltese boxes was taken by the heirs, and it was agreed that Hamilton should make efforts to recover the Athenian effects to be dealt with on the same lines.

The Philopappos drawing and the Italian collection are now at Broomhall. Of the Italian collection Hamilton wrote: <sup>229</sup>

The more I see the drawings, (Italian I mean,) the more I feel convinced you will be satisfied with taking them. To give you an idea of the extent of the collection, I can tell you there are ten large coloured drawings—finished views near Naples, Rome etc. Eleven others not quite finished—but very beautiful, Baine, Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli, Caserta, Ischia etc. Pantheon, 4 drawings—eight painted drawings of Thorium—some large but not finished—nine or ten studies, a sketch book of coloured drawings, besides various others, in all nearly 140 drawings of different sizes and different degrees of finishing, counting the sketch book as one.

The arrangement was cordially approved by Lord Elgin <sup>230</sup>: 'Once more, my warmest thanks, for your aid in Lusieri's business, converting that puzzle and perplexity into so much satisfaction.'

So much for the Maltese part of the estate, which reached the Thames on board the *Euryalus* in April, 1825.

The history of the Athenian portion has a less happy ending. We have seen that the effects were sealed by the British Consul in March, 1821. In April the Greek revolt was opened, and soon after the Turks were blockaded in the Acropolis. A box of drawings was sent by Logotheti to Cerigo for greater safety. From Cerigo it was taken by (the sixth) Viscount Strangford, then Ambassador at the Porte, to Constantinople, whence its withdrawal seemed to present difficulties. Lord Strangford wrote (October 13, 1825):

I have had no further concern with Lusieri's effects than to remove from Cerigo the box which contains them, and to lodge it sealed up in the palace at Constantinople. I am quite incompetent to form any opinion as to the legal and proper mode of withdrawing them from there, but I should presume that the presentation to Mr. S. Canning of a receipt for them, from Lusieri's representatives, will be sufficient.

Arrangements were made accordingly by Lord Elgin with Stratford Canning, who was leaving to take up the Constantinople Embassy, for the dispatch of the box to Hamilton, and with Sir John Phillimore (who was to give Canning a passage from Naples to Constantinople) for its conveyance by a Man-of-War. But further delays followed for reasons that do not appear. The box was sent first from Constantinople to Smyrna, and on September 10, 1828, Stratford Canning forwarded, without comment, the following despatch from Werry, the Consul at Smyrna:

SIR,

SMYRNA, Sept. 6th, 1828.

In answer to the note Your Excellency did me the honour to address me, dated Corfu 12th August, requesting to be informed if the large case, delivered by a Dutch vessel, addressed to the Foreign Office, had been forwarded to England.

<sup>229</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Feb. 16, 1824.

<sup>230</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, March 20, 1824.

Under the (date of) the 7th November 1827, I informed Your Excellency that Mr. Williams had delivered the case directed to the Foreign Office into my charge. In



FIG. 8.—Top of the 'Cassius'.

conformity to Your Excellency's directions dated the 25th October, I was solicitous to ship it on board some of the Men-of-War to be afterwards at the disposal of the



Admiral, but the size of it was too large to put it in a safe place on board the *Ross*. It was, I regret to say, put on board H.M.S. *Cambrian*, Captain G. H. Hamilton, with an extract of Your Excellency's letter to me, by which Captain Hamilton was to let the Vice Admiral know that it was on board the ship he commanded; the same day the *Cambrian* left this for Voulah it was embarked:

I have the honour to be etc. etc.

FRANCIS WERRY.

The regret expressed by Mr. Werry in the foregoing despatch is explained by the subsequent history of the *Cambrian*, a 48-gun frigate, commanded by Captain Hamilton, which was lost on January 31, 1828.

In his written statement laid before the Court Martial, held to investigate the loss, on March 6, 1828, Captain Hamilton (an officer who did conspicuous service at the capitulation of Nauplia) says:

I had been detached by Sir Thomas Staines from Smyrna for the purpose of going to Egina, [the then seat of the Greek Government] (accompanied by one of the Secretaries of the British Embassy to the Sublime Porte) where I was to remain a few days and then proceed to Cerri (Klaphonisi), and Milo in search of the *Isis*. I was detained at the seat of the Greek Government much longer than had been expected, to effect the liberation of several detained British vessels.

Learning that the *Isis* was not at Egina, he proceeded instead to Karabusa (Grabusa) Island at the extreme north-west of Crete. In the course of an attack upon pirates who had taken refuge there the frigate was wrecked on the rocks, and had to be abandoned so soon after striking, that even the dog and muster book were not saved.<sup>241</sup> Evidently there could have been no time to rescue the very large case which contained the drawings.

The wreck of the *Cambrian* is shown in Fig. 9, from a drawing executed by J. Schranz, of Malta, to the instructions of the 1st Lieutenant of the *Cambrian*; afterwards Admiral Sir Robert Smart, K.C.B. It is now in the possession of that officer's daughter, Lady Wilson.<sup>242</sup>

The fruits of Lusieri's many years of work were thus sunk in the Mediterranean. The drawing of the monument of Philopappos (Fig. 8), which had found its way to Malta, was therefore the only finished work produced by Lusieri during his twenty-one years at Athens which found a permanent place in Lord Elgin's collection.

## APPENDIX TO PARTS II. AND III.

### LIST OF TRANSPORTS.

The Transport arrangements during the years 1800-1828 were naturally complicated, and the records respecting them are fragmentary. For the most part the vessels shipped in the Levant were transhipped at Malta, and sent on after varying delays in such government ships as might happen. The principal cargoes were on the *Presmyrne* (No. 28) and the *Norwester* (No. 30). I have endeavoured to summarise such information as I could collect in the following lists.

<sup>241</sup> I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Perrin, the Admiralty Librarian, for these details.

<sup>242</sup> The fortress of Karabusa crowns the high cliff on the left. The view by Schranz is

based on a sketch by Admiral Spratt, which also formed the basis for the lithograph (after Schranz) in Spratt's *Travels in Crete*, II., pl. facing p. 222.

## A.—From the Levant.

No.	Date.	Ship, &c.	From	To
1	1800 ?	<i>Phoenix</i> (Capt. Morris ?)	Constantinople	to Deptford
2	Oct. 5, 1800	<i>Lord Phoenix</i>	From Constantinople	
3	1801	<i>New Adventure</i> (Capt. Boyd)	From Constantinople	
4	1801 ?	<i>Salamina</i> (Capt. Briggs)	From Constantinople	
5	1801 ?	<i>Niger</i> (Capt. Hillyard)	From Constantinople	
6	Dec. 9, 1801	<i>Countess of Ragusa</i> (Capt. Glegg)	Piræus to Alexandria	
7	1802	<i>Maitrae</i>	Alexandria to England	
8	Jan. 8, 1802	<i>Mentor</i> (Capt. Eglen)	Piræus to Alexandria, coast of Syria and Piræus	
9	March 16, 1802	<i>La Diana</i> frigate (Capt. Stephenson) (also known as the <i>Diana</i> )	Piræus to Plymouth	
10	May, 1802	<i>Medusa</i> (Capt. Hoste)	Piræus to Malta	
11	June 17, 1802	<i>Ann</i> transport	Alexandria to England	
12	July 7, 1802	<i>Mentor</i> (Capt. Eglen)	Piræus to Smyrna	
13	Sept. 15, 1802	<i>Mentor</i> (Capt. Eglen)	Piræus for Malta	
14	Nov. 21, 1802	<i>Sprightly of Scarborough</i> (Capt. John Dove)	Patras to England	
15	Nov. 23, 1802	<i>Victorious</i> (Capt. Kitchin)	Piræus to Malta	
16	Feb. 1803	<i>Breast</i> (Capt. Clarke)	Piræus to Malta (?)	
17	Apr. 27, 1803	<i>Medusa</i> (Capt. Gore)	Piræus to Malta (?)	
18	May	<i>Dorinda</i> brigantine of Ragusa (Capt. Andrea Campanelli)	Piræus to Malta	
19	Feb. 10, 1803	<i>The Lady Shaw Stewart</i> (Government transport, No. 99, Capt. G. Parry)	Cerigo to Malta	
20	March 20, 1810	<i>Hydrion</i> polacca	Piræus to Malta	
21	April 22, 1811	<i>Hydra</i> , Government transport (Capt. Waygood)	Piræus to Malta	
22	Nov. 20, 1811	<i>Pauline</i> [not <i>Pomona</i> , as sometimes stated by error]	Piræus to Malta	
23	Aug. 1, 1817	<i>Tagna</i> (Capt. Dundas)	Piræus to Malta	

Sigeon inscription; statue, pieces of marble

Various parcels for Mr. Nisbet. (Tweddell's *Romanes*, p. 302.)

Moulds from Girgenti. The ship was obliged to refit at Port Mahon

Capt. Briggs and the marbles were transferred to the *Madras*. (No. 7.) Sarcophagus lid, porphyry columns, &c.

Antiquities as stated above (p. 296)

Objects from the *Salamina* (No. 4) and antiquities from the Capitulation of Alexandria. See Edwards, *Founders of Art. Mus.* p. 306.Antiquities as stated above (p. 296) were landed at Alexandria and re-embarked in *La Diana*

Objects from Alexandria: 2 Parth. metopes; 2 cases of moulds; 1 of Parth. fragm. Reached Plymouth Aug. 12, 1802

1 case moulds; 3 Parth. metopes; 3 cases Parth. frieze; head of horse; part of *Erechtheum* capitals, &c.

23 cases of marbles

Houses from Syria; 3 cases, not dis-embarked

Wrecked off Cerigo, with Hamilton, Lanks and Squire, and antiquities as stated, p. 231.

Orethionian inscriptions and vases shipped by Consul Sirano

3 cases Parth. frieze; fragments of 'Tomb of Agamemnon'

44 cases, including chief pedimental figures (see p. 254)

Caryatid; 2 Parth. metopes; 3 cases of moulds; Mr. Nisbet's porphyry column

1 case of moulds; 20 cases of marbles

Shipped at Cerigo, by order of Sir A. Hall, for transport to Malta under convoy of the schooner *Reynard*, themarbles recovered from the *Mentor*, with guns and other gear from the wreck

45 cases

The heavy objects left behind by the polacca

1 case, stone vase; 1 case minor fragments and 2 terra-cotta tiles (see below, No. 31)

3 cases, vases; 1 case with 2 reliefs



No.	DATE	SHIP, ETC.	FROM.	GOING.
24	April 16, 1818	<i>Satellite</i> (Capt. Murray)	Piræus to Malta	1 case, vases in bronze and clay;
25	1827	Dutch vessel	Constantinople to Smyrna	1 case, chair with Tyrramintides
26	Nov. 17, 1827	<i>Cambrian</i> (Capt. Hamilton)	From Smyrna	Lusieri's drawings (Athens portion)
				Lusieri's drawings (Athens portion), wrecked off Crete, Jan. 1828

## B.—From Malta.

27	Nov. 1803	?	Malta to England	Itar's drawings
28	Jan. 1804	<i>Perseus</i>	Malta to England	50 cases—mainly from <i>Bruchel</i>
29	July, 1809	?	Malta to England	Second set of Itar's drawings
30	Jan. 1, 1812	<i>Navigatore</i> (Capt. R. Forster)	Malta to Deptford	83 cases of the supplementary collection from palace and <i>Hydra</i> (Nos. 20, 21)
31	March, 1812	<i>Mulibar</i>	Malta to Deptford	2 cases from <i>Paroline</i> (No. 22)
32	1821	<i>Cambrian</i> (cf. No. 26)	Malta to Naples	Lusieri's drawings (Malta portion)
33	April, 1825	<i>Esperanza</i>	Naples to England	Lusieri's drawings (Malta portion)

## PART IV.

*The Marbles in London.*

We now turn to the other half of our narrative, and deal with the receipt of the marbles in England, the gradual conversion of public opinion, and the final incorporation of the collection in that of the British Museum. As we have already seen, the difficulties of communication and other causes made Athens and London so remote from each other, that the two aspects of the subject remain distinct for months and years at a time: Lusieri at Athens, Lord Elgin and Hamilton in Britain, are each only half informed of what is passing in the other field.

While Lord Elgin remained at Constantinople, the public at home had only scanty knowledge of what was going on, and that more by report from Athens than by sight of the collections as they began to arrive.

The first newspaper notice that I have seen is of the date August 15, 1802, from a Sunday paper. I have failed to find it in the *Observer*.

Thursday forenoon were landed at the Pier-Head, Plymouth, and lodged in Mr. Lockyer's cellar, on the Barbican, 15 Large Cases &c from Egypt, shipped in La Diane, of 44 Guns, Capt. Stephenson at Alexandria, by order of the Rt. Hon. Lord Elgin, Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. These cases of curiosities are to remain under the Custom House Locks, till orders are received from the Commissioners of the Customs in London, as to their future disposal. If the Duties are to be at Plymouth, the tide waiters will open the Boxes to fix the Duties, *ad valorem*, which will afford a Gratifying Sight to the Virtuosi.

The local virtuosi were only partially gratified. The *Observer* of August 22 reported that three boxes had been opened 'for the inspection of the curious.' They contained a brass cannon on wheels from Cairo; 'a most beautiful specimen of Grecian Sculpture, the figure of a Centaur'; and two shafts of Egyptian granite.

In February, 1803, Thomas Harrison, the architect who had originally inspired the operations, communicated a letter from Lord Elgin to the veteran collector, Charles Townley (1737-1805). Townley's reply<sup>242</sup> was cordial.

I have lost no opportunity of informing persons of taste and judgment in the Fine Arts, of the interesting operations which Lord Elgin is now so eagerly carrying on. His Lordship's zeal is most highly approved and admired, and every hope and wish is entertained for his final success. But our Government is universally blamed for not contributing their political influence, as well as pecuniary aid towards these operations, for the advancement of the Fine Arts in this country.

Townley went on to say that the Dilettanti Society was about to meet and to be moved by some of its members to send a 'handsome remittance' to Lusieri, and to engage him in further researches. This matter was accordingly laid before the Society on Sunday, February 13, and the minute<sup>243</sup> thereon runs:—

Read a letter from Ld. Elgin to Thom. Harrison, architect, and from him to Mr. Townley, on the subject of his collection from Athens, and other parts of Greece.

Ordered that the said Letters be referred to the Comm<sup>tee</sup> of Publication for them to report their opinion on the said papers.

There the record stops, but it may be conjectured that the hostile influence of Richard Payne Knight, which was dominant in the society, was already making itself felt.

A few months later, a correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine*,<sup>244</sup> writing from Rome on August 16, gave a substantially correct account of the enterprise, derived from conversation with the company of Artists who had reached Rome not long before.

Lord Elgin, as we have seen, was arrested in France in May, 1803, and when the main cargo of sculptures arrived, he was unable to take direction of their disposal. One can imagine that the Dowager Lady Elgin received with some embarrassment a notification from the Bankers:—<sup>245</sup>

His Majesty's ship the *Provoyante*, lately arrived from Malta has on board about 50 cases, directed to Lord Elgin. Some of these are very large and very heavy, the Captain says he thinks the whole may weigh about one hundred and twenty tons, and as they must be taken out of the ship the beginning of next week, he wishes to have your Ladyship's direction where to send them.

The marbles thus arriving were assembled first at the Duchess of Portland's in Privy Gardens, Westminster, and were removed thence to the Duke

<sup>242</sup> Townley to Harrison, Feb. 8, 1803; *Report*, Appendix, p. xxii.

<sup>243</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxiii, p. 725.

<sup>244</sup> *Ann. of the Soc. of Dilettanti*, p.

<sup>245</sup> E. Anthon (of Messrs. Coutts) to Dowager Lady Elgin, Jan. 6, 1804.



of Richmond's house, but the cases were not unpacked. On his return from France, Lord Elgin found 'none of the packages were yet opened, though some were partially broken.'<sup>246</sup>

While still a prisoner in France, Lord Elgin was able to a certain limited extent to discuss the arrangements and destination of his collection. Letters on non-political subjects were allowed to pass, but communication was difficult. From Orleans (March 20, 1804) he wrote: 'I have just had the comfort of a letter from Hamilton, on his way from Vienna home, dated March 3. He has been in Greece. Most of the things are recovered from the brig.'

At the end of that year there seems to have been some question of a public exhibition of the marbles. 'I believe,' Hunt wrote,<sup>247</sup> 'Mr. Cosway and some other English artists have engaged Lord Elgin to form them into a public Exhibition at London, to be opened in the course of the ensuing summer.' Philip Hunt had left Athens with Lord Elgin in January, 1803, and had been in his company at Malta. They had separated, and Hunt was travelling in Savoy when he was arrested under Napoleon's decree. He was afterwards allowed to join Lord Elgin at Pau, and employed himself drawing up a Memorandum on the operations in Greece. A copy was forwarded by Lord Elgin<sup>248</sup> to his mother. 'His (Hunt's) detention in France (tho' thank God, I was not the occasion of it, we were not then travelling together) has been of the greatest disadvantage to him. But he is endeavouring to make of it what use he can, by great application; and I am sure this letter will be considered as a very classical as well as able paper.' The Memorandum or letter in question was a statement drawn up for the information of Hunt's patron, Lord Upper Ossory,<sup>249</sup> and consisted of an account, drawn up from memory, of the operations at Athens. Later on it formed the basis of the *Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, which was drawn up by Lord Elgin and played a considerable part in the purchase negotiations.

There were, however, serious difficulties in carrying on the direction of affairs as a prisoner of war. In Lord Elgin's evidence before the Committee he said<sup>250</sup> :—

When I was in Paris a prisoner, in the year 1803, living in Paris, perfectly tranquilly with my family, I received a letter from an English traveller, complaining of Lusieri's taking down part of the frieze of the Parthenon. The next morning a common gens d'arme came and took me out of bed, and sent me into close confinement, away from my family. Such was the influence exercised by the French to prevent this operation. . . . The French sent me in that way down to Melun.

In the summer of 1806, Lord Elgin at length recovered his liberty. A letter to Sir Alexander Ball, at Malta, expresses his pleasure.<sup>251</sup> 'I

<sup>246</sup> Elgin to Banks, March 13, 1816: *Memorandum of Feb. 1816 in Report*, appendix.

<sup>247</sup> Hunt to Lord Upper Ossory, Jan. 9, 1805.

<sup>248</sup> Elgin to Dowager Lady Elgin, Jan. 13,

1805.

<sup>249</sup> A third copy was sent to Mrs. Hamilton Nichol.

<sup>250</sup> *Report*, p. 43.

<sup>251</sup> Elgin to Ball, Aug. 5, 1806.

need not say with how much satisfaction I feel myself at liberty to write to you from England. No one can know, what that irksome situation was, in which I have pass't three long years since I had the pleasure of seeing you.' After a discussion of the political situation, the writer begs Sir Alexander to do what he can for the marbles, to obtain one or even two young asses and send them home ('You know the fate of the remarkable fine ass you were so kind as to give me. He eat yew tree wood—and died') also one or two young bulls 'of the very fine breed, that is in the neighbourhood of Rome, and northward towards Florence' and to forward some letters, and two cases destined for Lusieri.

One of Lord Elgin's early tasks was naturally to find a house, with ground attached, where the marbles could be both sheltered and seen. The house that he chose was at the corner of Park Lane and Piccadilly, and is described by both those names. It had been previously the property of Lord Cholmondeley. It was afterwards bought by William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, nephew and son-in-law of George III, and obtained the name of Gloucester House. It passed to the late Duke of Cambridge, and has recently been rebuilt, in unsightly modern style. It retains the name of Gloucester House. The dates of the purchase are furnished by letters which passed at a much later date between Lord Elgin and B. R. Hayden.<sup>222</sup>

Many thanks for your kindness. I get most satisfactory answer as to all my questions. A sort of doubt has been started by some good natured critic as to my right to be considered as the first who drew from the Elgin Marbles, because he says Mr. West drew from them 1806! In October 8, 1806 the deed was signed making over the house to Your Lordship; from (Oct.) 25 to Nov. 8 the marbles were moved from Privy Gardens—from that time (Nov. 8) to 25 Feb. 1807 the place was building to cover them in, and then till June 30 the men under Barham were unpacking and arranging them. How is it possible Mr. West could draw them 1806!

The arrangement of the marbles at Park Lane was superintended by Hamilton. The operations naturally involved the question how far restoration would be advisable, and Flaxman was consulted. Hamilton wrote:—

STVILLE ROW, June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1807.

MY DEAR LORD,

Your letter of the twelfth instant found me in Hertfordshire at my father's house. I had been absent for a week with him in Essex, on particular business, but had had the satisfaction before I left London to see the arrangement of Your Lordship's marbles completed.

I came to Town yesterday, and today Flaxman called upon me by appointment. We went together to your Museum, which he has no hesitation in pronouncing now very far superior in the value of its contents to what Paris can boast. I had little or nothing to show him that he had not already seen, except the *Noptamo* which he admired exceedingly. When I reminded him of your wish that he should direct and superintend the Restorations, he said it would be a most difficult and laborious Undertaking, that if attempted to any extent, it must be done in toto, and that he feared it would be a Work of very great length of time and enormous expence, he

<sup>222</sup> Hayden to Elgin, March 10, 1812.



mentioned even above 20000£. That when done the execution must be far inferior to the original parts, in many instances, whose conjecture must be indulged, it would be a source of dispute among Artists, whether the restored attitudes were correct, or otherwise, and that on the whole he could not but be of opinion that the operation would lower rather than raise the intrinsic value of the collection. Under these impressions I could not (press) him to begin, at all events, against his own inclination, and I thought too that perhaps you may on your return incline to his opinion, so for the present his labours are to be confined to the fitting and replacing of the several arms and other fragments, which were in the stable, and which appear to belong, that is some of them, to the large Statues. I am to meet him again on Thursday for this purpose.

The arrangement of 1807 may be supposed to have continued till the removal of the marbles to Old Burlington House in 1811, as no important additions were made to the collection during the interval.

We have a particularly interesting record in Fig. 10 of the appearance of the collection at Park Lane.<sup>22</sup> On April 14, 1810, the young and brilliant Charles Robert Cockerell, then just under twenty-two, left London for the East on the seven years' tour which made him famous for life. The reader has met him already (p. 282) sailing to Aegina. Hamilton was by this time Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and was also an intimate friend of the Cockerell family. He was thus able to arrange that Cockerell should have a passage to Constantinople as a bearer of despatches to Admiral. By way of a letter of introduction to Lusieri, Cockerell made a sketch of the Elgin Museum at Park Lane, and Hamilton wrote on the back —

LONDON April 12, 1810

MY DEAR FRIEND

Take this in remembrance of one who often thinks of you and wishes to see you here, and in recommendation of The Bearer my particular Friend Mr. H. C. Cockerell, who has made the Drawing to show you how we prize in London the Relicks of The Parthenon.

W. HAMILTON

DON TITA LUSIERI

Athens—

The sketch may have been shown to Lusieri, but it remained in Cockerell's possession. It indicates that the Park Lane Museum consisted of a sort of central nave and two side aisles. The nave was 25 feet broad, being nearly the width of the four slabs of the frieze of Nike Apteros. The aisles were a little more than 12 feet, the width of two slabs of the frieze and a metope. The depth of the building from back to front is doubtful, but it was certainly more than 25 feet.

On the left wall is the Parthenon frieze in two tiers—above slabs xxx and xxix of the South frieze; below the great central slab of the East frieze. On the facing wall are the four slabs of the frieze of Wingless Victory (424, 423, 422, 421), slabs xxvii, xxviii of the North frieze and the metope No. 305.

<sup>22</sup> I am indebted to Mrs. Frederick Poppo Cockerell for leave to reproduce this interesting sketch.

It was shown in the Loan Collection of

Greek Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904. It is described by error in the *Catalogue* (p. 225, No. 19) as a view of the marbles at Old Burlington House.



FIG. 10.—Tutankhamun's Mortuary Temple, Luxor, Egypt, 1898.  
(Print is sketch by C. B. Jackson.)



Below is another slab of the frieze which can hardly be recognised, perhaps slab xv West (a cast). On the right wall is a row of metopes 316, 307, 310 and another, just indicated. In Haydon's drawing (Fig. 11) No. 310 is followed by 318, 319, and another. The chief statues were arranged in a kind of semi-circle. Demeter and Persephone, Hecate (with the Dionysos of Thrasyllos behind it, and a sepulchral lekythos No. 690, half seen); one of the Fates on an Ionic base (prob. 2561 from Daphne); the sepulchral vase 687; the Caryatid; the Iris; the Theseus; a sepulchral vase, No. 691; the two remaining Fates; the torso of Amphitrite, and the torso of Poseidon seen from the back. In the far corner on the left are two Ionic caps on shafts, probably 2564 and 2565, and a small Doric capital. [The capital 2561 in the British Museum is the only one that seems to suit, and that is not known to be an Elgin piece, cf. p. 233.]

On right and left of the entrance are two picturesque compositions.

On the left the architrave of the Erechtheum forms a base supporting the inscriptions B.M. 5, 2, 24, 29. In front are the archaic relief from Logotheti's house (2154) and the vase of Timophon (684). Immediately behind is the torso of Hermes from the West pediment, placed on the cippus of Aristides, son of Lysimachos (No. 85).

On the right we have the sculptured band crowning the walls of the Erechtheum (the slabs seem incorrectly pieced together) and the head of the horse of Selene on the shaft of the Erechtheum column. The long horizontal shaft seems to be one of the pieces of porphyry. The numbers given above are those by which the objects are distinguished in the Catalogues of the British Museum.

From 1807 onwards the collection was thus set out so that it could be seen and enjoyed, and began to be a place of pilgrimage.

Certain porphyry columns from Alexandria had found their way home in the *Madras*, which was employed to take the marbles surrendered at the capitulation of Alexandria, and had so passed to the forecourt of the British Museum. Correspondence on the subject passed with Mr. Planta, the Principal Librarian, who added to a letter of February 1, 1808, 'If not disagreeable, I would fain request Your Lordship's permission to take a view of your Collection of Marbles, which I hear so highly spoken of, by those who have had the satisfaction of seeing it.' This may be assumed to be the earliest passage that bears in any way on the preliminaries for the acquisition of the marbles for the British Museum.

Among the select visitors was Wilkie, and he was the means of introducing Benjamin Robert Haydon. The latter had received a commission from Lord Mulgrave to paint an historical picture of the Death of L. Sempronius Dentatus, ambushed in a rocky gorge, from the account in Hook's *Roman History* (l. p. 509, after Livy iii. 43). He had a struggle with his subject:

Just <sup>20</sup> in this critical agony of anxiety how to do what I felt I wanted, and when I had been rubbing out and painting in again all the morning, Wilkie called. My heart

<sup>20</sup> *Life of R. R. Haydon*, i. pp. 82-86.

was done, though anything but well done, and Wilkie proposed that we should go and see the Elgin Marbles, as he had an order. I agreed, dressed, and away we went to Park Lane. I had no more notion of what I was to see, than of any thing I had never heard of, and walked in with the utmost nonchalance.

To Park Lane then we went, and after passing through the hall and thence into an open yard, entered a damp dirty penthouse, where lay the marbles, ranged within sight and reach. The first thing I fixed my eyes on, was the wrist of a figure in one of the female groups, in which were visible, though in a feminine form, the radius and ulna. I was astonished, for I had never seen them united as in any female wrist in the antique. I darted my eye to the elbow, and saw the outer condyle visibly affecting the shape as in nature. I saw that the arm was in repose and the soft parts in relaxation. That combination of nature and idea which I had felt was so much wanting for high art was here displayed to midday conviction. My heart beat! If I had seen nothing else, I had beheld sufficient to keep me to nature for the rest of my life. But when I turned to the *Thesens*, and saw that every form was altered by action or repose,—when I saw that the two sides of his back varied, one side stretched from the shoulder blade being pulled forward, and the other side compressed from the shoulder blade being pushed close to the spine, as he rested on his elbow, with the belly flat because the bowels fell into the pelvis as he sat,—and when, turning to the *Ilyseus*, I saw the belly protruded, from the figure lying on its side,—and again, when in the figure of the fighting antelope I saw the muscle shown under the one arm pit in that instantaneous action of darting out, and left out in the other arm pits because not wanted,—when I saw, in fact, the most heroic style of art, combined with all the essential detail of actual life, the thing was done at once and for ever.

Here were principles which the common sense of the English people would understand: here were principles which the great Greeks in their finest time established, and here was I, the most prominent historical student, perfectly qualified to appreciate all this by my own determined mode of study under the influence of my old friend the watch-maker.—here was the hint at the skin perfectly comprehended by knowing well what was underneath it.

(Oh, how I inwardly thanked God that I was prepared to understand all this!)

I felt the future, I foresaw that they would prove themselves the finest things on earth, that they would overturn the false beau-ideal, where nature was nothing, and would establish the true beau-ideal, of which Nature alone is the base.

I shall never forget the horses' heads, the feet in the metopes! I felt as if a divine truth had blazed inwardly upon my mind, and I knew they would at last rouse the art of Europe from its slumber in the darkness.

I do not say this now, when all the world acknowledges it, but I said it then, when no one would believe me. I went home in perfect excitement, Wilkie trying to moderate my enthusiasm with his national caution.

I passed the evening in a mixture of torture and hope: all night I dozed and dreamed of the marbles: I rose at five in a fever of excitement, tried to sketch the *Thesens* from memory, did so, and saw that I comprehended it. I worked that day, and another, and another, fearing that I was deluded. At last I got an order for myself. I rushed away to Park Lane; the impression was more vivid than before. I drove off to Fusell, and bred him to such a degree, that he ran upstairs, put on his coat, and away we sallied. . . . At last we came to Park Lane. Never shall I forget his uncompromising enthusiasm. He struts about saying 'The Greeks were Godes! The Greeks were Godes!'

Haydon adds<sup>22</sup> that through the good offices of Lord Mulgrave (after 1812 Viscount Normanby), his patron, he obtained with some difficulty leave

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* p. 87.



to draw regularly from the marbles. Lord Mulgrave's letter<sup>22</sup> is extant. Its frigid terms are in contrast with the student's enthusiasm.

The Request which I made to Mr. Hamilton was not one on which I rest the least importance, it was made at the request of a young Artist of great Talent, who is painting an historical Picture for me, and who thought he could add grace and dignity to his work by selecting a figure or two from your fine Grecian Sculpture. But I was not, even in making the application convinced that he would improve his picture by such an attempt to mix Grecian Statuary with the living models that he found in London but if my opinion were different, I should not deem any benefit his picture could derive, equivalent to the inconvenience to you of establishing a precedent of copying from anything in your collection.

The picture of the Death of Demetrius, which won a prize of one hundred guineas from the Directors of the Royal Institution, is said to be still in the Normanby collection. It was cut on wood by W. Harvey in 1821. The head, neck and shoulders of a figure in the immediate foreground are evidently copied from the Theseus. But the picture as a whole is a turbulent scene of combat, with no trace of beneficent Parthenonian influences.

However, Haydon worked hard through the summer.

I drew at the marbles ten, fourteen, and fifteen hours at a time, staying often till twelve at night, holding a candle and my board in one hand, and drawing with the other, and so I should have stood till morning, had not the sleepy porter come yawning in, to tell me it was twelve o'clock, and then often have I gone home cold, benumbed, and damp, my clothes steaming up as I dried them; and on, spreading my drawings on the floor, and putting a candle on the ground, I have drunk my tea at one in the morning with ecstasy, as its warmth trickled through my frame, and looked at my picture, and dwelt on my drawings, and pondered on the change of empires, and thought that I had been contemplating what Socrates looked at, and Plato saw, and then, lifted up with my own high urgings of soul, I have prayed to God to enlighten my mind to discover the principles of those divine things, and then I have had inward assurances of future glory, and almost heavenly influences in my room, have lingered in my mattress bed, and soon dozed into a rich, balmy slumber.

A large album with many of Haydon's studies made in the conditions described was acquired in 1881 by the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. An example is reproduced in Fig. 11, with the two recumbent Fates, and the metopes and a piece of frieze beyond. It is dated 1809, and a note of Haydon's is written beneath, 'This is the way the metopes come in, when in the Shed, Park Lane.'

During the summer of 1808 admission to the collection began to be granted more freely. A correspondent (G. Cumberland) of the *Monthly Magazine* for July, 1808, speaks of 'that noble collection, now happily deposited near Hyde Park Corner, in a building erected purposely for their security; and, on Saturdays and Sundays most liberally opened to the inspection of the public, as such things ought to be, without fee or reward, or even the necessity of previous application.'

The writer concludes by expressing his desire, which no doubt was becoming common, 'that Parliament should purchase, if possible, the entire collection, and build a well lighted museum to contain it.'

<sup>22</sup> Mulgrave to Elgin, May 21, 1808.

We have seen above (p. 297) that the question of the priority of West and Haydon was a subject of discussion, but Haydon obtained his permission to draw in May, while Lord Elgin's invitation to West (which is in the British Museum<sup>327</sup>) is dated September 1, but has reference to some previous conversation. It runs:

BROOMHALL,  
Sept. 1, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am extremely mortified to find that the letter which was to have been written to you in consequence of our last conversation has by accident not reached its destination. But I hope this circumstance has not prevented your proceeding as agreed on. The more so, as I had that very day an opportunity of communicating with Mr. Hamilton on the subject.



FIG. 11.—STUDY OF SCOTIENUS, IN THE PARK LANE MUSEUM.  
(By R. W. Haydon.)

My request to you is that you would have the goodness of making any sketches from the subjects in my museum, in the view of pointing out how far, either individually or in groups they may be worthy of being imitated in painting. For this purpose the Museum will be open to you at all times.

In compliance with this invitation West joined Haydon at the Museum.

While I was drawing there, West came in and seeing me, and with surprise, 'Hah, hah, Mr. Haydon, you are admitted, are you? I hope you and I can keep a secret.' The very day after, he came down with large canvases, and without at all entering into the principles of these divine things, hastily made compositions from

<sup>327</sup> *Br. Mus. Add. MSS.* 30.297 n. fo. 29.



Greek History, putting in the Theseus, the Hyacinth, and others of the figures and restoring the defective parts—that is, he did that which he could do easily, and which he did not need to learn how to do, and avoided doing that which he could only do with difficulty, and which he was in great need of learning how to do.

Haydon's criticism was no doubt just, but West was then seventy years old, and he was doing what he had been invited to do. His report on the results is dated February 6, 1809, and is printed at length in the *Memorandum*.<sup>258</sup> He explains that he has made compositions of a Battle of the Centaurs; Theseus and Hercules triumphing over the Amazons; the Marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta; Theseus, Ariadne, and the Minotaur; Neptune and Amphitrite, Triton, etc.; Alexander and Bucephalus.

In order to render the subjects which I selected with propriety, and the effect, which arises from combined parts and the order of arrangement, comprehensive, I have ventured to unite figures of my own invention with those of Phidias, but as I have endeavoured to preserve, with the best force of my abilities, the style of Phidias, I flatter myself, the union will not be deemed incongruous or presumptuous. Your Lordship may perhaps be inclined to think with me that a point, and, if I may so express it, a kind of climax, is thus given to those works, by the union of those detached figures, with the incorporation of the parts of individual grandeur, and abstracted excellence of Phidias. For what I have done, my Lord, I feel the example of Raphael, and most of the Italian masters of the greatest celebrity.

While Haydon's studies were in progress he tells us that on September 9, having 'finished the best drawing' he had yet done, a 'marble fell down and cut my leg.' This caused inconvenience for some days, as he was unable to walk, and his leg was 'very painful.'

In the autumn of 1808, Sir Thomas Lawrence<sup>259</sup> also obtained permission to draw the marbles. At this period the collection was further increased by casts taken from moulds that had been made by the *formatori* at Athens. Hamilton reported<sup>260</sup> that the cases of moulds were found to contain 'various legs and arms and trunks belonging to the figures on the Pediment.'

I called in Piccadilly, and saw Pappe's work. He has had a most troublesome job of it owing to the confused manner in which the moulds etc. were packed up, but has succeeded extremely well, and has made some admirable casts, superior many of them in preservation, and equal all in sculpture to the best of the originals.

The letter concludes with a petition for the packing cases.

I have a plan in agitation of taking a large farm (dairy farm) our family property, into my own hands, and should like to convert the Athenian planks, that is those which are not quite rotten, to some use as piling or some other such purpose, by way of being able to introduce the subject of Athens to my country neighbours and cause them to stare, and ask in what country it is.

On the completion of a set of the casts from the West frieze of the Parthenon, the frieze of the Theseum, of the monument of Lysicrates, and of the Gergenti sarcophagus, the moulds would seem to have been destroyed. I find no further mention of them.

<sup>258</sup> *Memorandum*, p. 29. The original draft is in the Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 70,297, n. to 31.

<sup>259</sup> Lawrence to Elgin, Oct. 4, 1808.

<sup>260</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Sept. 25 and Oct. 9, 1808.

The number of visitors to the museum made it necessary to appoint a responsible representative to be in charge during the open days. Hamilton had performed this duty with great zeal and devotion. Later on, when the question again came up, he wrote:<sup>261</sup> 'I have no kind of objection to taking upon myself the same office as last year, of preserving the Marbles from injury, and of preserving due order and decorum.' Early in the year 1809 the duty was offered to Haydon. He replied gratefully, but stating that it was entirely out of his power to accept the position, and added that in the endeavour to procure a gentleman worthy of being entrusted with such exquisite productions, he had called (unsuccessfully, for he was not in town) 'on Mr. Day, the Gentleman who attends the marbles at the Museum, and who fortunately would be at liberty on Saturdays and Sundays, the Museum being then shut.' Haydon took the opportunity of applying for leave to study 'the figure grappling the Centaur, the character of whose limbs I wish to imitate in the groans in Macbeth for Sir George Beaumont,' and the 'drapery of the two sitting women, as a model for Lady Macbeth.' In a further letter<sup>262</sup> on the same subject he gave the rein to his enthusiasm.

I can see in these exquisite productions every great principle of Art, all that is grand, necessary and beautiful. You have immortalized yourself, My Lord, by bringing them, and if you would but erect a building worthy of them, and admit students, your immortality would be on firmer ground. Michel Angelo was produced from Lorenzo's di Medici's garden. I should have no fear for the art of my country, were they once studied as they ought—they will create excellence wherever they drop—and I prophesy that from their haunting in this country posterity will date the commencement of real art,—they are so pure, so uncontaminated,—nothing superfluous. That Horse's head is the highest effort of human conception and execution. If the greatest Artist the world ever saw, did not execute this, I know not who did—look at the eye, the nostril and the mouth;—it is enough to breathe fire, into the marble around it—enough to create a soul, under the rite of death.

I have intruded my own notions of their excellence, which I hope you, My Lord, will excuse. I am yet inexperienced, and diffident of all my opinions; but what <to> relate to the marbles—here I would stand and contend, till the World was in ruins about me, that I should have been permitted to study these very marbles appears to me when I reflect like a vision—for ever believe me my dear Lord

yours gratefully

B. R. HAYDON.

The Horse's head, the reclining figure, and the Theseus with the two sitting, the two lying women, the Bechus and the Metope of the figure grappling with the Centaur, are quite enough to reform art, or create it, wherever they appear. The fifty other things are all equally capable of doing that, in the collection. I again beg pardon my Lord for intruding my opinions.

To return again to the question of a curator, nothing seems to have come of the suggestion that Mr. Day should be employed, and in the spring of 1809 the collection was closed to the public. Lord Elgin was anxious to effect a sale of the Park Lane house and not to alarm possible purchasers by a confluence of visitors to it. It was clear, however, that if a purchaser was

<sup>261</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, March 26, 1809.

<sup>262</sup> Haydon to Elgin, Sept. 23, 1809.



found the marbles would have to be moved, and the question was definitely raised by Hamilton.<sup>200</sup>

Then however comes another consideration. What is to be done with the Marbles? I have often mentioned to you the applications made to me to know, when & if Govt. is to buy them—and certainly the prejudice in their favour is now become so general that I have no doubt that Govt. would pay for them liberally, and certainly the house would sell much better, if known that they were to be removed within a certain time, than if any arrangement of that kind were to remain over this Session undetermined, at least as far as a private understanding with Govt. would go. If you resolve to part with them, could you not make the offer through Mr. West, and if accepted, desire that a certain no. of respectable men, Artists, Amateurs, and Members of H. of C. be appointed to settle the price, you perhaps fixing the minimum, and giving in round and handsome sums a statement of the Expenses immediate and accidental. I cannot but think that when they were disposed of, you would feel yourself relieved of a great deal of trouble and embarrassment. Of course Malacca's Expedition and those Expenses attendant on the conclusion of Lanieri's engagement would have to be included. The drawings and measurements I should be inclined to postpone for any future arrangement. If you disapprove of what I have said, you have only to excuse my freedom. At all events, I shall take Mr. Christie to the house and will either on Monday or Tuesday let you know his opinion about it.

Appended to the letter is a list of names for the suggested committee:

Mr. West	Marquis of Stafford	Mr. Rose	Ld. Aberdeen	Flaxman
Sir G. Beaumont	or	Mr. Long	Mr. Lock	Nollekens
	Ld. Cawdor			
	Mr. Knight			

The question of selling the Park Lane house was a subject of discussion during the summer with Hamilton and Christie (of the famous firm), and the question of the disposal of the marbles was naturally involved, but no real progress was made.

It was at this time in contemplation that West as President of the Academy should prepare a memorial on the subject of the marbles, which he seemed quite ready to do, especially having regard to the fact that English artists were cut off by the war from opportunities of study abroad. Occasional visitors were being admitted to the house. An interesting meeting was planned by Lord Elgin, who invited Thomas Lawrence and West to meet Mrs. Siddons. West was able to attend. Lawrence excused himself,<sup>201</sup> but added, 'Mrs. Siddons can nowhere be seen with so just accompaniments as the works of Phidias, nor can they receive nobler homage than from her praise. She is of his age, a kindred genius, though living in our times.' This, presumably, was the occasion when the group of the Fates so rivetted and agitated the feelings of Mrs. Siddons, the pride of theatrical representation, as actually to draw tears from her eyes.<sup>202</sup> The house remained unsold, and in the autumn of the year Lord Elgin was considering the possibility of altering it so as to form a permanent museum, to which the public might be admitted by payment. The scheme was submitted to the professional criticism of Mr. W. Porden whose reply<sup>203</sup> was by no means encouraging.

<sup>200</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, May 13, 1809.

<sup>201</sup> Lawrence to Elgin, Sept. 26, 1809.

<sup>202</sup> *Memorandum* (1811), p. 42.

<sup>203</sup> Porden to Elgin, Jan. 16, 1810.

It was architecturally practicable, at a cost of £1,500-£2,000. But there would be the expense of reinstatement at the end of the lease. The remainder of the house would be greatly depreciated as a property, and there was no probability that the admission fees would meet the expenses of maintenance. It was therefore much to be preferred that the marbles should pass to the keeping of the Government. Smirke was also consulted, and was equally unfavourable to the exhibition project,<sup>287</sup> which was promptly abandoned so far as the Park Lane house was concerned.<sup>287</sup>

## PART V.

*Purchase Negotiations.*

Not long after the abandonment of the scheme for a private Museum the first overtures on the part of the British Museum began. Hamilton writes:<sup>288</sup>

Mr. Planta of the British Museum called on me yesterday to sound me as to your Lordship's intentions to part w. your marbles for the British Museum. I of course gave him a diplomatic answer, and recommended him an application to you in the name of the Trustees, in order that a negotiation might be set on foot during the ensuing summer, preparatory to the next Session of Parliament. He said he would talk it over with His Brethren, and make me an official communication upon the subject—for which you may send me what instructions you please, or desire me only to take them *ad referendum*.

The next step in the proceedings of which a record remains was a call on Mr. Planta at the Museum by Lord Elgin, about the middle of July. As a result Planta wrote to the Speaker, Charles Abbot (afterwards Lord Colchester), as one of the three Principal Trustees. In reply, after expressing regret that other engagements made an interview impossible, and that the lateness of the season prevented a meeting of the Trustees on the subject, Abbot wrote:<sup>289</sup>

The only step now to be taken, is for Lord Elgin to make His formal communication to you as Principal Librarian, and our Principal Officer to whom all our concerns are confided during the recess. And most certainly as soon as it can be laid before the Board, if it should be their pleasure, as it has been upon former occasions, to employ me to communicate with His Majesty's Government upon the subject, I shall most cordially enter upon that service; and doubt not but we shall bring the negotiations to bear, in a mode equally just by the public and honourable as well as satisfactory to Lord Elgin.

The letter was forwarded by Planta, who observed:<sup>290</sup>

The necessity of receiving from your Lordship a specific offer is what I believe our leading men will not dispense with; and my zeal in the cause urges me earnestly to wish that this step might be got over as soon as possible, for though nothing decisive can be done till our trustees meet in November, yet preliminary measures may be taken among individuals which may greatly facilitate the happy issue of their collective deliberations.

<sup>287</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Jan. 22, 1810.

<sup>288</sup> On Feb. 10, 1810, Lord Elgin again wrote to Christie, as to selling or letting the house, and as to the employment of a competent packer; that the wines and books

might be sent by coach packet to Greenwich, *Br. Mus. Add. MSS.* 33,957, fo. 91.

<sup>289</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, May 10, 1810.

<sup>290</sup> Abbot to Planta, July 21, 1810.

<sup>291</sup> Planta to Elgin, July 21, 1810.



By the same post Planta<sup>271</sup> wrote to General Ramsay, as a friend of Lord Elgin's, 'Since we met last in Piccadilly, I have had the honor of seeing Lord Elgin, who unequivocally declared his wish that his Collection of Marbles should become the property of the Public. Terms however he would not so much as hint at, and he seems determined that those should be proposed by others.' A tender, however, would be essential, and perhaps Ramsay, as an old friend, could urge this with success. Ramsay therefore wrote:<sup>272</sup>

MY DEAR ELGIN

I enclose you a letter which I have just received from Planta—Now pray read it attentively and do something immediately as desired. *Strike while the iron is hot.* I am certain from the conversation which I had with Planta that it may be settled now, if you will do as they wish, and I was left in the complete conviction by that same conversation that unless you make the tender the business will remain as it is. You might, I should think, if you did no more, state the sum which you consider the estimate of the expences incurred by you, and leave to them (with three days to go by) to fix the sum, but at any rate do something about it before you leave Town, and don't allow it to go to sleep again. If I can be of any use as a *mediator* between Planta and yourself you will employ me *ad libitum*. . . . Pray excuse my sending you this most illegible scrawl. Our second dinner bell had rung before I sat down to write it, and you will readily believe that under those circumstances one is not likely to write or do anything else with the same composure as at other times.

With a view to facilitate the negotiations, by supplying an authentic account of the operations, a document was prepared entitled 'A Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's pursuits in Greece.' This was drawn up by Lord Elgin, being largely based on the paper written during the French imprisonment by Hunt for Lord Upper Ossory and Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet. It has hitherto been assigned by cataloguers to Hamilton, but it is evident, incorrectly. The first edition<sup>273</sup> was printed in Edinburgh and when issued was subject to some criticism on the part of Hamilton.<sup>274</sup>

MY DEAR LORD,

When I ventured to speak to Admiral Durham of a few Expressions in your Memorandum which I did not think would be generally approved of, I simply alluded to the words *before*, and *comalto* and a few other Expressions wherein I thought I traced some of Hunt's fanciful flights of eloquence in which he indulged, in his letters to Mrs. Nesbitt,

<sup>271</sup> Planta to Ramsay, July 21, 1810.

<sup>272</sup> Ramsay to Elgin, Aug. 10, 1810.

<sup>273</sup> Three copies of the Memorandum were printed in all.

1. *Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, 4to, Edinburgh, Balfour Kirkwood and Co. 1810. This consists of the Memorandum, with West's letter of Feb. 6, 1809, annexed.

2. The same, 8vo edition, London, 1811, printed for William Miller, Albemarle Street, by James Moyon, Greville Street, Hatton Garden. A few corrections are made in the text. Annexed are West's letter of Feb. 6, 1809; another letter of March 20, 1811;

'Notes on Phidias and his School, collected from ancient authors,' and Millin's 'Description d'un bas-relief du Parthénon actuellement au Musée Napoléon' (i.e. the slab from the East side, now in the Louvre).

3. The same, 8vo edition. 'Second edition corrected.' London printed for John Murray, Albemarle Street, by W. Bulmer and Co., Cleveland Row, 1815. This contains the same matter as No. 2, together with 'Lettre de R. Q. Vincent à un Anglais' (Hamilton), Nov. 25, 1814, and the anonymous letter (cf. p. 310) on purchase considerations.

<sup>274</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 13, 1810.

and which it struck me that you had adopted as the basis of your printed Memo<sup>m</sup>. (but perhaps in this too I am wrong).<sup>275</sup> However on receiving your letter I set to with my pencil in my hand, and as you will see by the enclosed have cut and slashed most unmercifully and you will perhaps say most absurdly. It is not however my fault, and I have only to beg you to burn what you do not choose to adopt in case you have occasion to print any more copies.

I must tell you that those which I have (most of which are distributed) are very much approved of, and sought after with the greatest ardour.

Further letters passed on the details of the Memorandum, and Hamilton undertook to select two subjects from the drawings (then at Park Lane) for a vignette and tail piece for the 2nd edition. The text of this issue is carefully revised. *Concetto* and *bijou* disappear. The head and tail pieces are copper plate engravings by Moses, giving restorations of two of the smaller reliefs. (Brit. Mus. Script., 690, 814.)

The spring and summer of 1811 were spent in active negotiations for the sale. On January 8, Hamilton (who had been elected a member of the Society of Dilettanti on January 6, after two rejections)<sup>276</sup> reported that a Mr. William Smith had called on behalf of the Speaker to start the question of purchase, and soon afterwards the drawings were deposited with the Speaker for his examination.

On April 29<sup>277</sup> an interview took place between Lord Elgin and the Speaker, and a week later Lord Elgin approached the Government with a formal letter to the Right Hon. Charles Long, then Paymaster-General and afterwards 1st Lord Farnborough, after an interview which took place on May 3.<sup>278</sup>

The letter<sup>279</sup> is dated from 5, Park Lane. It opens by pointing out that the Memorandum and an inspection of the collection will have shown Mr. Long that the object of the undertaking was to obtain a full and accurate knowledge of the school of Phidias, and that it had been carried through with an unhesitating-for measure of success. An article in the *Moniteur* showed how the collection was regarded in France, and afforded evidence that the marbles might have been advantageously disposed of in that country. In London every facility and encouragement had been given for the inspection of the collection, and enthusiastic testimonies of admiration were continually received from artists and men of taste.

They look to the establishment of such a school as this assemblage would furnish for the study of art and the formation of taste, as the means of giving to this Country those national advantages, the importance of which has been of late so much brought into evidence, by the many valuable Collections of ancient art so studiously concentrated in Paris. Such impressions, I have the strongest reason for believing, would have been found to be the sentiments of the persons of the description I allude to, who might have been called upon to report on the value of this Collection as a national acquisition. And while they would have awarded a fair reimbursement of my expenses, which the state of my family and my affairs would not justify me in foregoing: they would at the same time

<sup>275</sup> Hamilton's answer was not at hand. Both the terms to which he objects were due to Hunt.

<sup>276</sup> Cuth, *Hist. of the Soc. of Dilettanti*,

p. 133.

<sup>277</sup> Lord Colchester's Diary, ii, p. 320.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.* p. 328.

<sup>279</sup> *Report*, App. p. vii.



have stamped the transaction as wholly differing from a pecuniary bargain, and would have pronounced on the surmise I had been the means of conferring on the Country, in a way to have presented a powerful recommendation and claim in my favour, for some mark of Royal approbation.

In discussion with the Speaker he had found the Speaker decidedly of opinion that a statement of expenses, with interest, should form the basis of the transaction, and that 'beyond this, Parliament would take under consideration, as a separate subject of remuneration, the merit attending the procuring and offering these objects to the Public.'

A delay had arisen, through an idea being entertained, that Lord Elgin's diplomatic appointment prejudiced his full and uncontrolled right over his acquisitions. This had been met by a consideration of general practice and precedents, and because it was the British Government's refusal to take part that had brought about the whole enterprise.

When this difficulty appeared to be removed, and The Speaker still adhered to the opinion he had before recommended as to the mode of proceeding, I could no longer hesitate in acquiescing in his advice; and I herewith transmit to you accordingly as *single* a view of my outlay as the materials still in my possession enable me to furnish, of a transaction so peculiar in itself, and differing entirely from the circumstances attending every other Collection. Here the objects were not purchased, or got for fixed prices. They were not selected by the taste of an individual; nor were they, generally speaking, the results of accidental discovery from excavation. But, in the face of difficulties till then found insurmountable, a plan was undertaken for securing one great series, the success of which depended upon unwearied patience, abundance of means, and the most prompt and uncalculating decision in the use of them.

The collection consisted of:

1. The Drawings and Casts.	
For this purpose the artists at £400 per annum for 2½ years cost	£8400
One came to England to engrave the drawings and remained	
2 years	800
Travelling expenses	1500
	<hr/>
	£10,700
2. The Sculptures, Inscriptions, and Vases	
After explaining that all privileges in Turkey have to be paid for on a scale 'proportioned to the rank of the parties, the sacrifice to be made, and the eagerness shewn for the acquisition,' Lord Elgin estimated for presents and wages to workmen	£15,000
Expenses at Malta, Commission, Agency and minor charges not estimated	2,500
The <i>Heater</i> and operations on the wreck	5,000
Interest for 14 years at 5 per cent.	23,240
Expenses in London	6,000
	<hr/>
The total therefore exceeded considerably	£62,440

These calculations, as we shall see, were amplified and corrected later on. At this stage no attempt was made on behalf of the Government to discuss

the items of the account. 'Mr. Spencer Perceval [the then Prime Minister] asked me,' said Long<sup>200</sup> in his evidence before the Committee, 'whether I was satisfied that the collection was worth £30,000; I told him I had no doubt it was worth that and more from the testimony of those whom I had consulted: upon which he authorized me to state to Lord Elgin that he was willing to propose that sum to Parliament for the purchase of the Collection, provided he made out, to the satisfaction of a Committee of the House of Commons, that he had expended a sum equal to that amount in obtaining the Collection and transporting it to this country.' The decision was received by Lord Elgin with deep mortification. He wrote to the Speaker:<sup>201</sup>

PARK LANE, May 10, 1811.

SIR

I have had the mortification of learning from Mr. Long the result of his communication with Mr. Perceval on the subject of transferring my Athenian collection to the public. The terms offered for my consideration are so wholly inadequate either to the expenses incurred, or to the acknowledged value of the Collection, that I cannot hesitate in declining them. I had previously prepared the enclosed paper for Mr. Long's information both in regard to the outlay and to the proceedings prior to my application to him. In that view it is no longer necessary. Yet as Mr. Long mentioned that you had not foreseen the amount of that outlay I attach I confess too strong a feeling to the opinion you may form on this business, not earnestly to request you to peruse the paper, and to observe the nature of the charges in which my enterprise unavoidably involved me.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
with great respect,

Your obedient  
humble servant  
ELGIN.

The Speaker answered,

PALACE YARD, Tuesday 14 May 1811

MY DEAR LORD,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Letter, inclosing another addressed to Mr. Long; and after such Communication as I have thought it my Duty to hold upon this Subject, I am sorry to say that I am not enabled to encourage any expectation whatever that a proposition to the extent stated in your Lordship's letter will receive the support of Government: if it should be submitted to the House of Commons. My Situation in truth has given me the opportunity of knowing also the sentiments of some other Leading Persons, unconnected with Government: and from them I have received a very distinct intimation that no grant to that extent could be proposed with any reasonable expectation of success. And I think that I should not act with the frankness due to the unreserved manner in which your Lordship has conversed with me upon the business, if I forbore to mention to you this coincidence of opinion between Persons of opposite Political Habits and Connections. Under such circumstances I fear that my service cannot be of any further avail, towards bringing this negotiation to a favourable issue; but should you conceive otherwise I should be very happy to obey any further commands which you may think proper to lay upon me.

<sup>200</sup> *Report of the Committee*, p. 54.

<sup>201</sup> *Lord Colchester's Diary*, II. p. 230. A

somewhat different draft is in the Elgin papers.



To this letter Lord Elgin replied<sup>282</sup> (May 15) that he 'was really quite ignorant of there being any limits so far below the value of my collection, beyond which Parliament would not go for a similar purpose, but at the same time he conceded that 'the terms offered viewed simply in the light of an encouragement to the arts, and without definite reference to the value of the collection were in the highest degree liberal.'

The same day Charles Long<sup>283</sup> wrote to the Speaker 'though he has taken this line, I think we shall hear from him again. I wish he would talk more liberally upon the subject; but at present we are so far off that without a strong disposition on his part to approximate, I almost fear we shall not meet soon.'

A certain amount of rearrangement of the collection seems to have taken place in the spring of this year. Lord Elgin<sup>284</sup> wrote to Flaxman in April, proposing an appointment to meet at the museum. 'My object, . . . that of obtaining your opinion on several of the articles there, would be more satisfactorily obtained if you could do me the favour of coming on Wednesday at 12 o'clock, because in the course of tomorrow I shall have finished the arrangement both of the marbles and the casts.'

On the failure of the negotiations no time was lost by Lord Elgin in offering the collection to the British Institution<sup>285</sup> for exhibition, but on May 17 the Directors and Visitors at their meeting decided that they were unable to find space suited to the purpose.

The matter of purchase was now set aside for the present. But the discussions that had taken place in relation to it had shown that there were misapprehensions current which it was desirable to correct, and on July 31 Lord Elgin addressed a letter on the subject to Spencer Perceval.

Insinuations have, I'm told, been thrown out, tending to create an impression as if I had obtained a considerable share of these marbles in presents from the Porte and without expence; that the allowance of £10,000 granted to me in 1800 bore in some way on the cost of my collection; and that during my Embassy I received presents beyond the usual practice in other European Courts, and out of proportion with the various persons concerned in the operations for the recovery of Egypt.

The letter proceeded to beg the Prime Minister to examine the facts. In Greece the operations were begun on a scheme settled in England, and the Ambassador enjoyed no special privileges.

The only direct aid I ever obtained, was in regard to the Boastrophodon Inscription, and a small bas relief near it, at Cape Sigonni, which the Captain Pasha whom I met accidentally at the spot, gave me his sanction to remove, at my own expence.

The grant of £10,000 was purely in relation to the expenses of the Embassy at Constantinople.

In more immediate reference to the occasion of this Letter, I have only to add, that in no one instance during my whole Life passed in the Foreign Service, did I ever receive any extra allowance from Government for Debts, losses, or on any other

<sup>282</sup> Lord Colchester's Diary, II. p. 330.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.* p. 321.

<sup>284</sup> Elgin to Flaxman, April 19, 1811.

(Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 76, 622, fo. 132.)

<sup>285</sup> Cf. Lord Colchester's Diary, *loc. cit.*

account whatever; that the full pension to which my progression thro' all the Ranks in the career, and my length of service entitle me, has not been granted to me, as to my Colleagues of similar standing; and that after disposing of my House in London, I still remain Burdened with a Debt of not less than £200,000.

Perceval's answer, written the next day, was fairly cordial. After stating that he had read the enclosures, and would consult the documents to which he had been referred at the Foreign Office, he adds:

I shall feel myself acting only according to Your Lordship's wishes when I avail myself of Your Lordship's Letter and its enclosures to remove the impressions to which Your Lordship alludes, in any quarter, where I may happen to find that they in any degree exist. If in so doing I shall at all exceed your Lordship's wishes and intentions, I shall be glad to hear from you to that effect.

While the discussion was going on, it had become urgent to remove the marbles from Park Lane. The proposal to exhibit them under the management of the British Institution was, as we have seen, unsuccessful. After some discussion, 'the walled enclosure at Burlington House' was placed at Lord Elgin's disposal by the 5th Duke of Devonshire,<sup>285</sup> though the permission was accompanied by a warning that the concession might be for a brief period only, as it was likely that the whole of the land would be let or sold before the end of the current year. The walled enclosure was a considerable space at the back and sides of Burlington House.

Work seems to have begun in July. Hamilton writing on the 30th says: 'I think I shall be in town again before much is done at Burlington House.' The Duke of Devonshire had, however, died the previous day, and Hamilton's next letter<sup>287</sup> expressed some anxiety as to whether this would cause a change of plans for the infant museum. But there was no immediate urgency, and the arrangement of the museum continued. On October 14, Planta, the Principal Librarian of the British Museum, wrote to Abbot<sup>288</sup> that the collection was in Burlington House, and in November more fully:

I am just returned from a visit to the Elgin Collection. It is in a shed in a back yard at Burlington House, with top lights very unfavourable to artists who may wish to copy any of the marbles. Hamilton met me there; I learnt from him that it was not at present intended to tax the admission, but he intimated that, if not otherwise disposed of, he should advise Lord Elgin to stand the best brunt of the abuse, and derive a profit from the exhibition.

<sup>285</sup> Duke of Devonshire to Lord Elgin, no date.

<sup>287</sup> Hamilton to Lord Elgin, Aug. 2, 1811. In this letter Hamilton remarks, 'I return you many thanks for the perusal of Lord Byron's letters [apparently lost] which are herewith enclosed.' I do not consider him a very formidable enemy in his mediated attack, and I shall be much surprised if his attack on what you have done do not turn out one of the most friendly acts he could have done. It will create an interest in the

public, excite curiosity, and the real advantage to the country, and the merit of your exertions will become more known, and felt as they are more known.' Byron (cf. p. 288) had reached England in the middle of July. The *Curse of Hamlet* was kept back from publication in consequence, Moore suggests, of 'a friendly remonstrance from Lord Elgin, or some of his connections.' (Moore, I. p. 332.) *Curse II of Hamlet Hamlet* appeared in the following March.

<sup>288</sup> Lord Colchester's Diary, II. p. 349.



Three drawings showing the outside of the building at Burlington House and the larger marbles lying outside it, were formerly in the collection of the late E. T. Gardner. They were exhibited in 1904 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.<sup>290</sup>

When the move had been made, Haydon continued his drawings in the new quarters.<sup>291</sup>

I used to go down in the evenings with a little portfolio, and bid the porter at Burlington House to which the Elgin Marbles were now removed, to lend me a lantern, and then locking myself in, take the candle out and make different sketches till the cold would almost put the candle out.

In November, schemes were under discussion with Hamilton for a direct approach to the Prince Regent, and for an attempt to obtain the consent of the new Duke of Devonshire for building a better exhibition building on the Burlington House site, but in each instance without result. But financial considerations were urgent, and on December 11 Hamilton wrote:

The result of an interview I had this morning with Lady Charlotte (to Durham)<sup>292</sup> after her with Mr. Coutts, has been that I have engaged to write to you for the purpose of pressing you to make an immediate offer of your marbles to Govt. for such a sum as your communications last year (with Messrs Long and Percival gave you reason to think they would accede to).

He urged an offer for £40,000 'at the same time stating your conviction not only of their greater value, but that they have cost you so much more, and indeed have been the original and principal cause of your present difficulties, which you might add, would tempt you for the present to sell them for a smaller sum, if they thought that £40,000 was more than they could venture to propose to Parliament, under the present pecuniary difficulties of the country.'

Steps should be taken to interest the Regent, and, if possible, the sale should be complete before the arrival of the Malta consignment, which would not be regarded as adding to the value of the collection.

The growing interest felt in the marbles was shown in the following spring by an application received (February 19, 1812), on behalf of John Flaxman, for the loan of casts for an Academy lecture on sculpture, but no progress could be made with the sale negotiations. On March 28, Hamilton wrote to say that 'in the course of conversations with the superior powers' he had met with no encouragement, and thought that a further application at that moment, unless very warmly pressed and supported, would not succeed, and would be likely to do harm. The tragic assassination of Mr. Spencer Perceval followed soon after (May 11, 1812), and made another reason for postponement.

We have already seen (p. 284) that the *Navigator* with 68 cases on board had left Malta on January 1, 1812 but her passage was singularly slow. Rumours arrived from Malta that she had been captured by the French, and by May she was anxiously looked for. 'I am still without any intelligence of your marbles—though I certainly shall learn as soon as any thing is known,' wrote Hamilton (May 18) in a letter mainly

<sup>290</sup> *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, p. 261, Nos. 12a, b, 13a.

<sup>291</sup> Haydon I, pp. 139, 151.

<sup>292</sup> Lord Elgin's sister.

devoted to a discussion of the comparative merits of Harrow and Eton as a school for Brion, and ending 'Perceval's murder is but too true. His assassin was executed this morning. The world now only talks of his successor. Yesterday Wellesley had it for sure. Liverpool is the favourite today. I know nothing.' (Lord Liverpool was the successful competitor.)

At length, on May 25, as Hamilton reported on the following day, the *Navigator* arrived at Deptford. Charles Betton, Lord Elgin's agent at Burlington House, paid a visit to the *Navigator* at Deptford and found 86<sup>22</sup> cases, some very large. He was informed that they would be sent in a lighter to the King's custom house, but was also informed, to his surprise, that they were believed to be the property of the Prince Regent. The Aegina marbles were confidently expected, and it was assumed that they were the cargo of the *Navigator*, a misunderstanding that caused considerable delay. Betton's further report runs as follows:

BURLINGTON HOUSE.

July 8, 1812

My Lords,

There has been a very extraordinary delay about the marbles. They were detained on Board three lighters lying off the Custom House near three weeks, when I heard of them by Accident by the Lighterman going to your Lordship's former House in Park Lane, and by chance meeting with Mr. Henderson the Smith. He directed him to me. As soon as I was in possession of the knowledge, I went to the Lighterman's House, Horsedown, and requested that they may go with the next tide to a Wharf at Millbank where there were proper Cranes etc. etc. to take them out.

Mr. Hamilton presented an order from the Treasury for them to be landed which order was not obey'd. Then I was directed to the Inspector's Office, Water Lane, Tower Hill, and received for answer that Mr. Wyatt had laid a Restraint on them in behalf of the Prince. The next morning they were sent to Burlington House saying all was right. By the time the Carts had delivered two loads they were stop'd again. On Tuesday after but Cases were carted the men were stop'd again. Wednesday, the moment of my writing all pursuits are stop'd. I must see Mr. Hamilton to get information when occasions the delay.

These vexatious delays naturally caused heavy charges (amounting in all to £135 17s.) for lightering and demurrage. But at length on July 22 Hamilton could report that all the cases were in the Burlington Grounds, and would there be visited *pro forma* by the Customs. For their immediate accommodation Hamilton (July 6) had suggested that Porden should put a roof 'over the large coal hole in Burlington Grounds, which I believe we may have for the asking.' A sketch plan shows a rectangular space with one entrance marked 'Coal hole. This space is complete, only wanting a roof with Skylights.' The precarious tenure of the ground at Burlington House, and representations by Henning (the sculptor who was then at work on his reduced copies), that it was possible to place the new arrivals in the existing building, combined to make Lord Elgin<sup>23</sup> unwilling to start on any fresh building operations, and the

<sup>22</sup> See, error for 68.

<sup>23</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, Sept. 7, 1812.



arrangement in the building as it stood was put in hand during the autumn. The lack of room made it necessary, however, for many of the larger pieces to stand out in the courtyard (see above, p. 314).

Meanwhile, a limited access was given to selected students of the Academy School. Benjamin West, who had been asked to send the drawings of the Thesauri to Edinburgh, with a view to the designs for the Observatory, took advantage of the occasion to write:<sup>91</sup>

I cannot close this letter without noticing to your Lordship how happy you have made some of our ingenious Students of the Royal Academy, in giving me the permission for their seeing and drawing from your Marbles at Burlington House. That this indulgence might be done with discern, I have permitted only those who have gained Medals at the Academy to draw after them. This permission has created a point of elevation in their means of studying, of the greatest importance and will be productive of more real advantage to the Art's improvement than has ever been attain'd in this country—and for which the country and the Art are indebted to your Lordship.

The unpacking and arrangement were somewhat delayed. On Tuesday, October 6, Hamilton wrote from Hadham reporting the death of his father, Archdeacon Anthony Hamilton, on the previous Sunday, adding:

This sad event will of course make me delay still longer what I ought to have done some time ago—the further arrangement of your new marbles. I had been too much occupied while in London to attend to it, and deferred it from week to week. However all the cases are there, corresponding exactly in number to Laisier's list. If you will send me the proper size, I shall have the satisfaction of forwarding to you a mourning ring.

The work of arrangement occupied the remainder of the year, and on December 17 Hamilton wrote his impressions.<sup>92</sup> I cannot explain the exact bearing of the opening sentence.

Pardon is a blockhead, but in that he is not singular, and it is not his fault, therefore you must forgive him.

The metopes lately arrived, as well as several pieces of the frieze are much less injured and more perfect and of equally good workmanship as the former collection. The architectural blocks are certainly in the highest degree valuable from their immense size and curiosity. The collection of vases is very numerous, and few of them are injured; and if nothing had preceded them the cargo now arrived would in itself have formed a magnificent collection. Of course those who judge by comparison will depreciate it. The greatest part is now unpacked, and in the museum.

The two years that followed were uneventful in the life of the marbles. Occasional visitors (such as Repton, the writer on landscape gardening) wrote

<sup>91</sup> West to Elgin, Sept. 12, 1812. Compare A. T. Smith's *Notices*, p. 293. "They [the marbles] were shortly afterwards moved to the site premises of Burlington House, where they remained until a temporary gallery could be prepared for them in the British Museum by Government, which had purchased them for the use of the public, and the advancement of Art. During the time these marbles were Lord Elgin's property, Mr. Kellams, accompanied by his constant companion,

Joseph Roquem, — a truly amiable youth to whom from his birth he had intended to be a benefactor — paid them many visits, and indeed at that time, not only all the great artists, but every lover of the Arts, were readily admitted. The students of the Royal Academy, and even Piccini, the Philias of our time, and the venerable President West, drew from them for weeks together."

<sup>92</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 17, 1812.

to express their enthusiasm. The growing vogue of the marbles is indicated by such an advertisement as this in *The Times* of January 8, 1814:

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Fashionable World.—Ross's newly-invented GRECIAN VOLUTE HEAD-DRESS, formed from the true marble models, brought into this country from the Acropolis of Athens by Lord Elgin, rivals any other hitherto invented. The elegance of taste, and simplicity of nature which it displays, together with the facility of dressing, have caused its universal admiration and adoption.

In the spring of 1814 an incident took place that obtained some little notoriety. The great folio publication of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens* had long been in course of completion. Vol. I. was issued in 1762, Vol. II. in 1787, Vol. III. in 1794. Vol. IV. was edited by the architect, Joseph Woods, and was in course of preparation for publication by Taylor, in Holborn, during the period now in question, though not issued till 1816. Woods was engaged with the arrangement and publication of drawings made long before by Stuart (1752) and William Pars (1765). The latter had drawn 196 feet of frieze for the Society of Dilettanti. These materials had been engraved for Vol. IV. of Stuart and Revett in 1810, and it was only natural and legitimate that Woods should wish to collate his plates with the originals at Burlington House. Unfortunately, his application<sup>280</sup> was not sufficiently explanatory of the sources from which his engravings were derived.

Being engaged in preparing for the press, a fourth volume of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, I venture to apply to your Lordship for permission to utilize therein the Specimens of Grecian art you have collected. My object is to correct and explain my author by means of the light which Your Lordship's researches have thrown upon the subject, and to be able to appeal to my authorities. The engravings of the Sculpture are all done, or nearly so, and I am persuaded Your Lordship will be pleased with the Spirit and animation which Mr. Stothard in particular has given to his etchings of the Hermes.

Had Woods been a little more explicit as to his work, he would not have caused Lord Elgin to be both surprised and annoyed. He wrote<sup>281</sup> from Broomhall:

DEAR HAMILTON,

I have just received the enclosed singular application, first asking the use of the marbles and in the same breath saying they are already engraved. I should think you might be able to have this work of Mr. Woods enquired into, before any reply be given in my name. Perhaps it is the same that Taylor in Holborn, and Flaxman spoke to me about three years ago as being to be carried on jointly by them.

My own impression (ignorant as I am of any permission having been granted for these etchings and engravings) would be to make use of the circumstance of my drawings being in a state of readiness for publication, and by holding out this, as affecting the sale of his work, to obtain any concession that might be wished. But you possibly may know more on the business than I do.

As a result of this misunderstanding, permission to collate the drawings or to add to their number was withheld. The affair was closed by a dignified expression of regret by Woods. 'Of the number [of metopes] now published,

<sup>280</sup> Woods to Elgin, Feb. 10, 1814.

<sup>281</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, March 7, 1814.



that collection [of Lord Elgin] contains fifteen. It would have been extremely desirable to make use of the advantages it afforded to continue still further the series of this interesting sculpture, but this was not permitted.<sup>198</sup> Michaelis conjectured that the affair was connected with the feud with the Dilettanti Society as represented by Payne Knight, but it will be seen that this was an error.

The chief event of the late summer of the year 1814 was the visit of the great Visconti to London.

Ennio Quirino Visconti<sup>199</sup> (1751-1818) began life as an infant prodigy. At the age of two he could identify and name all the Caesars from Julius to Gallienus. The son of the pontifical Director of Antiquities, he became known to fame by his description of the Museo Pio-Clementino and other works, and was appointed Director of the Capitoline Museum. When the Revolutionary army under Napoleon took the chief masterpieces of Rome to Paris, Visconti followed them thither in 1799, and was appointed Conservator of the Museum. At Paris he produced his Greek and Roman Iconographies, in sumptuous style, at the public expense, and was universally regarded as the first connoisseur of his time in the field of classical sculpture. As such he was invited by Lord Elgin (who paid a flying visit to Paris for the purpose) to visit London.

'My object,' Lord Elgin explained to Hamilton,<sup>200</sup> 'was to obtain from the best judge in Europe (one who having been guardian of the Museum of the Vatican, has since had the charge of Bonaparte's) an appreciation of my collection, advice as to what parts of it are susceptible of restoration, how to arrange it in regard to the various distributions it may be capable of etc. A strong feeling, you must recollect, with me is that the idea of transferring my Collection to the Public, should come forward, under the impression that the collection is highly desirable, and considered so by such authorities, as are conversant with Bonaparte's Collections, and his combinations connected with them.'

Visconti's first answer was a refusal. In a second letter<sup>201</sup> he defined his terms. He would come to London for a fortnight for a fee of £120. On his return to Paris he would draw up a memoir, to be paid for at such a rate as Lord Elgin should think proper.

After consultations between Lord Elgin and Hamilton, the matter was arranged and the visit was duly paid, at the end of October.

On returning to Paris, Visconti addressed a formal letter to Hamilton (November 25, 1814) expressing his sense of the merit of the collection, and of its value for the arts, and promising the fuller memoir in due course. The letter was privately printed, in April, 1815, for use in the purchase negotiations, under the title of *Lettre de E. Q. Visconti à un Anglais* (4to, R. and A. Taylor), and was inserted in the 3rd issue of the *Memorandum*.

It will be observed that Visconti's visit was from beginning to end a private enterprise, and it was by an amiable misapprehension that his

<sup>198</sup> Stuart and Revett, iv. p. 25; *Minerva*, 1818, p. 82.

<sup>199</sup> See biographical notice by Labus in vol. i. of Visconti's collected works, Milan,

<sup>200</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, Aug. 24, 1814.

<sup>201</sup> Visconti to Elgin, Aug. 17, 1814.

biographer, Labus, represented it as the crowning glory of his career. When opinion in England was divided, 'the members of the House of Lords, and those of the Commons could not agree and determine the proper sum to be paid. The Parliament at length took the step of summoning Visconti who was at Paris, to London, of putting in his hands the duty of appreciating the fragments, and deciding on their price. . . . He thought they could not be worth less than 25,000 guineas. Confidence in him had no limits, and the sum that Visconti had named was promptly paid.'<sup>202</sup>

While Visconti was engaged at Paris in the preparation of his memoir steps were again being taken in London to interest the Government, and Hamilton reported (February 3, 1815), 'Mr. Vansittart's only observation—was that if he had £80,000 to spare he should not hesitate to recommend the purchase immediately: I should recommend all the materials to be got ready at present, but no direct offer to be made until the memoir has been read—and then to send the Memoir as a catalogue raisonné.'

The necessity, however, of prompt action suddenly arose: On March 4 Lord Elgin<sup>203</sup> wrote to Hamilton from Broomhall, 'A report in the papers<sup>204</sup> of Burlington House being sold, alarms me not a little. Still your silence, and that of all my friends, as well as of the D. of Devonshire's people somewhat encourages a hope that no such sale has taken place.' In the meantime he was 'in some forwardness' with materials to be used with the Government, and in particular a 'very able friend' had drawn up a memorandum as to the considerations relating to the real value of the collection.

The rumours were true. On March 13 Hamilton forwarded a notification of the sale, adding that he understood that the purchaser (Lord George Cavendish) desired to begin building in a fortnight.

Napoleon had landed at Antibes on March 1, and it was at once recognised that negotiations with the Government must stand over till he was disposed of. But the matter of Burlington House was urgent, and Lord Elgin<sup>205</sup> wrote to Hamilton proposing to offer a temporary deposit of the marbles at the British Museum, to be withdrawn if the purchase fell through.

If this arrangement were approved of, then nothing would be required but the mechanical operation of removing them. Packed the marble either in the New Road near Fitzroy Square, brought them in safety from Piccadilly (Park Lane) to Burlington House; and as much employed by Flaxman, on such occasions. Besides this, Flaxman, or Smirke, would no doubt take a direction of the removal. Mr. West, and the British Museum would also appoint proper persons to assist. In the Museum they could easily be placed in such a way (probably in the Garden) that a temporary covering would secure

<sup>202</sup> Labus, *Quarrelle de Visconti*, Milan, 1818, i. p. 50.

<sup>203</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, March 4, 1815.

<sup>204</sup> Same next paragraph at the following must have caught Lord Elgin's eye.

Burlington House came to the hammer a few days ago, and was knocked down for £75,200. The purchaser is supposed to be a

Norwegian, who means to make this princely mansion his own residence, without any alteration in its present magnificent order or structure.—*News*, March 3, 1815. The papers of the same day contain the announcement of *Grey Memorandum*.

<sup>205</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, March 16, 1815.



them from the air and from Damp. Damp is destruction. The corridor on each side of the Entrance door might answer, if precautions were taken against Damp—which, at all events, a small stove would do.

The next day, Lord Elgin<sup>306</sup> sent to London his coal-agent, Mr. William Thomson, to be at Hamilton's disposal, and under his direction to superintend every detail of the move. 'He is a man of capacity, trustworthy, and will accurately obey any instructions he may receive. You have only to say what is to be done, and allow him to report to you.'

On March 21, Hamilton<sup>307</sup> reported Thomson's arrival, adding that he had sent him in search of Pistol, the marble worker. The imminent crisis had also obliged him to take other measures. It was his intention to call on Lord George Cavendish, the new owner of Burlington House, and 'put it to him whether for such a national object he ought not to take upon himself to direct his Agents to hold back, even though it may be attended with some personal sacrifice to himself.'

On the same day Hamilton called on the Speaker<sup>308</sup> and explained the position, and undertook to send in a Memorial which, the Speaker promised, should be submitted to an extraordinary meeting of the Trustees.

He wrote accordingly, on the Speaker's advice, to Planta, the Principal Librarian, proposing the deposit of the marbles at the Museum, on the following conditions: The Trustees should determine and indicate such place in the main building of the Museum, the Garden, the Court or corridor, as they might deem best; the Trustees should choose whether the transport should be effected by their agents or those of Lord Elgin, the expenses to be defrayed accordingly; the Trustees should pay for any shelter required to be erected; in the event of a sale the Trustees should have the refusal, at a price to be named before the deposit; in the event of a sale to the Museum 'Lord Elgin's family should be entitled to the same honour and privileges as have been granted to the Townley family' (i.e. a family Trusteeship); that, failing a sale, the collection might be removed at Lord Elgin's expense at six months' notice; that arrangements for the admission of the public etc. should be at the discretion of the Trustees.

While sending on the draft of his proposal, Hamilton<sup>309</sup> pressed on Lord Elgin that he would soon be called on to name a definite price. Mr. Vansittart (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had said that this would be a *sine qua non*. 'The Speaker,' Hamilton reported, 'who is fond of the subject, and loves to talk of it, confessed he did not think Govt. *could* have courage enough, in these or any other times to propose any higher sum than £30,000 which was Percival's Idea long ago,—and both he and Vansittart still hang to the same notion.' On the same day, Lord Elgin<sup>310</sup> wrote from Broomhall with respect to various details. The drawings should be sent, but not the vases or medals. An experiment in cleaning a fragment might be made. Failing the Museum plan, Thomson should search for a

<sup>306</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, March 17, 1815.

<sup>307</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, March 21, 1815.

<sup>308</sup> Lord Colchester's Diary, ii. p. 524.

<sup>309</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, March 21, 1815.

<sup>310</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, March 21, 1815.

place of deposit, such as the 'warehouses belonging to Mr. Trotter in Soho Square' or 'A piece of ground, such as the Statuaries have, near town'—or even Hamilton's own garden. 'Some corner of your domain at Stanley House might perhaps be occupied without inconvenience to you, though the carriage thither would be monstrous!'

Stanley House (otherwise Stanley Grove), which had been lately acquired by Hamilton, still exists, and is said to be the oldest house now standing in Chelsea. In the eighteenth century it had enjoyed notoriety as the property of the Countess of Strathmore,<sup>31</sup> made known to fame by the brutality of her second husband, A. R. Bowes.

The house and grounds of eleven acres, were sold by Hamilton to the National Society in 1840. St. Mark's College, Chelsea, was built in the grounds, and Stanley House is now the Principal's residence. The name survives in Stanley Bridge, the bridge over the adjoining railway.

The terms of Hamilton's letter to Planta were warmly approved by Lord Elgin.<sup>32</sup> 'I cannot conceive anything more proper and dignified than the terms you have offer'd to the British Museum.' The delicate question of whether the grant of a Peerage of the United Kingdom could be arranged as a part of the whole transaction was also discussed in the correspondence, but nothing came of this idea, and the grant of the Barony of Elgin in the United Kingdom was reserved for the next holder of the title in 1849.

As a step towards clearing the collection, Thomson was instructed to send down all the porphyry, verd antique, and other bits of coloured marble by sea to Broomhall.<sup>33</sup> The number of such pieces, which had been acquired with a view to operations at Broomhall, was considerable. Some have only served their ultimate purpose in quite recent years.

While Hamilton was spending the latter part of March in bed 'from the effects of a Tumble out of my Gig,' his letter to Planta was under consideration, and on April 3 Planta wrote that he had consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Trustees, and that a General Meeting had been summoned for the afternoon of the 8th to consider the whole matter. The meeting was held accordingly, the Archbishop in the chair, and it was resolved 'that a Committee be appointed to communicate with Mr. Hamilton, and his Majesty's Government respecting the Purchase of Lord Elgin's collection.' It was also resolved:

'That the said Committee consist of the Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. Long, and Mr. Knight.'

A copy of the minute was transmitted by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Ellis as Secretary to the Board.

<sup>31</sup> 'She had purchased a fine old mansion with extent of ground well walled in, and there she had brought exotics from the Cape.'—*Foot, Lives of A. R. Bowes and the Countess of Strathmore*, p. 13. The house is serving at this moment as the Officers' mess of a General Military Hospital. It has attached to it a large hall or library built by Hamilton, which

I have been permitted to visit by Col. Eustace M. Callender, R.A.M.C. It measures some 62 x 26 feet. Casts from the frieze run round three sides of the room, below the ceiling, and casts of metopes surmount the doors and fireplace.

<sup>32</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, March 24, 1815.

<sup>33</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, March 28, 1815.



On the day following the meeting Lord Aberdeen called on Hamilton, who was still suffering from the tumble out of the gig. The result of the visit was the subject of a long despatch to Broomhall, transcribed by Hamilton's sister from his rough notes. Lord Aberdeen had begun the conversation by observing that a purchase was probable, and that it might save much trouble if Lord Elgin would name a definite price. The Trustees, he said, would agree to all the proposed conditions of the deposit except that they had no power to spend money on erecting a shelter. 'This he observed they could not take upon themselves, inasmuch as they had no authority for appropriating the Funds at their disposal for keeping in security the property of others.' Objections had also been raised to the principle of receiving anything on deposit, but these had been overruled.

As to price, Lord Aberdeen had stated that in the discussion of the previous day Mr. Long had thought £35,000 the outside sum that could be offered, and this had been the view of those who had taken part in the discussion. Long had taken the line that this was the greatest sum that could be proposed to the House of Commons with any chance of success, without reference to the intrinsic value of the collection. Payne Knight, on the other hand, 'advanced roundly, that with reference to the prices obtained for objects of antiquity at Rome, those of the Townley and Lansdowne marbles, and with reference to the comparative value of your collection and others, he could not set a higher value on yours than £15,000 or £20,000 at the utmost.' Payne Knight at the same time suggested that the marbles might be kept in England, if necessary by Act of Parliament. The general effect of the interview was that the Trustees would assent to the deposit of the marbles at Lord Elgin's expense:

Aberdeen rather pressed me to authorise him to say to his Colleagues of the Committee that on those terms you would immediately proceed to order the removal: moreover he observed that it would not be considered necessary that you should name your price previous to the admission. This engagement, considering the tone in which the proposal had been received, I did not give, but merely said I would report to you the result, and in the hopes that Lord George Cavendish will not be in a violent hurry, I promised to let him know as soon as I got your answer.

Hamilton went on to point out that the alternatives seemed to be to get £35,000 without more ado, or to incur an expense of at least £1,000 in moving the marbles to the Museum. Visconti's letter had been printed, but not circulated:

and I am rather glad, I did not get it from the Printers in time; for when I mentioned the turn of it to Aberdeen, he observed there could be no doubt that Visconti was the best practical Antiquary in the world, and that his independent, unbiassed opinion would be of great weight everywhere, but that it was equally well known that he would write anything he was asked, for £10. Such an opinion as this, it was useless for me to combat in the quarter where it was entertained, and I am convinced from the whole tone of Aberdeen's conversation that it would be worse than useless to make any direct or indirect attempt to state arguments in that quarter for enhancing the value of the marbles, with a view to increase the offer.

Another alternative would be to accept £35,000 as applying to the

marbles in England at the date of the offer to Percival, and to add £10,000 for the new arrivals, vases, etc.:

In short, I could write on for ever but fear it would only be puzzling you—I have just seen Lady Charlotte Durham, who tells me Thomson states, the Builders are very anxious to begin, but that they only want a few feet of the west end of the gallery, and that this might easily be cleared. I thought it best to say that this might be done without further delay, and that he would do well in the meantime to shut up the Museum—I am much better but still tied to my couch, or gold-headed cane.

The Architect, Samuel Ware (1781–1860; designer of the Burlington Arcade, and of other alterations for Lord George Cavendish), wrote on the same day to Hamilton that the immediate removal of the marbles was necessary, and received assurance from Hamilton that negotiations were in progress with the British Museum, and that he had instructed Thomson to remove as many as necessary from the west end. Matters were not so easily arranged. Thomson wrote on April 12 that a change of plan on the part of Lord George Cavendish made it necessary to clear the middle of the building, and he was engaged in clearing the yard and packing the small objects in boxes, to be ready to be taken away at a moment's notice.

In reply to Hamilton's long despatch, Lord Elgin wrote<sup>301</sup> that he must take two days to think over the many embarrassing questions raised but that he took a more favourable view of the service that Visconti's letter would do, and advised its circulation. The *Mémoire*, if it could be hastened, would be still better. 'I don't trust my reflexions further tonight, except it be to say, how extremely thankful I am to you on this, as on every occasion.' Four days later, Lord Elgin<sup>302</sup> sent his considered reply, in which he took exception to Payne Knight's presence on the Committee, but assented nevertheless to the deposit.

Lord Elgin's presence was evidently urgently needed in London, and Hamilton was sending messages to him through Lady Charlotte Durham urging this step. He replied<sup>303</sup> that he was most reluctant to come, feeling that he negotiated at a disadvantage while the Payne Knight view was dominant. 'I sacrifice both the indemnification to which I may lay claim, and the credit of having undertaken and succeeded in an object of great difficulty, and great national interest. I neither get reimbursement of my expenses, nor the value which competent Judges would affix to the Collection.' Still, a reluctant promise was given to travel on the 22nd, and to reach town towards the 26th of the month.

The month of June, the month of Waterloo, was a busy month in the negotiations. In addition to the more formal records, a file of letters survives in which Lord Elgin sent more intimate accounts of the events of each day to Lady Elgin, left in Scotland. The series opens with a letter of May 30. Though his course was still undetermined he felt that his presence in London

<sup>301</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, April 14, 1815.

<sup>302</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, May 13, 1815.

<sup>303</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, April 18, 1815.



was indispensable. The main result of Hamilton's 'communings' has been 'that Payne Knight, whose influence is the preponderating one, is *not* now so savage against the concern as he was, and that in estimating the price talked of, he had so little had in view the last importation, made in 1812, that he actually had never seen them.'

He had reached London to find himself engaged to a dinner, 'such a feast as would have filled all the chinks which travelling all the way without *tasting* wine, or stopping but for *tea*, had prepared,' and a ball, at Lady Breadalbane's. In a postscript he adds, 'William Thomson is in high feather, talking *virtu* and *wit*al, in his appearance belying every unfavourable aspersion.'

June 1 was devoted to an expedition to the Harrow Speeches with Hamilton, both being old Harrovians.

'Bruce, you may well believe,' Lord Elgin wrote to the boy's stepmother, 'was in no small degree astonished and delighted at my apparition. But judge of my own satisfaction, when on going into Dr. Butler's room, he asked on seeing me if I had met Bruce, and on my answering in the affirmative. His expression was "and have you observed all the Laurels that are blowing round his head!"'

The excursion gave opportunity for a full tête-à-tête conversation with Hamilton, and Lord Elgin wrote that it had *almost entirely* determined him in the next step to be taken, 'namely an application to Government for a Committee of the H. of Commons, to investigate the value of my Collection.' The plan was adhered to, and in consultation with Hamilton a document was drawn up to be submitted at a personal interview to Mr. Vansittart. It ran as follows:

LONDON, June 8<sup>th</sup> 1815

SIR,

You are, I believe, fully acquainted with the reasons which induced me in the month of April last, to apply for permission to deposit my collection of Athenian Sculpture in the British Museum. And I presume that it has been intimated to you, that this application, for reasons which it is unnecessary for me to detail, was not accepted by the Trustees.

This circumstance, however, has, I am informed, induced the Trustees to express their desire that the collection should be constituted national property; and I have accordingly come to London for the purpose of assuring His Majesty's Government of my readiness to make over my Collection to the Publick whenever it may be convenient to receive it—and to enter on the consideration of the transfer in the way that may be the best adapted to appreciate the value of it, in a satisfactory manner, to all parties.

When in the year 1811, the Speaker of the House of Commons made a similar suggestion to me, he desired me to point out what had been my expenditure in procuring these marbles, his idea being as he stated to me, that such expenditure, together with interest upon it from the time of the outlay, ought to be reimbursed to me, in addition to any further acknowledgements of the merit which might be attached to the service I had rendered to my country, in securing to her the possession of the best remains of Grecian Sculpture.

I certainly at first felt a good deal of reluctance to produce the details of my expenditure, many particulars of which (however necessary in my own apprehension at the time) might be but little intelligible to others, without more knowledge of local circumstances, than could be entertained by the generality of persons in this Country.

And I conceived it to be more eligible for all parties, to endeavour to fix a value on the collection, by aid of the most eminent artists and connoisseurs.

Still however I did prepare as accurate a view as the materials I had, could furnish, of my actual disbursements. This paper is still in my possession, and I shall be happy to submit it to examination whenever called for.

But whilst I was engaged with this object, Mr. C. Long, having learnt from the late Mr. Percival that the sum of £34,000 was the amount beyond which he could not then recommend any appropriation of publick money for similar subjects, desired my immediate determination, on the supposition of such offer being proposed.

Mr. Percival at the same time, did not hesitate to profess that this limit was in no ways calculated in any reference either to the *real value* of the marbles, or to the expense I had incurred. He acknowledged the matter to be one on which he had personally no opinion, or judgement whatever—and he admitted that he was actuated in regulating the amount, by the consideration of a grant at that moment in agitation in aid of the Sufferers in Portugal.

I am besides given to understand that Mr. Percival did not think the House of Commons would, under any circumstances grant for any one Collection of Objects of Art or Curiosity (whatever might be its intrinsic value) a larger sum than £30,000. I could not therefore but decline to continue the negotiation on these terms, the sum proposed by Mr. Long being wholly inadequate.

Since that time, a very considerable and valuable addition has been made to my Collection. And further opportunity having been afforded both to persons in England, and to foreigners to become acquainted with this series of Athenian sculpture; and to compare it with other collections in Europe, I may venture to assert, on the testimony of the Highest Authorities here and abroad that the Collection which I now offer to the Publick, contains better materials in point of originality, variety, and intrinsic merit for forming a national school for the improvement of the fine arts (towards which the liberality of Parliament has already of late years afforded great advantages) and as a general standard of taste, than is known to exist elsewhere.

I take the liberty of stating thus much, in explanation of the request which I have now the honor of communicating to you, that a Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to enquire into the value of this collection.

I solicit this tribunal as offering the most unexceptionable, and the most honorable mode of ascertaining, by an impartial examination of persons, the best qualified to give an opinion on the subject, the real value of what I offer: the difficulties of all kinds which I had to encounter; and the true character of the service I have endeavored to render to my country. I have no hesitation in declaring to you that I shall cheerfully abide by whatever decision the House of Commons may please to come to, (on the report to be made by their Committee on the evidence adduced,) with regard to the extent of the indemnification I am entitled to receive.

Meanwhile, as I may be expected even in this stage of the business to name to His Majesty's Government, a sum, which would satisfy what I conceive to be my just expectations, I have only to premise, that I feel the most sincere regret and concern, that the circumstances of my private fortune, which has been far from being improved by a life spent in His Majesty's foreign service, do not enable me in justice to my family, to indulge the very high gratification of presenting my Collection gratuitously to the Publick. As it is, the only scale of value, which I individually can give to the Collection, is, the amount of my Expenditure. This, including the preparations made for the undertaking; the artists employed; the obtaining and removing the marbles &c; the loss by sea, and expenses in England; in short the expenses incurred during sixteen years that these operations have been in progress, I may safely state not to have been less than £46,000, on which twelve years interest, on the best average, I can form, has already accrued, making the amount of the whole £73,000 St.

Supposing therefore, no specific enquiry to be made into the value of the collection, which (with very few individual exceptions) I am authorized by the voice of the publick,



and by the declared opinion of competent Judges to set at a much higher sum, I profess myself ready, at the present moment, to dispose of my marbles, drawings, vases, casts, &c. &c. being the result of my pursuits in Greece, for the reimbursement of my expenses as above stated.

But if His Majesty's Government think proper to accept of my proposal for an examination into the merits, and value of this collection, before a committee of the House of Commons, I shall be equally ready to abide by their decision. I have only further to assure you, for the information of His Majesty's Ministers that I shall be at all times willing and anxious to offer them any further explanation, which may be required from me, on any of the subjects touched upon in this letter.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Sir, Your very obedient humble servant

ELGIN.

NOTE.—It is well known that larger sums have been given, even in this country, by private individuals for other collections of art. £12,500 were given for the Orleans Collection many years ago; £31,500 for the Agar Collection, and as far as £8,000 has been given for a single picture. The entire Orleans Collection was sold at Paris for £60,000. What was sold in England was exclusive of the Flemish School.

As to the interview, Lord Elgin wrote to his wife on the same day (June 8).

MY DEAREST ELIZA,

I have been with Mr. Vansittart, to whom I have made the offer of submitting my claims for indemnification for my Collection to a Committee of the House of Commons. I fully explained all my views to him, which he as candidly, and fully discussed, and upon the whole, received at length the letter in which I had put down the whole of the case, in a way, that I must consider extremely comfortable, and encouraging. Of course, I asked for no immediate decision from him. But the prospect I have, from all that passed, is, that the matter may now be arranged even this Session. But the answer will be given me in a few days.

Mr. Vansittart's formal answer was written without delay. On June 9 he consulted the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, and wrote on June 10:<sup>317</sup>

DOWNING STREET

10th June 1816

MY LORD

I have taken an early opportunity of communicating with Lord Liverpool upon the subject of the letter which I have had the honor of receiving from your Lordship respecting the Transfer of your Collection of Marbles to the public, and I beg leave to acquaint you that we both coincide in opinion that the most eligible course of proceeding will be that the Subject should be fully enquired into before a Committee of the House of Commons, to whose report Government would feel disposed to give the greatest weight, and under whose recommendation a Proposition for the Purchase might be made to Parliament with the greatest advantage. If this should meet your Lordship's views, as I should infer from the sentiments expressed in your letter, I take the liberty of suggesting that there are two modes by which this subject might be regularly brought under the consideration of the House of Commons, either that a Proposal should be made by your Lordship to the Trustees of the British Museum, from whom an application might be made upon the subject to Parliament, or that Your Lordship should yourself petition Parliament, offering to dispose of your collection to the public. The former of these courses was adopted in respect to the Townley Collection, and the latter in respect to Mr. Hargreave's Manuscripts, and it will be for your Lordship to decide which of the two it

<sup>317</sup> Lord Colchester's Diary, ii. p. 546.

will be most advisable to adopt in this present instance. I will only take the liberty of adding that in the present advanced Period of the Session, it is very desirable that no delay should arise in bringing the Subject under Consideration.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's very obedient Servant

N. VANSITTART.

Another interview took place on the same day (Saturday, June 10), and Lord Elgin wrote to his wife on June 12:

On Saturday night, Mr. Vansittart whom I met at Hamilton's Office, expressed his own and Lord Liverpool's entire concurrence in opinion with me, on my proposal—and a Committee of the H. of Commons is immediately to be appointed to bring the matter at once to an issue. From the preparations already made, the discussion should not, I conceive require above 3 or 4 days. Herberto the proposal has met with much approbation—and even from Mr. Payne Knight, who has here interrupted me to have a very long discussion, in the course of which he exposed all his plan of Hostility, but at the same time, ended with much expression of approval of my proceeding, as a very judicious and very honorable one.

The method of petition being selected, it only remained to draw it up, and this was done in consultation with Vansittart. It was presented by Mr. Robert Ward on Thursday, June 15, and is printed in *Hansard XXXI*, p. 828. It sets forth in formal style that when the Petitioner was appointed to the Embassy in Turkey in 1700, eminent architects and patrons of the fine arts had directed his attention to the remains of sculpture and architecture in Greece. Having done what he could during and after his Embassy

the petitioner now begs leave to transfer to the public what he humbly conceives to be a full attainment of an object of high importance to the progress of the Fine Arts, namely, a complete series of the sculptures which formed the principal ornament of the ancient temples in Athens, and other parts of Greece; and that, as the circumstances attending his endeavours in the attainment of this object bear no resemblance to those under which any other collection was ever presented to the public, and as it is presumed that the series of Sculpture in itself has no parallel in objects ever before purchased, the petitioner hopes he may be pardoned for soliciting that the House would institute an inquiry, upon such evidence as may be procured into the merits and value of what he now offers, and take into its consideration how far, and upon what conditions, it may be advisable that the property of this said collection should be transferred to the public.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he thought the marbles would be a great acquisition to the public; and that if the petition was received, it should be referred to a Committee. Francis Horner, the well-known economist, agreed as to the desirability of the purchase, but thought that the question should lie over to the next session in order that the manner of the acquisition might be investigated, as the amount to be paid would be naturally affected if Lord Elgin had got the collection in his public character. Mr. Banks and Sir John Newport concurred, and the latter spoke strongly. He was afraid that the noble Lord had availed himself of most unwarrantable measures, and had committed the most flagrant acts of spoliation. It seemed to have been reserved for an ambassador



of this country to take away what Turks and other barbarians had always held sacred.' The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that he had conceived that it would be more satisfactory for the price to be settled by the House than in a private bargain between the Treasury and the noble Lord. A Committee of Members best qualified to judge might make a report and adjourn to next session. Mr. Rose said there had been some difficulty as to receiving the marbles at the Museum on account of want of space, but the Trustees were now determined to receive them, if the noble Lord could agree with the public as to the price. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then observed that the noble Lord threw himself entirely on the justice of Parliament. Lord G. Cavendish, the new owner of the Burlington House site, said he believed he could state that there would be no necessity to remove the marbles from their present situation till the next session of Parliament.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table. The Speaker's note<sup>319</sup> of the discussion runs, 'Lord Elgin's petition presented. The collection praised. Lord Elgin's conduct, and right to the collection, as his private property much questioned. Petition to lie on the table.'

Lord Elgin's own account of the position to his wife (June 19) ran:

My business is extremely but curiously perplexing. . . . You will have observed from the newspaper, that Horner, Sir J. Newport, and Mr. Bankes all were unfriendly. Horner by bringing forward a claim on the part of Government, Sir J. Newport in a way that the general line of Conduct imports, he being, it's said, a second Sir T. Burslett—and Mr. Bankes, by shewing his watchfulness on all matters of public expenditure.

Fortunately for me, the words of my Petition to Parliament had challenged an enquiry into the circumstances attending the collecting as well as the Collection, and Horner on my calling his attention to this, has answered handsomely. As to Sir J. Newport I leave that alone. But I accidentally met Mr. Bankes, the day after the resolutions had been made in Parliament on my Petition, and to my extreme delight, found in him, a stiff stickler to be sure for public money, but also, an extraordinary admirer of the marbles.

In the letters which had passed between Lord Elgin and Horner, the former had called Horner's attention to the fact that the Petition asked that every circumstance attending the formation of the collection should be investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons, and Horner had replied declining to enter into a correspondence with regard to anything he had said in Parliament:

But as your Lordship has done me the honor of sending a communication to me, that it is your Lordship's wish to have every circumstance inquired into, that attended your collecting of the Athenian marbles, I have no difficulty in saying that every one must admit that to be fair and proper conduct on your Lordship's part, and such as ought to insure a candid hearing from all those who like myself are not yet possessed of any direct information upon the subject.

Meanwhile, Lord Elgin was in further communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On June 15 he wrote, urging that the Committee should be as large as possible, in order to outweigh the vagaries of individual tastes

<sup>319</sup> Lord Colchester's Diary, ii. p. 547.

and preferences. On the 21st he had a conversation with the Chancellor, and wrote afterwards stating in view of the short time that remained, and of the fear which was felt that if no limit was fixed, the Committee might report a higher sum than the country could afford, and the collection so be lost, 'I cannot hesitate in authorising you to say that I should consent under these circumstances to receive for it [the collection] Fifty thousand pounds, supposing that the Committee shall report themselves to be convinced, on the testimony of the best artists and other competent judges that such sum is (as I am confident it is very far) below their real value.' This offer, however, was accompanied by a curious stipulation that if experience showed the advantages resulting from the purchase to be all that was hoped, 'it will be open to myself and my heirs at some future period, and under circumstances of less public pressure, to apply to the liberality of Parliament, for a further consideration of the subject with reference to the real value of what I may in this way have ceded.' To his wife on the same day he wrote:

There is, as yet, no positive news from Lord Wellington. You'll exercise your incredulity, or diffidence as to the quantum of belief to be given to the various statements in the papers. My own suspicion is that Bonaparte has made a desperate attempt to pierce between us and the Prussians—that Lord Wellington has made great resistance, but has fallen back (as it was his preconcerted plan to do) to a situation where he will have advantages in respect to his Cavalry, etc. and be in conjunction with the Prussians. Everybody is extremely anxious more in respect to individual friends, than as to the general issue.

I went yesterday to Lord Grenville's in the Country, to consult him, on the observations which had been made, on my proposal about my marbles and we concerted a further overture, which with some trifling alterations, I have given to Mr. Vansittart today. It is, to take £50,000 now, and leave open a claim in case the value of the collection to the public shd correspond with the expectations of its present admirers. I am to have his answer tomorrow. Hitherto I can say nothing as to its tenor. Lord Grenville did not recommend my naming having seen him, but wrote out the paper for me.

On the next day: 'I send you the Gazette least the papers shd by accident fall. There never was so much desperate fighting. There is as yet no more intelligence than the Gazette contains. This arrival has put my business off, so, at least, I suppose from hearing nothing from Mr. Vansittart, as he had promised me.' It is not surprising that the proposal to leave the ultimate price uncertain did not commend itself to Vansittart, whose answer ran as follows:—

DOWLING STREET  
22nd June 1815

My Lord—

I have had the honor of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 21st instant, and I have since had an opportunity of communicating upon the subject with Lord Liverpool and some others, who all concur with me in thinking that no proceedings which could be adopted in a Committee subject to the reservation of some indefinite Right to be settled at a future period, would be likely to lead to any Result satisfactory either to your Lordship or the public.

Under this Impression, and considering the very advanced Period of the Session, I beg to submit to your Lordship whether it would not under all the circumstances be more



advisable to postpone the consideration of the subject until the next Session of Parliament, (more especially as it is understood that no inconvenience will arise from the collection remaining until that time in its present situation), unless your Lordship should prefer making any other proposition in a more direct form.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's faithful Servant

N. VANSITTART.

In the letters to Broomhall, the news coming through from the field of Waterloo (which but a short time since seemed to belong to a past world) takes the first place. On June 24 Lord Elgin writes:

Poor Charlotte is very much overcome with the accounts. William Hay who is with the army writes about his Brother Alex., the fine boy we saw at Deal. He had charged at the End of the day with his Squadron, But his horse came back into the lines without him. William had searched the whole field of battle but no traces could be discover'd of him among the dead and wounded, and he writes quite distracted to James, advising him however not to let this be known to his family.—We hope he had been taken prisoner. The defeat however was such that the fact could not be ascertained for some days.

I am still somewhat in doubt as to my marbles. These news have so occupied all persons, that, added to the advanced state of the Session, nothing could be settled, I fear, at present. If it proves so, and I shall probably know today, The correspondence which has passed and the communications I have had, leave the transaction in a very favourable state for the examination to be enter'd on next Session, under all the benefit of a full investigation. Meanwhile, the offer in Parliament gives me as much advantage nearly, in a pecuniary point of view, as an actual settlement could have had, as no money could have been paid me this year. The post bell.

[On June 25.] This day brings the wonderful effects of Lord Wellington's victory. Bonaparte has been forced to abdicate, and the Telegraph from Deal says He is arrested!<sup>142</sup>—Our army were on the 23d at Chateau Cambrin.—The Prussians at Avesnes.

Hamilton is to see Mr. Vansittart once more, today, if possible, on my business. So that all is conjecture, and most painful suspense—My own impression is, that matters will be settled But I can't speak with any certainty.

Hamilton had various communications with Vansittart, and on the 28th Lord Elgin wrote a formal acknowledgment, stating that he understood it was the wish of Government to postpone the question of the marbles till the following session. To his wife on the same day he wrote:

Hamilton has had some communication yesterday and today with Ministers. The result of which is, that Gov. would recommend £50,000 and a salvo to myself to have a further revision of the subject, in case their value shd. be enhanced on more general acquaintance. But as there is no time for anything in Parliament now, they beg me to put it off till the opening of next session when a Committee, and full discussion is to take place. Nothing in our view of the matter can be better.

It is not clear what the 'salvo' can have been exactly, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had already rejected a proposal apparently the same. Perhaps this meant that the Committee was to be free to make their own valuation.

Englishmen of all classes flocked to Paris in the train of the allied armies, and among them Hamilton. On August 15 he wrote: 'I have come here for

<sup>142</sup> This was of course untrue.

a fortnight, partly on business, partly for dissipation. I took an opportunity on the 12th August, at a grand dinner given by Lord C. to be introduced to Fouché [Minister of Police during Lord Elgin's imprisonment], and to make him your compliments for want of a better topic.' He was expecting to hear Visconti's first memoir on the marbles read at the Institute on the following Friday (August 18). Charles Long, then in Paris, was still the great opponent. 'He says he never will go beyond 30 m and that Rankin is of the same opinion.'

The business that brought Hamilton to Paris was the great question of how Napoleon's collections of works of art, exacted as trophies from all parts of Europe, should be dealt with. Lord Liverpool wrote<sup>220</sup> (August 3) to Lord Castlereagh, then British Plenipotentiary in Paris:

Hamilton will go with the messenger from London who carries the despatches of this day. He will explain to you the strong sensation in this country on the subject of the spoliation of statues and pictures. The Prince Regent is desirous of getting some of them for a museum or a gallery here. The men of taste and virtue encourage this idea. The reasonable part of the world are for general restoration to the original possessors; but they say, with truth, that we have a better title to them than the French, if legitimate war gives a title to such objects; and they blame the policy of leaving the trophies of the French victories at Paris, and making that capital in future the centre of the arts.

The subject was actively debated during the following months.

Lord Castlereagh, in a despatch of September 11,<sup>221</sup> wrote that the Prussians had removed by force all the works of art taken either from Prussia or from other German states; that it was inevitable that the Belgian pictures should be restored in the same way, and that

Mr. Hamilton who is intimate with Canova, the celebrated artist, expressly sent here by the Pope, with a letter to the King, to reclaim what was taken from Rome, distinctly ascertained from him that the Pope, if successful, neither could nor would as Pope, call any of the chefs-d'œuvres that belonged to the See, and in which he lies, in fact, only a life interest.

During September the Belgian and Austrian objects of art were removed from the Louvre, and on October 1 Lord Castlereagh wrote: 'Canova was made happy last night by Austria, Prussia and England agreeing to support him in removing the Pope's property. The joint order is issued, and he begins tomorrow.'

The Pope's gratitude for the part taken by Lord Castlereagh in the matter found expression in a gift of four figures of Victory in rosso antico. Hamilton's part in the business was less conspicuous, but it was gratefully remembered at the Vatican and enabled him ten years later to obtain a valuable concession in connection with the publication of British records.<sup>222</sup> 'I availed myself of the opportunity of the very gracious reception I met with from the Pope (who was pleased to refer to the circumstances of 1815) to ask as a private favour to myself that He would allow His Archivist Monsignor

<sup>220</sup> *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, i. p. 453.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.* xi. p. 12.

B.S.—Vol. XXXVI.

<sup>222</sup> *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 21903, fo. 1. Hamilton to George Canning, Jan. 10, 1825.



Marini to communicate to me the correspondence between the Crown of England during the Middle Ages, and the Papal See.'

Hamilton returned from Paris in the beginning of October, and wrote to Lord Elgin:<sup>22</sup>

I flatter myself that the events of the last six weeks there must contribute materially to enhance the value of your collection: and I hope, to soften the obduracy of some of the valuers. . . . I have little time to say more than that the opinion, I stated on the other side is founded on the following considerations.

1 That the fact that all the Sovereigns in Europe have thought it worth their while to confer seriously on the propriety of leaving Paris in possession of the chefs-d'œuvre of antique art

2 That they have risked a fresh war to remove them from Paris.

3 That these events have made Works of Art, as matter of possession, of property, not merely of taste, subjects of conversation over the whole of Europe.

4 That everyone is making comparisons between what Paris was two months ago and what it is now.

5 That these works are considered so sacred a property, that no direct or indirect means are to be allowed for their being conveyed elsewhere than where they came from.

6 That England is to get none for herself—and this cuts two ways. It is an act of generosity (public.) It renders it the more indispensable that we should purchase (private.)

7 That the Exclamation of Every Englishman in the Louvre was, 'It is indeed wonderfully fine—but not equal in my judgement to the Treasury of Lord Elgin.'

8 That in the same Louvre, Visconti told Canova in my hearing that until he had been to London he had seen nothing.

9 That Canova is coming here in a week or ten days—and is prepossessed with a most favourable idea of what he is to see. Indeed he professed to be coming chiefly to see your collection.

10 That Canova and I are on the most intimate footing.

This account of feeling at Paris was naturally gratifying to Lord Elgin.<sup>23</sup>

It is impossible for me, My Dear Hamilton, to say, how very sincerely I feel obliged to you, or how very much gratified I am by the intelligence you were so kind as write me on your arrival—I had indeed, been somewhat anxious from not hearing from you, because I really know nothing of the proceedings at Paris, relatively to the museum; and I could not but be sensible, that they must deeply affect my interests, nor could you imagine, my imagination capable of figuring results such as you now communicate. . . . At the same time, you must judge whether the ignorance which I conclude from my own case, is general on the discussions that have taken place among the Sovereigns—the importance they attach to the possession of objects of art—the effect on Paris from the removal of that Collection, and if this ignorance ought to be removed, by any means perfectly unobjectionable in themselves.

You will have heard that in consequence of embarrassments in Broughton's affairs, a debt I owe him of £18000 came to be claimed by Govt. on which occasion I was impelled to apply to Mr. Vanelsart, soliciting that I might be allowed indulgence till the discussion took place in Parlt. about my collection. He has complied in the most kind, and obliging manner, contenting himself with a security upon the warlike, which I have accordingly authorised. I had in the meanwhile, made out an English catalogue from Visconti's merely for the purpose of Thomson numbering each article distinctly. And I have now recommended this to be proceeded on, after which an inspection of the whole may be made, and verified copies of the catalogue be exchanged.

<sup>22</sup> Hamilton to Elgin about Oct. 15, 1815.

<sup>23</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, Oct. 21, 1815.

Canova's promised visit to London took place in November. Lord Elgin was detained at Broomhall by the prospect of an addition to his family; and Hamilton did the honours of the collection. Summing up his experiences after it was over, he wrote<sup>325</sup> to Lord Elgin:

I have in general avoided the subject in public not to appear too eager with him upon it. Connected as I was with Canova, during his residence in England (he never ventured to engage himself out to anyone, house or person, without first asking me) I did not like to risk the appearance of forcing him to panegyricize your collection—but I know that he frequently volunteered it—and was also frequently questioned upon it—and particularly, by almost all the Ministers at Carlton House. That he remained fixed for several minutes, on entering the Museum without saying a word, evidently lost in surprise and admiration—that he went round every place admiring with avidity each detail, particularly of the colossal figures and the frieze—that he spoke of the *execution* as opening his eyes, and those of all artists and connoisseurs, with respect to the *real* principles on which the ancients executed their imitations of the *nude*, and *drapery*—before the formal lines and doctrines of the Schools had taught them to substitute conventional and mathematical symmetry for the essential beauties of nature—that he begged me not to forget to send him any the least bit of a cast of the Neptune or the Theseus, that he might show his friends in Rome, what Greek Sculpture was—that they in short realized all his own *ideas* of Eminence in the Art—That the collection was equal to any other in Europe—(always with a Salvo for the Apollo, Venus, Torso, and Laocoon—) and that it *ought* to create new *eyes* in sculpture among the Students, tho' of course it could benefit but little those whose tastes and hands were already formed.

At a much later date Hamilton wrote:<sup>326</sup> 'Canova indeed had the modesty to say, when I first introduced him to your Lordship's collection: "Oh that I had but to begin again! to unlearn all that I have learned—I now at last see what ought to form the real school of sculpture."'

B. R. Haydon also wrote<sup>327</sup> to Thomson (Lord Elgin's agent, already mentioned), to give an account of Canova's boundless enthusiasm:

I asked him if he did not think the Elgin marbles superior in style to any other productions in Sculpture the World had ever seen. He replied 'Certainly, that the beauty of the forms and the union of Nature and Idea, were superior to any thing he had seen; that they were worthy a journey from Rome on purpose, and that if he returned directly he should consider himself repaid.' . . . A few days afterwards I met him at the Museum, and again saw his feeling for their beauties burst forth. He said to me 'How they will be astonished at Rome when they see these things. There was a young Italian with him, and he told my friend Wilkin at the Academy dinner that Canova, before taking him to see the marbles, had bid him prepare himself for something he had no conception of.' He continued that he was quite astonished when he saw the Marbles and they appeared to him executed on a principle of which the World had no notion before.

Planta, the Principal Librarian, wrote to the Speaker<sup>328</sup> (December 30): 'Canova admired the Phrygian marbles. He allows that the designs and composition are excellent, but he does not think the execution is of equal

<sup>325</sup> Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 14, 1815.

<sup>326</sup> Hamilton, *Second Letter to the Earl of Elgin, on the propriety of adopting the Greek style of Architecture in the new House of*

*Parliament* (1830), p. 25.

<sup>327</sup> Haydon to Thomson, Dec. 12, 1845.

<sup>328</sup> Lord Colchester's *Diary*, II, p. 564.



merit. He has said (I am told) that if these are worth £15,000, the Elgin marbles are worth £100,000.\*

Canova gave expression to his own feelings in a letter of which a translation is printed in the Report of the Select Committee.<sup>22</sup>

*London, 10th Nov. 1815*

MY LORD,

Permit me to express the sense of the great gratification which I have received from having seen in London the valuable antique Marbles which you have brought hither from Greece. I think that I can never see them often enough; and although my stay in this great capital must be extremely short, I dedicate every moment that I can spare to the contemplation of these celebrated remains of ancient art. I admire in them the truth of nature united to the choice of the finest forms. Every thing here breathes life, with a veracity, with an exquisite knowledge of art, but without the least ostentation or parade of it, which is concealed by consummate and masterly skill. The naked is perfect flesh, and most beautiful in its kind.—I think myself happy in having been able to see with my own eyes these distinguished works; and I should feel perfectly satisfied if I had come to London, only to view them. Upon which account the admirers of art, and the artists, will owe to your Lordship a lasting debt of gratitude, for having brought among us these noble and magnificent pieces of sculpture; and for my own part I beg leave to return you my own most cordial acknowledgements; and

I have the honour to be etc. etc. etc.

CANOVA.

The success of the visit naturally gave great satisfaction to Lord Elgin, who replied:

*A Broomhall le 13 Nov. 1815*

Monsieur,

Je viens de recevoir avec la plus vive satisfaction la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire du date du 10 de ce mois. Il me seroit bien difficile de vous exprimer tout le chagrin que j'ai éprouvé, en voyant à l'impossibilité où je me suis trouvé, de me rendre à Londres au moment de votre voyage. Dès que mon entreprise en Grèce a commencé, Don Tira Lameri se rapportoit toujours à votre goût, et à votre autorité comme devant décider de l'opinion de l'Europe. Aussi fut ce mon premier soin en quittant ces pays de vous soumettre tous les dessins et toutes les notices que j'étois à même alors de produire à Rome en 1803. Les sentimens que ces moyens si imparfaits vous ont fait naître, me donnoient l'espoir de recevoir un jour le témoignage que la vue de mon recueil vint de vous inspirer. C'est l'accomplissement d'un vœu que j'avois formé et que j'avois entretenu avec le désir le plus ardent, depuis seize ans. Mon ambition est satisfaite. C'est une récompense qui me fait oublier tous les soins, toutes les peines, toutes les inquiétudes que cette entreprise m'avoit si souvent fait éprouver.

To Hamilton he wrote on the same day:

'The letter from Canova is in the highest degree gratifying. It comprehends in a very few words, his sanction on the points I could wish his authority upon. . . I'm ashamed to have written him in French: but could not, in Italian.'

Vassalli forwarded the concluding sections of the memoirs on the sculptures and inscriptions on December 26, 1815; and January 13, 1816. In doing so he gave Hamilton full discretion to make any corrections or alterations that seemed advisable. The arrival of the memoir was opportune for

\* *Report*, p. xxiii.

arrangements were soon to be begun for approaching Parliament once more. A petition in the same terms as that of the preceding summer was drawn up, and dated February 14, 1816. It prayed for the appointment of a Committee to form an estimate of the value of the collection. Lord Elgin sent the petition to Mr. Vansittart with a covering letter (printed in the Report).

The petition was presented to the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on February 15.<sup>320</sup> The Chancellor 'acquainted the House that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, having been informed of the contents of the said petition, recommended it to the consideration of the House.' The petition was brought up and read, and ordered to lie on the table. On February 23 the debate on the petition took place. Mr. Vansittart represented the necessity of seizing the present opportunity, and moved<sup>321</sup> That the Petition of the Earl of Elgin which was presented to the House on the 15th of February last, be referred to a Select Committee, and that they do enquire whether it be expedient that the collection therein-mentioned should be purchased on behalf of the public, and if so, what price it may be reasonable to allow for the same.'

Doubts were expressed by Lord Osnaston, who questioned the propriety of an Ambassador using his official position to form a collection. Mr. Bankes supported the motion, though he would have preferred that Lord Elgin should have named his price. The motion was supported by Mr. Abercrombie and Charles Long, and opposed on economical grounds by Messrs. Gordon, Tierney, Preston, Brougham, and Sir John Newport. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied: 'The Committee to be appointed would of course consider the question of the expenses of the noble Lord carefully, and see also whether they had been properly applied or not. He saw no good ground for taking up the subject at some other time. If the business could be adjourned, with a fair and full security for our retaining possession of this most useful and valuable collection, it would certainly be preferable; but it would be very burdensome to Lord Elgin to be debarred from selling it to anybody else, while Parliament thought fit to refuse to purchase it.'

Mr. Thomas Babington, of Rothley Temple, the well-known anti-slavery member for Leicester, thought it of the greatest importance 'to ascertain whether this collection had been procured by such means as were honourable to this country. We were at present looked at with much attention, and perhaps jealousy, by other nations; and many in a neighbouring country might rejoice to find us tripping. He hoped the Committee would be careful in seeing that the whole transaction was consonant with national honour.'

Mr. Croker agreed that the Committee should enquire into the points raised by the last speaker. The previous question was put and negatived, after which the main question was agreed to, and a Committee appointed.

The members of the Committee as given in the Votes of the House of Commons were: Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. [Henry] Bankes, Sir George Clerk, Mr. Frederick Douglass, Mr. [John Nicholas] Fazakerley,

<sup>320</sup> *Hansard*, xxxii. p. 577.

<sup>321</sup> *Hansard*, xxxii. p. 824.



Mr. [William] Fitzhugh, Mr. [Francis] Horner, Mr. [William] Huskisson, Mr. [Richard] Wellesley, Mr. [Charles] Long, Mr. [Henry] Dawkins, Mr. [John Wilson] Croker, Mr. William Smith, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Williams Wynn, Mr. [Thomas] Wallace, Mr. Hart Davis. Five were to be a quorum.

The Chairman of the Committee was Mr. Henry Bankes, and its sittings began on February 29.

The Report of the Committee was reprinted by John Murray, and is also abstracted by Michaelis, and need not therefore be dealt with at great length. Lord Elgin was the first witness to be called. He explained the origin of his campaign and its organisation, and stated that the artists were sent to Athens, where for several months they had no access to the Acropolis except for the purpose of drawing, and that at an expense of five guineas a day. With a change in the political position all difficulties were removed. A permission to draw, model and remove was given in writing addressed by the Porte to the local authorities. No copies of these papers were in his possession.

Did your Lordship for your own satisfaction, keep any copy of the terms of those permissions?—No, I never did; and it never occurred to me that the question would arise; the thing was done publicly before the whole world. I employed three or four hundred people a day; and all the local authorities were concerned in it, as well as the Turkish Government.

. . . Did you mean to convey to the Committee, that permissions to remove Marbles and carry them away had been granted to other individuals?—No; what I meant to say was this, . . . the same facilities were granted in all cases. I did not receive more as ambassador than they received as travellers; but as I employed artists, those permissions were added to my leave.

In the Letter to Mr. Long, . . . you speak as having obtained these permissions after much trouble. . . . What was the nature of the objections on the part of the Turkish Government?—Their general jealousy and enmity to every Christian of every denomination, and every interference on their part. I believe that from the period of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth the French government have been endeavouring to obtain similar advantages; and particularly the Sigeau Marble.

They rested it upon that general objection!—Upon the general enmity to what they called Christian Dogs.

The objection disappeared from the moment of the decided success of our army in Egypt?—Yes; the whole system of Turkish feeling met with a revolution, in the first place from the invasion of the French, and afterwards by our conquest.

Your Lordship has stated in your Petition, that you directed your attention in an especial manner to the benefit of rescuing from danger the remains of Sculpture and Architecture; what steps did you take for that purpose?

My whole plan was to measure and to draw everything that remained and could be traced of architecture, to model the peculiar features of architecture. . . .

You state, that you have rescued the remains from danger?—From the period of Stuart's visit to Athens till the time I went to Turkey, a very great destruction had taken place. There was an old Temple on the Ilissus had disappeared. . . . Every traveller coming, added to the general defacement of the statuary in his reach. . . . And the Turks have been continually defacing the heads. . . . It was upon those suggestions, and with those feelings, that I proceeded to remove as much of the sculpture as I conveniently could; it was no part of my original plan to bring away any thing but my models.

Then your Lordship did not do any thing to rescue them, in any other way than to bring away such as you found?—No; it was impossible for me to do more than that; the Turkish government attached no importance to them in the world; and in all the modern walls, these things are built up promiscuously with common stones.

Did the Turkish government know that your Lordship was removing these statues under the permission your Lordship had obtained from them?—No doubt was ever expressed to me of their knowledge of it.

Questioned as to whether he received the permits in his character of Ambassador, Lord Elgin was emphatic in saying, that he had obtained no concession in his official capacity, 'but in point of fact, I did stand indebted to the general good-will we had ensured by our conduct towards the Porte, most distinctly I was indebted to that.'

On the following day Lord Elgin was examined as to the negotiations with Mr. Perceval, and explained, by reference to a Memorandum (printed as Appendix No. 4, attached to the Report) that on the appearance of Payne Knight's attack he had thought the moment inopportune for the fixing of a lump sum, not based on any detailed examination of the merits and value of the Collection. He also explained that about eighty additional cases of Architecture and Sculpture had been added to the Collection, since the negotiations with Mr. Perceval, as well as a collection of medals. Mr. Charles Long (a member of the Committee) confirmed Lord Elgin's account of the transactions of 1811.

Hamilton was the next witness. As Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs he was asked what references he could find in the official despatches as to the Collections, and he produced an extract of a despatch of January 13, 1803, from Lord Elgin to Lord Hawkesbury, alluding to 'the private expense which I have incurred, to the extent of many thousand pounds, in improving the advantages before me, towards procuring a knowledge of the Arts of Greece, and rescuing some of their remains from ruin and the loss of a valuable vessel of mine, solely employed on that service.'

Hamilton was further examined as to the transactions in which he was personally concerned, and testified as to the private nature of the enterprise, as to the state of public opinion at Athens, and as to the deterioration to which the monuments at Athens were exposed. He was also examined at some length as to the purchase of the Phigaleian marbles, in which he had a conspicuous share, and as to the failure to secure the Aegina marbles. He supplied the Committee with a detailed list of the supplementary collection, and a valuation of the whole collection at £60,800.

The sitting of March 4 was devoted to the evidence of the chief sculptors of the day. Joseph Nollekens stated that he considered the marbles 'very fine; the finest things that ever came to this country,' but declined to make a valuation.

John Flaxman considered the marbles, more especially the frieze and the Theseus, as works of the highest merit, though he was not prepared to place the Theseus above the Apollo Belvedere. He was not prepared to give an opinion as to value.

Richard Westmacott who followed, ranked the Lissos and the Theseus



with anything we know, in art. He differed from Flaxman, in regarding the *Thesens* as infinitely superior to the *Apollo*. He also was unable to suggest a value.

Francis Chantrey and Charles Rossi gave similar evidence.

The sitting on the following day began with the evidence of Sir Thomas Lawrence, in confirmation of that of the sculptors. He was followed by the arch opponent, Richard Payne Knight.

His evidence showed the perverse attitude that he consistently adopted in relation to the marbles. Asked, 'In what class of art do you place the finest works in this Collection?' He answered 'I think of things extant, I should put them in the second rank—some of them, they are very unequal; the finest I should put in the second rank.' Of the pedimental figures he still maintained that many were of the time of Hadrian—a view which in cross-examination he allowed was based on Spon's dictum, in the 17th century. The metopes he commended with qualifications. 'The metopes I consider of the first class of reliefs: I think there is nothing finer: but they are very much corroded: there are some of them very poor: but the best of them I consider as the best works of high relief.' He could not but admire the frieze, but he thought it deficient in quantity and condition. 'I think it is of the first class of low relief: I know nothing finer than what remains of it: there is very little of it. . . . all of it I think has been executed at the first building of the Temple, as far as I can judge, they are very much mutilated. Examined as to the value, Payne Knight produced a list of figures giving a total of £25,000. The *Thesens* and *Iliass* are valued at £1,500 each, and the whole of the remaining pedimental sculptures at £2,450. The metopes stood at £500 apiece. The frieze at £5,000. The *Caryatid* was only £200. On the other hand, the plaster casts were placed as high as £2,500—or more than twelve times the *Caryatid*. In the course of his further examination he was asked if he had considered the value of the marbles 'wholly unconnected with their value as furniture, and merely in the view of forming a national school for art.'

'The value I have stated, has been entirely upon that consideration of a school of art: they would not sell as furniture; they would produce nothing at all. I think, my Lord Elgin, in bringing them away, is entitled to the gratitude of the Country, because, otherwise, they would have been all broken by the Turks, or carried away by individuals, and dispersed in piece-meal.'

William Wilkins, the architect, testified to the importance and value of the architectural part of the collection. Examined as to the merit of the sculptures he was not enthusiastic. Some were extremely fine, while others were 'very middling'; some parts of the frieze were 'extremely indifferent indeed,' and marked by 'mediocrity in style.' There were 'certainly very many things in the collection of the Louvre (*i.e.* no doubt before its dispersal) very far superior to the generality of the Elgin Marbles, and some much finer statues in this Kingdom (*e.g.* the *Townley Venus*, and the *Lansdowne Hercules*).

On Thursday, March 7, Taylor Combe, Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum, valued the medals at 1,000 guineas, and stated that they would form a very valuable addition to the Museum Collection. Lord Aberdeen attending by permission of the House of Lords, was examined on the following day. He had visited Athens in 1803, while the removal was in progress. Mischief was continually being done to the marbles, mainly from the desire of the natives to sell fragments to travellers. He regarded the Parthenon marbles, the inscriptions and the architectural fragments as specially important, and was inclined to value the whole, the medals being omitted, at £35,000. He did not think that a private individual could have accomplished the removal of the remains which Lord Elgin obtained, but the action of the Turkish government seemed entirely capricious. He had himself easily obtained leave to excavate.

John Bacon Sawrey Morritt (Morritt of Rokeby, at that time Member for Northallerton) stated that he had stayed at Athens nearly three months in the spring of 1795. The so-called Hadrian of the West Pediment still had a head. But there was no reason to give any weight to the identification. He had himself found it impossible to remove some neglected fragments of the frieze. In his opinion the Greeks were decidedly and strongly desirous that the marbles should not be removed from Athens, and he conceived that nothing but the influence of a public character could obtain that permission. He regarded many of the marbles as the purest specimens of the first age of Greece.

After John Nicholas Fazakerly, who was also a member of the Committee, and Alexander Day, a dealer, had given evidence, Philip Hunt was called on March 13, and told the story of the two firmans. The first had been insufficient, and the second amply sufficient. In the first instance he had used it to obtain permission to detach from the Parthenon the most perfect of the metopes. 'The facility with which this had been obtained, induced Lord Elgin to apply for permission to lower other groups of sculpture from the Parthenon, which he did to a considerable extent, not only on the Parthenon, but on other edifices in the Acropolis.' Dr. Hunt was decidedly of opinion that such extensive powers would only have been granted to an Ambassador of a highly favoured ally at an opportune moment, but he had always thought that the objects so to be obtained were to be the property of Lord Elgin.

The evidence concluded with the answers sent by Benjamin West in reply to questions of the Committee. He was then 78 years old, and his health had not allowed him to attend. He was unable to estimate the money value of the collection, but spoke of all its parts in the highest terms.

Immediately the evidence was concluded the position was summed up by Hamilton in a 'Memorandum on the present state of the negotiation respecting the purchase of the Elgin Marbles,' dated March 17, 1816, and printed for John Murray [on the back is an advertisement of *Ennema*; a novel 'lately published'].

The Committee quickly compiled their report, which is dated March 25,



1816. They reported that they considered the subject referred to them 'as divided into Four Principal Heads:

The First of which relates to the Authority by which this Collection was acquired:

The Second to the circumstances under which that Authority was granted:

The Third to the Merit of the Marbles as works of Sculpture, and the importance of making them Public Property, for the purpose of promoting the study of the Fine Arts in Great Britain:—and

The Fourth to their Value as objects of sale: which includes the consideration of the Expense which has attended the removing, transporting, and bringing them to England.

On the first head they briefly recited the history of the enterprise, stating that, according to evidence, no displeasure was shown by the Turkish Government, or the local population; and that no attempt was made to conserve the remains, which were exposed to frequent injury.

On the second head they reported that undoubtedly Lord Elgin had looked on the enterprise from the first refusal of the Government to support him as his own; and that 'he looked upon himself in this respect as acting in a character entirely distinct from his official situation.' It would be doubtful if the Turkish Ministers, if asked, would be able 'to form any very distinct discrimination as to the character in consideration of which they acceded to Lord Elgin's request.' The occasion made the Turks 'beyond all precedent propitious to whatever was desired in behalf of the English Nation,' and Lord Elgin was an Ambassador. The Committee agreed with Lord Aberdeen and Dr. Hunt that only an Ambassador would have obtained such extensive powers.

On the third head the Committee reported that several of the most eminent Artists in the Kingdom spoke of the marbles 'with admiration and enthusiasm,' and considered them in spite of injuries and mutilations as among 'the finest models, and the most exquisite monuments of antiquity.' They were recommended, therefore, 'by the same authorities as highly fit and admirably adapted to form a school for study, to improve our national taste for the Fine Arts, and to diffuse a more perfect knowledge of them throughout this Kingdom.'

On the fourth head the Committee expressed their difficulty in forming an estimate of value. If sold in lots by auction, the collection would probably fetch little. If sold, as it ought to be, in one lot, the buyers would necessarily be few. It would not, however, be reasonable or 'becoming the liberality of Parliament to withhold upon this account, whatever, under all the circumstances, may be deemed a just and adequate price.' They pointed out that the cost of acquisition was not necessarily a fair measure of value, and that such expenses as the salaries of the artists could not be taken into account. Lord Elgin's account showed a total expenditure of £74,000, including £23,240 for interest. The Committee had seen the accounts and reported that there would 'be no doubt that the disbursements were very considerable; but supposing them to reach the full sum at which they are calculated, your Committee do not hesitate to express their opinion that

they afford no just criterion of the value of the collection, and therefore must not be taken as a just basis for estimating it.' The valuations submitted to the Committee were Payne-Knight £25,000, Hamilton £60,800 and Lord Aberdeen £35,000. The Committee discussed the prices paid for the Townley collection, the Aegina marbles, and the Phigaleian marbles, without obtaining much guidance from them. They pointed out that Mr. Perceval had offered £30,000, that eighty additional cases and the medals had since been added, but, on the other hand, that there had been the not inconsiderable rise in the value of money, 'a cause or consequence of which is the depreciation of every commodity, either of necessity, or fancy which is brought to sale.' On the whole the conclusion of the Committee was that £35,000 (the price suggested by Lord Aberdeen) was a reasonable and sufficient price.

They added that on the Townley precedent they considered that the Earl of Elgin, and his heirs being Earls of Elgin, were entitled to be added to the Trustees of the British Museum, and recommended the insertion of a clause to that effect, if an Act was necessary for transferring the collection to the public.

The Committee added to their report a short discussion of the authorship of the Sculptures, and explained but did not accept the theory of Hadrian's additions to the pediment of the Parthenon. The Report concludes with a peroration appropriate to the occasion and the date.

Your Committee cannot dismiss this interesting subject, without submitting to the attentive reflection of the House, how highly the cultivation of the Fine Arts has contributed to the reputation, character, and dignity of every Government by which they have been encouraged, and how intimately they are connected with the advancement of everything valuable in science, literature, and philosophy. In contemplating the importance and splendor to which so small a republic as Athens rose, by the genius and energy of her citizens, exerted in the path of such studies, it is impossible to overlook how transient the memory and fame of extended empires, and of mighty conquerors are, in comparison of those who have rendered inconsiderable states eminent, and immortalized their own names by these pursuits. But if it be true, as we learn from history and experience, that free governments afford a soil most suitable to the production of native talent, to the maturing of the powers of the human mind, and to the growth of every species of excellence, by opening to merit the prospect of reward and distinction, no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honorable asylum to those monuments of the school of *Phidias*, and of the administration of *Pericles*; where secure from further injury and degradation, they may receive that admiration and homage to which they are entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those, who by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them.

March 25, 1816.

The Committee had no doubt done their best. They had accepted the view that the collection was of extraordinary interest, and that new standards of merit were set up by it. But on the difficult question of value they had not attempted to arrive at any considered amount. They had in effect merely taken the sum of £30,000 which had been suggested by Mr. Perceval on various grounds, but not on a valuation of the marbles and had added an



equally random £5,000, which happened to bring the total to the figure thrown out by Lord Aberdeen, this being the amount which the Trustees at their meeting of April 8, 1815, had thought the limit (see above, p. 322). This branch of the Report was deeply disappointing to Lord Elgin. Owing to postal difficulties the Report was slow in reaching him. He wrote to Hamilton on April 20:

On considering the manifest coldness and ill-will which pervades the Report, I have felt desirous of drawing out, here, something of a counter-statement in the hopes of placing the subject on as favourable a footing as the Evidence will fairly admit. . . . Supposing the paper I may prepare, to contain presentable matter, the question then comes to be whether to publish it—to whom to address it etc. etc. what part to insert in the Times etc. etc.

The next point is, what proposition I could make on the occasion. Could I ask that the collection be taken for the public on the faith of the Evidence; and the concluding paragraph of the Report—on the payment of £25,000 now—and the ultimate decision be taken on further Experience, say 5 years hence; or simply state the inadequacy of the £35,000 in relation to the Evidence. Or does any other proposal occur to you?

The memorandum here contemplated was forwarded to Hamilton on April 25. It is a document of 22 foolscap pages, in the form of a letter to the Speaker with observations on the Committee's Report. It was intended to be circulated to members, if possible officially, but if that was not possible by unofficial means. The memorandum deals with the four divisions of the Report, in turn, and especially with the question of the valuation, but does not suggest any definite figure in place of that named by the Committee. It concludes, after quoting the 'strain of eloquent eulogium' with which the Committee's report ends.

To this animating prospect I have ever looked steadfastly forward; and though I have felt myself called on by a powerful sense of justice to myself and family, as well as to the honour of the Nation, to submit the above reflections to the consideration of the House of Commons, while it is proceeding on the decision on my Petition; I deprecate all idea of thereby intending to throw any obstacle in the way of the proffered transfer of my collection, which I once more submit the House of Commons to accept upon whatever conditions, under the acknowledged distresses of the country, the evidence before them may suggest: confident as I am that it will arbitrate fairly and satisfactorily between the public and me.

The opinion of Hamilton and other friends was unfavourable to the publication of the memorandum, and it seems to have remained in draft.

The debate<sup>222</sup> on the Committee's Report opened at length on June 7. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Banks, moved 'That a sum not exceeding £45,000 be granted to His Majesty for the purchase of the Elgin Marbles, and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or deduction whatever.' The last clause was by no means an empty formula. Lord Elgin had received a timely hint from a solicitor versed in such matters, Mr. Chalmers, that the fees might represent 15 per cent. of the grant, and Hamilton had been deputed to arrange with Mr. Vansittart that the vote should be for the nett sum to be received.

<sup>222</sup> *Household*, xxiv. pp. 1027-1040.

Mr. Bankes began by pointing out that, notwithstanding the pressure of the times, money had been voted from time to time for the purchase of works of art.

By declining to purchase the Elgin Marbles, the public must renounce all right in the thing, and leave my Lord Elgin at liberty to deal with any person who offers to purchase. The sort of mixed claim which the public had on Lord Elgin was, he conceived, of this description—they had not a right to take his collection from him by force; but they had a right of pre-emption at a fair price, and to say that it should not be taken out of this country.

With respect to the manner in which the Elgin Marbles had been acquired, the object certainly could not have been attained had Lord Elgin not been a British Ambassador; but it was not solely as an Ambassador that he obtained them. No objection had ever been made to the operations of Lord Elgin, either by the government at Constantinople, or by the local authorities.

Not only the local authorities of Athens were favourable, but the natives both Turks and Greeks, assisted as labourers. . . . He could therefore say, that there was nothing like spoliation in the case, and that it bore no resemblance to those undue and tyrannical means by which the French had obtained possession of so many treasures of art, which he rejoiced to see again in the possession of their rightful owners. A notion prevailed among some gentlemen, that these treasures also should be restored to their original owners. . . . Did they mean that they should be purchased from Lord Elgin, for the purpose of being shipped back to those who set no value on them? Were not these works in a state of constant dilapidation and danger before their removal? . . . They were then making rapid strides towards decay, and the natives displayed such wanton indifference as to fire at them as marks. They had also been continually suffering, from the parts carried off by enlightened travellers. The greatest desire, too, had been evinced by the government of France to become possessed of them. . . .

The public had a right to bargain for them. . . . With respect to the price in all works of art, the value might be said to depend on caprice. . . . There was at least one foreign prince extremely desirous of purchasing this collection. The opportunity would not again recur. In no time had so large, so magnificent, and so well authenticated a collection of works of art of the best time, been produced, either in this or in any other country. . . . He therefore moved the resolution given above.

Mr. J. C. CURWEN opposed the grant on economical grounds—

A statement had been made the other night that the expenses of the country exceeded the revenue by nearly £17,000,000. . . . In such a state was it fit to make purchases of this description, however gratifying to a few individuals, at the expense of the nation? He was afraid that we were fast approaching to that course of extravagance with respect to the public money, which had brought to decay the countries where these works of art had been produced. . . .

Mr. J. W. WARD was as averse to idle expenditure as the hon. gentleman himself could be, and thought we should not seek occasions for it; yet he considered the present an opportunity of benefiting the public that could not occur again, and it was precisely because it was not against the principle of economy that he voted for the measure.

Mr. HUGH HAMMERLEY said he should oppose the resolution on the ground of the dishonesty of the transaction by which the collection was obtained. As to the value of the statues, he was inclined to go as far as



the hon. mover, but he was not so enamoured of those headless ladies as to forget another lady, which was justice. He should propose as an amendment a resolution, which stated:

That this Committee having taken into consideration the manner in which the Earl of Elgin became possessed of certain ancient sculptured marbles from Athens, laments that this Ambassador did not keep in remembrance that the high and dignified station of representing his sovereign should have made him forbear from availing himself of that character in order to obtain valuable possessions belonging to the government to which he was accredited; and that such forbearance was peculiarly necessary at a moment when that government was expressing high obligations to Great Britain. This Committee, however, imputes to the noble Earl no real motive whatever of pecuniary advantage to himself, but on the contrary, believes that he was actuated by a desire to benefit his country, by acquiring for it, at great risk and labour to himself, some of the most valuable specimens in existence of ancient sculpture. This Committee, therefore, feels justified, under the particular circumstances of the case, in recommending that £25,000 be offered to the Earl of Elgin for the collection in order to recover and keep it together for that government from which it has been improperly taken, and that to which this Committee is of opinion that a communication should immediately be made, stating that Great Britain holds these marbles only in trust till they are demanded by the present, or any future, possessors of the city of Athens; and upon such demand, engages, without question or negotiation, to restore them, as far as can be effected, to the places from whence they were taken, and that they shall be in the mean time carefully preserved in the British Museum.

Mr. CROKER, commenting on Mr. Hammersley's arguments, had never heard a speech filled with so much tragic pomp and circumstance, concluded with so farcical a resolution.

After speaking of the glories of Athens, after haranguing us on the injustice of spoliation, it was rather too much to expect to interest our feelings for the future conqueror of those classic regions, and to contemplate his rights to treasures which we reckoned it flagitious to retain.

Considerations of economy had been much mixed up with the question of the purchase; and the House had been warned in the present circumstances of the country, not to incur a heavy expense merely to acquire the possession of works of ornament. But, who was to pay this expense? and for whose use was it intended? The bargain was for the benefit of the public, for the honour of the nation, for the promotion of national arts, for the use of the national artists, and even for the advantage of our manufactures, the excellence of which depended on the progress of the arts in the country. It was singular that when 2500 years ago, Pericles was adorning Athens with these very works, some of which we are now about to acquire, the same cry of economy was raised against him, and the same answer that he then gave might be repeated now, that it was money spent for the use of the people. . . . But he would go to the length of saying that the possession of these precious remains of ancient genius and taste would conduce not only to the perfection of the arts, but to the elevation of our national character, to our opulence, to our substantial greatness.

But if the charges of improper conduct on Lord Elgin's part were groundless, the idea of sending them back to the Turks was chimerical and ridiculous. This would be awarding those admirable works the doom of destruction. . . . They would, however, remain to animate the genius and improve the arts of this country, and to constitute in after times a sufficient answer to the speech of the hon. member, or of any one else who should use his arguments, if indeed such arguments could be supposed to be repeated, or to be heard beyond the bottle hour in which they were made.

The debate was continued by Serjeant Best, Sir J. Newport, Lord

Milton, and Messrs. Moore and Brougham, who opposed the purchase. Messrs. Wynn, Charles Long, and J. P. Grant supported it.

The House divided: For the original motion, 82; against it, 30.

Apparently Mr. Hammersley's portentous amendment was not put.

No time was lost by the Trustees of the British Museum in obtaining authority for the consequential expenditure. On June 17 Mr. Ellis (afterwards Sir Henry Ellis, long Principal Librarian) attended the House, and at the bar presented to the House, pursuant to their orders, estimates of the expense of a temporary building, and of the removal of the marbles. The estimates were referred to the Committee of the House, which on the day following voted £800 for the expenses of removal and £1,700 for the temporary building.

The Act of Parliament necessary to complete the purchase passed apparently without further discussion.

It is Cap. XCIX. of the 56th year of George the Third. The statute recites, at what seems unnecessary length, that certain Trustees exist called 'The Trustees of the British Museum,' in whom are vested 'the Capital Messuage or Mansion House, heretofore called *Montagu House*, situate in *Great Russell Street*, in the Parish of *St. George Bloomsbury*, in the county of *Middlesex*, and the Outhouses, Buildings and Gardens belonging to the same,' and that 'the Right Honourable *Thomas Earl of Elgin* hath with great Knowledge, Judgment and Care, and at a great Expence, made a most valuable Collection of ancient Marbles and Sculpture, and is willing that the same should be possessed by the Public'; and 'the said Earl hath agreed to sell the same for the sum of Thirty five thousand Pounds, on Condition that the whole of the said Collection should be kept together in the *British Museum*, and open to Inspection, and called by the Name of "The Elgin Marbles" and that the said Earl and every Person who should attain the Rank of Earl of Elgin should be added to the Trustees of the *British Museum*.'

The enacting clauses which follow arrange (1) that the Treasury should issue £35,000 to the Trustees, who should require delivery of the Collection before September 1, and on delivery should satisfy themselves 'that the several Statues and other Articles forming the said Collection are then conformable to the Catalogue thereof delivered to a Committee of the House of Commons,' after which they should pay over the money. (2) That the Collection shall be vested in perpetuity in the Trustees of the British Museum. (3) That the said Collection shall be preserved and kept together in the said *British Museum* whole and entire, and distinguished by the Name or Appellation of '*The Elgin Collection*.' (4) That the said Earl of Elgin during his life, and after his Decease, each and every Person who shall successively attain to the Rank and Dignity of Earl of Elgin shall, when of full age, be added to the trust, with powers equal to those of the other Trustees.

The great Elgin controversy had now been settled by two of the most authoritative tribunals known to the constitution of this country. A Select



Committee of the House of Commons had heard witnesses and had pronounced its opinion. Parliament, after full debate, had adopted the conclusions of the Committee. Some voices were raised in opposition at the time, and have made themselves audible at intervals ever since, but on the whole the great body of responsible and informed opinion has endorsed the verdict of the Committee and of Parliament.

The new details, given in the foregoing pages, add colour and circumstance to what was already on public record, but they do not modify the main facts that were known, or the inferences to be based upon them. Lord Elgin, a man of great mental activity, liberality, and zeal, was appointed to the Embassy at Constantinople. He realised, as none of his predecessors had done, his opportunities for useful service in the cause of art and learning, and endeavoured to interest his Government, without the least success. Thereupon he organised a mission of research, on a scale hitherto unequalled in Europe, to prepare drawings, plans, and casts of the remains of ancient Greece.

When he and his agents came to grapple with their work at close quarters the disastrous rate at which the remains were deteriorating was forced upon their notice. The West pediment of the Parthenon had contained twenty human figures and two colossal horses<sup>222</sup> before 1687. There were twelve figures<sup>223</sup> left in 1740, and it would seem four figures in 1800<sup>224</sup> (of which three remain in position to-day).

A careful study would show a corresponding deterioration of the frieze and the metopes.

The frieze was substantially complete before the great explosion of 1687. Fifty-eight feet of what we know by evidence was then in existence has perished altogether, while much more only survives in pitiful fragments. Lord Elgin had not the means of measuring what had happened since the time of Carrey: but if he limited his view to what had happened within recent memory, before 1800, he would find that at least seven fine slabs had perished or disappeared.<sup>225</sup> Such of the metopes as survived were also suffering frequent injuries. Outside the Acropolis, a remarkable temple, the Ionic temple on the Ilissos, had altogether disappeared a few years before. There was abundant evidence that the deterioration was a continuing process. The local authorities were reluctant to allow the removal of antiquities for fear of

<sup>222</sup> Carrey's drawing of 1674.

<sup>223</sup> Richard Dalton's drawing.

<sup>224</sup> Compare Fauvel's *Journal*: 'Étant sous le fronton de devant du temple de Minerve, Mathomet Ali Aga... homme de 60 ans, m'a dit en me montrant d'y avoir vu beaucoup de figures...; qu'une de ces figures étant tombée, les autres, craintes d'achèvement, ils les mirent en morceaux pour bâtir... Il en tomba une l'été de 1790; elle était sans tête au bras, et, excepté le dos, c'était une masse informe.' *Rev. Arch. Brit. Series*, xxv. p. 29.

<sup>225</sup> *Ermine*, East Side:

Slab VI. 41-48. Broken up after Fauvel's mould (say 1790) and before 1800.

Slab VII. Taken to Paris for General Gouffier (1780).

Slab IX. Drawn by Stuart. Lost North Side:

Slab I. Left half drawn by Stuart. Lost.

Slab V. Drawn by Stuart. Two-thirds lost.

Slab XXII. Drawn by Stuart. Broken up.

Slab XXV. Drawn by Stuart. Only a small fragment survived.

giving a handle to hostile informers, but they took no intelligent interest in their preservation.<sup>327</sup>

The fact that Athens was and is an inhabited city, with a continuous historic life, made the removal of parts of its monuments a subject for regret, but it was this very fact that Athens was inhabited and a place of resort that created the special danger. No question was raised as to the legitimacy and desirability of excavating and securing the buried marbles of Argina and Phigaleia. But it was not these that were in imminent danger and needed to be removed that they might be preserved.

Nor was there any reasonable prospect, so far as could be foreseen at that time, of a change for the better. Hobhouse, the friend of Byron, writing about 1810, summed up the controversy impartially, and added:<sup>328</sup>

I have said nothing of the possibility of the ruins of Athens being, in the event of a revolution in favour of the Greeks, restored and put into a condition capable of resisting the ravages of decay: for an event of that nature cannot, it strikes me, have even entered into the head of anyone who has seen Athens and the modern Athenians.

The story told by Hobhouse<sup>329</sup> as to the feelings of the Athenians of the day is not irrelevant in this context.

Some Greeks, in our time, conveying a chest from Athens to Piræus, containing part of the Elgin marbles, threw it down, and could not for some time be prevailed upon to touch it, again affirming, they heard the Arakh (i.e. the enchanted spirit within the sculpture) crying out, and groaning for his fellow-spirits detained in bondage in the Acropolis. The Athenians suppose that the condition of these enchanted marbles will be bettered by a removal from the country of the tyrant Turks.

The process of continuous deterioration, as a matter of fact, did not cease after the time of Lord Elgin. This is instructively shown by a comparison of the Elgin casts of the West side of the frieze which is still in position on the building with modern photographs, or casts, as in Figs. 12 and 13.

The conditions at Athens, therefore, furnished good justification for removing the sculptures for preservation; and it is not the case that the operations of Lord Elgin's agents were carried on, as is sometimes alleged, with ruthless disregard for the architecture. In the course of the corre-

<sup>327</sup> Compare the remark of a Turkish official at Olympia to the bearer of Chénier's (Gouffier's) firman: 'Tu enlèveras des pierres dont tu sauras tirer du profit; le Sultan croira que tu m'as fait partager tes richesses, et ma tête tombera.' Dubois, *Catalogue Chénier-Gouffier*, p. lii.

<sup>328</sup> Hobhouse, *Travels*, 2nd ed. i. p. 347.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.* p. 318. Another witness of the phenomenon gives it a different interpretation. 'An illiterate servant of the Duke of Athens assured me that when the five other *xepirgia* (girls) [epheerai] had lost their sister, they manifested their affliction by filling the

air at the close of the evening with the most mournful sighs and lamentations, that he himself had often heard their complaints, and never without being so much affected as to be obliged to leave the citadel till they had ceased; and that the ravished sister was not deaf to their voice, but astonished the lower town where she was placed, by answering in the same lamentable tones.—Douglas, *An Essay on certain points of resemblance between the Ancient and Modern Greeks* (1813), p. 81. Douglas was a member of the Select Committee of 1818.



spontaneous suggestions are thrown out as to removing the monument of Lysicrates, the entire Caryatid porch, or the West frieze of the Parthenon, but none of these more extreme measures were taken. The greater part of the West frieze was left in position, together with the last metope on the South side. These sculptures and two other metopes were moulded and not removed, in order that disproportionate injury to the architecture should not be done for the preservation of the sculptures. The only serious injury done to the architecture of the Parthenon, other than the removal of its sculptural decorations, was the incidental destruction of a part of the cornice above the South metopes, and of a part of the South angle of the East pediment, as to which we saw that Lusieri felt some pricks of conscience. Here, as Michaelis<sup>240</sup> expresses it, was the heel of Achilles, for here the rescue of Phidias involved an abandonment of Ictinus.

Censure has also been passed on Lord Elgin for the collection of isolated fragments, such as the Doric capital from the Propylaea and the column from the East portico of the Erechtheum. But, as we have seen above (pp. 191, 207) this was done on a considered principle that it was necessary to have actual examples of the different parts of the architectural orders for real knowledge of them.

Lastly, as regards the methods employed in dealing with subordinate local officials it must be remembered that these were necessitated by the inherent vices of Turkish methods of administration. It was the political circumstances of the time, in which British sea-power was saving the life of the Turkish empire, that enabled the Ambassador to extend the scope of his scheme. The powers were given to him by the central government, but the application of them necessarily involved an alternation of pressure and presents to the minor local officials.

The operations we have described were carried on with a single-minded enthusiasm for the promotion of knowledge and art, and it is beyond question that in this direction their influence was profound. The effect of the marbles upon the minds of the artists has been sufficiently indicated in the foregoing narrative. In archaeology it is unquestionable that by the opportunities of study opened out to Western Europe new standards were set up, and that the whole view of ancient art was permanently modified and corrected.

<sup>240</sup> Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 79. This incident seems to be the only foundation for the charge made in the German Apology for the destruction of French churches: 'Die Engländer brauchen nicht weit zu gehen, um sich das schönste Reichthum zu geben, wie das können das schönste Heiligtum mensch-

licher Kunst zu zerstören: sie brauchen nur ins britische Museum zu gehen, und sich die berühmten "Elgin Marbles" anzusehen, diese verführerischen Reliquien des Parthenons in Athen, die sie nicht nur stehlen, sondern auch zerstören.' Lang, in *Kunstgewerbe* in Frankreich und Deutschland (1913), p. 61.



FIG. 12.—CAST OF PARTHENON FRIEZE, WEST SIDE, SLAB XIII., IN 1891



FIG. 13.—CAST OF PARTHENON FRIEZE, WEST SIDE, SLAB XIII., IN 1872



## PART VI.

*The Marbles at the British Museum.*

The delivery of the marbles to the care of the Trustees of the British Museum was duly accomplished. On August 2 a small number of sepulchral reliefs and other fragments, which were no part of the catalogued collection, were separated from the remainder, and sent for temporary housing to Hamilton. Included with them was also 'half a head which belongs to Mr. Hamilton' according to the inventory. This collection, which presumably consists of small subjects that had somehow come to hand after Vis-



FIG. 14.—VIEW OF THE TEMPORARY ELGIN ROOM (BY W. H. PRIOR).

count's visit, is now at Broomhall, and has been described by A. Michaelis, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, v. p. 143. The main collection was transferred a week later on Thursday, August 8.<sup>241</sup>

Thursday last week, the British Museum took possession of the collection in so far as transferring the key from Wm. Thomson to a man of their own. On Monday an Extra meeting of the Trustees was held, when they sanctioned the above proceeding

<sup>241</sup> Elgin to Hamilton, Aug. 17, 1816.

and have since begun to remove the smaller objects. They have in the meanwhile hermetically shut up the place, literally admitting nobody—Today, I believe, the money will be paid—Everything was right, excepting a head, [no doubt that referred to above] which tho' in the catalogue was not in the collection. Thomson says it is yours—others were found to make up the number.

The marbles were in due course removed to the British Museum at a cost of £798. One fragment of the frieze, slab XI. of the North side, somehow was separated from the remainder, and did not rejoin them till April, 1818. Two of the votive reliefs from the Pyx (and, according to Ellis, 'several other articles') were however missing, and 'were believed to have been stolen at the time when the Elgin Collection was deposited in the courtyard of Burlington House' (Ellis, *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, ii., p. 107.)



FIG. 15.—VIEW OF THE TEMPORARY ELGIN ROOM (by Mackenzie)

At the British Museum no time was lost in the erection of a temporary building for the marbles. In January, 1817, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (page 80) announces that the public would very shortly have access to the 'spacious rooms' built to contain them, adding its comment, 'They are a proud trophy, because their display in the British Metropolis is the result of public taste, and also a pleasing one, because they are not the price of blood shed in wanton or ambitious wars.'

The new rooms were placed to the west of the isolated building which then contained the Townley and Egyptian sculptures. They consisted of a large room with a wooden roof secured with iron ties, and lighted by skylights, and a second and smaller room at one end of it. At one end





FIG. 66.—THE PARTHENON MARBLES ROOM (By A. Archibald).

the principal room terminated in a sort of alcove or apse, at the other with a door into the smaller room. The metopes rested on corbels about eleven feet from the ground. The frieze ran round the room at the eye level, as now in the Elgin room. The remaining sculptures were arranged along the wall or at intervals on the floor in picturesque fashion, without any attempt to observe the relative positions of the pedimental sculptures. The apse, for example, is occupied by the Dionysos of Thrasyllos, on the Doric capital of the Parthenon, flanked by two smaller figures, the Asclepios (?) and the Muse (B. M. *Sculpt.* 551, 1688), and by the Theseus and Theseus on low pedestals with turntable tops.

The view towards the smaller room is shown in a drawing by William



FIG. 17.—KEY TO ARCHER'S PAINTING OF THE BRITISH ROOM.

Henry Prior,<sup>242</sup> which was reproduced in a portfolio prepared for the Trustees on the occasion of the opening of the King Edward VII. galleries in 1914 (Fig. 14). The view towards the apse is given in an engraving by Heath from a drawing by Mackenzie (Fig. 15), and is also shown in the interesting painting by A. Archer, which hangs in the Committee Room of the Museum, and is here reproduced (Fig. 16) by permission of the Trustees. The drawing by Prior and the painting by Archer both terminate in the torso of Victory on the shaft of a column, so that between them they include the whole room, as shown in Heath's engraving. The Elgin Eros, the metope on the end wall

<sup>242</sup> Brit. Mus. Dept. of Prints and Drawings, 1838, 1-13, L.



the bronze vase, and the horse's head have been put at this end of the room by Archer, to enrich his composition. Their true places were in the middle of the room.

Archer's painting (formerly in the collection of Mr. Edward Hawkins) was presented by Dr. J. E. Gray (one of the persons portrayed) in 1872, and the names given to the figures rest on his authority. The picture is signed by the artist on the portfolio, and is dated 1819. Benjamin West died in 1820.

West and Plautz are seated in dignity in front of a group which includes the chief members of the Museum staff of that date, B. R. Haydon and four unknown visitors. On the right are the artist in the foreground, an attendant, John Conrath (who must have joined late in life, as his service began in 1816), Charles König the naturalist, and three nameless visitors.<sup>34</sup>

The new arrangement, though elementary, was an improvement on what had preceded it. On January 27, 1817, Haydon wrote to Lord Elgin to inform him that the Grand Duke Nicholas (afterwards the Emperor Nicholas) had visited the collection on two consecutive days with great delight, and added, 'Impressed as I was always by their beauties, I can assure you, my Lord, my feelings were excited more vigorously than ever, by seeing them in a better situation, and though they are by no means where they ought to be, or where they will be, yet they have so much more an imposing air by proper elevation, that you will be astonished when you see them.'

The temporary gallery served for fourteen years, until 1831, when it was

<sup>34</sup> The following is the list of persons who can be identified:

1. Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846).
2. Sir Charles Long (?), afterwards Lord Farnborough (1761-1838), Paymaster-General.
3. The Rev. James Benn, Assistant Librarian, 1812-1826.
4. The Rev. Thomas Maurice (1754-1824), Assistant Librarian in the Dept. of MSS., 1799-1824.
5. Sir Henry Ellis (1777-1890), Assistant Librarian, 1805; Secretary, 1814; Principal Librarian, 1827-1856.
6. John George Children (1777-1822), P.R.S., Assistant Librarian, 1816.
7. Benjamin West, P.R.A. (1758-1820).
8. Joseph Plautz (1744-1827), Under Librarian (Keeper of MSS.), 1776; Principal Librarian, 1799-1827.
9. Taylor Coules (1774-1826), Assistant Librarian, 1803; Under Librarian (First Keeper of the Department of Antiquities), 1805-1826.
10. Rev. Henry Harvey Esler (1775-1869), Assistant, 1810; Under Librarian (Keeper Dept. of MSS.), 1812-1837.

11. John Thomas Smith (1766-1833), Extra Assistant Librarian (Prints), 1816-1833; Author of 'Smith's Nollekeise.' 'It has often of late years, given me pleasure to observe that the same class of persons, who in my boyish days would admire a bleeding-heart-cherry painted upon a Pontipool tea-board, or a Trailescant strawberry upon a Dutch table, now attentively look and for a long time too, with the most awful respect at the majestic fragments of the Greek Sculptor's art, so gloriously displayed in the Elgin Gallery.' Smith, l. p. 276.

12. John Edward Gray (1800-1875), Assistant in Natural History Dept., 1824; Keeper, 1840-1874.

13. A. Archer, the artist.

14. Charles Dietrich Eberhard König (1774-1831), Assistant Librarian (Dept. of Natural History), 1807-1813; Under Librarian, Natural History (Minerals), 1813-1831.

15. John Conrath, Attendant, from 1816.

'The rest of the visitors I will not pretend to identify, but I recollect often seeing the old gentleman and lady who are walking arm in arm about the room' (Dr. Gray's letter).

succeeded by a new Elgin Room, as part of the new buildings, which was substantially that now in use.<sup>34</sup>

The metopes, the West frieze, the run of ten slabs of the North frieze, and some of the casts retain the positions then given to them.

The pedimental sculptures were arranged in order corresponding to that of the pediments, the two in a continuous line. The main difference of principle is that the room, instead of being predominantly occupied by the Parthenon sculptures, is filled up with all the secondary objects in the Elgin Collection.

In 1857 the adjoining room (now the Ephesus Room) was brought into use as the 'First Elgin Room,' and the pedimental groups were removed to it. They occupied the two sides of the room. The 'Second Elgin Room' had the frieze and metopes. The other objects from the Elgin Collection were divided between the two rooms.

In 1869 the extension of the 'Second Elgin Room' to the northwards was completed, and the marbles of the Parthenon were once more brought together. In the years 1888-1890 the present marble pedestals were substituted for the old wooden pedestals beneath the pedimental figures.

In 1909-1910 the figure of Victory (rather Iris) was transferred to its proper place in the West pediment (see p. 198) and the fragments belonging to the pediment, which had hitherto been placed on blocks in a row on the eye level, were raised on shafts of Istrian marble to heights corresponding to their original positions in the pediment. In 1915 the pedimental sculptures were removed, by way of precaution, and the metopes and frieze were given appropriate protection.

So far as Lord Elgin was concerned, the completion of the purchase terminated his active share in the disposition or management of the marbles. In 1829 the Principal Librarian sent proof-sheets of Cockerell's volume of the *Museum Marbles*, but he declined any responsibility for a work already at the proof stage. During his later years, however, he watched with anxious eye the progress of the marbles in public esteem at home and abroad.

## PART VII.

### *Choiseul-Gouffier and Tweddell.*

Two episodes directly connected with Lord Elgin's activities in the East have not yet been mentioned but seem to require notice in an account of the archaeological side of his career. The one was his intercourse with his rival, the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, and the other was a troublesome incident connected with the papers of John Tweddell.

The Count de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817) was a pupil of the Abbé Barthélemy, and was induced by his master to undertake a Greek tour. The

<sup>34</sup> See the key plates, in *Marbles*, vii. Pls. 18, 19.



result was the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* (1782-1824). In 1784 he was appointed French Ambassador at the Porte, but in 1793 he was obliged by revolutionary violence to fly, and took refuge in Petersburg. In 1802 he



FIG. 18.—THE COMTE DE CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER. (By L. L. Boilly.)

returned to France, and gradually recovered possession of his scattered collections. The engraved portrait (Fig. 18) from a picture by L. L. Boilly is taken from the second volume of the *Voyage Pittoresque*.

Thanks to Fauvel he had acquired half a slab<sup>345</sup> from the East frieze of the Parthenon, which that agent had found on January 25, 1789, excavating among the ruins.<sup>346</sup> This passed to the Louvre. He also acquired two metopes of the Parthenon. One of these passed to the Louvre, and the other to the collection of Lord Elgin, and thence to the British Museum. Until recently writers on the Parthenon did not realise that two metopes were in question, and the confusion of the two made a complete tangle of the story.

One metope, the tenth in order from the West end of the South side, representing a Centaur and a Lapith woman, was shipped from Athens by the French Consul Caspari in 1788.<sup>347</sup>

It was sold in 1818, after Choiseul-Gouffier's death, as lot 105 of his collection, was purchased for the Louvre, and concerns us no further.

The second metope was the sixth from the West end of the South side. According to Fauvel's papers,<sup>348</sup> it was blown down by a storm which broke it into three pieces, and was secretly obtained by Fauvel on December 12, 1788. It was shipped in three cases<sup>349</sup> by Fauvel from the Piræus on 5 Prairial (May 25), 1803.<sup>350</sup>

The shipment consisted of 26 cases in all (according to Fauvel 24). The fullest statement of its contents is in a memorandum signed by Choiseul-Gouffier, October 8, 1806. It contained: 1. Cast of a Caryatid. 2. A marble, described in the memorandum of 1806 as having a long inscription on two faces. 'C'est un des objets que je regrette le plus vivement, ayant commencé une dissertation assez curieuse sur cette inscription, et la copie que j'en ai étant remplie de fautes que la nature lui même peut seul rectifier.' This seems to describe the inscription of Oropos (*B. M. Inscr.* No. 146) and Fauvel (see note 350) explicitly states that No. 2 was 'l'inscription d'Amphiaraus,' i.e. the Oropos stone. In later documents, of 1816, this stone is described as having a long inscription on two faces: one in Greek and the other in Phoenician. This addition I take to be a mistake, based on recollection of the stele of Artemidosas once in the collection, which is bilingual, but only has short inscriptions on one side. The result is to create an unknown bilingual. Cases 3-11: casts of the friezes of the Parthenon and Thesæum.

Lord Elgin a le bonheur de posséder un grand nombre des marbres originaux de ces plâtres; c'est un trésor insaisissable; pour moi, je m'estimerai heureux d'en recouvrer les copies, et de pouvoir compléter ainsi la décoration de l'hôtel moderne,<sup>351</sup> où je cherche à me consoler de mes pertes.

<sup>345</sup> Michaelis, *Stab* VII, is in fact half of one slab numbered by Michaelis VII., VIII.

<sup>346</sup> *Rev. Arch.* 3rd Ser. xxvi, p. 237.

<sup>347</sup> *Rev. Arch.* 3rd Ser. xxvi, p. 58; xxvi, p. 228.

<sup>348</sup> Edited by Legrand, *Rev. Arch.* xxvi, p. 29.

<sup>349</sup> *Rev. Arch.* xxvi, p. 238.

<sup>350</sup> M. Henri Omont has been good enough to send me a transcript of Fauvel's précis.

*Bibl. Nat.* MS. français 22871, fol. 156, which has supplied some of the details in the text. *CE. Rev. Arch.* 3rd Ser. xxvi, p. 238.

<sup>351</sup> Un magnifique hôtel dont les diverses façades rappellent quelques parties des monuments d'Athènes et de Palmyre; et dont l'intérieur est décoré avec le goût le plus pur. . .

Les deux façades de l'Est sont imitées d'après celles de l'Acrothéon et du Propylæon, à Athènes; celle du Nord rappelle au



Cases 11 bis, 12 vases, 13-17 casts of reliefs, 18 two headless marble figures, 19 inscription (perhaps that of Artemidoros), 20 casts of reliefs. Cases 21, 22, 23, Métape en marbre du temple de Minerve, brisée en trois morceaux, mais qui restaurés, feroient dans ma gallerie le pendant d'un pareil morceau, le seul marbre précieux qui me soit resté après tant de peines et de travaux. Cases 24, 25: a small relief, minor fragments and vases. There were in addition a marble Sphinx, and several slabs, etc., of Pentelic marble, porphyry, and verde antico.

The antiquities were shipped by Fauvel on the French corvette *L'Arabe*. Writing in 1803 to Nelson, Choiseul-Gouffier said that he had given orders that the boxes should be sent by a Russian merchantman, but that his agents had put them on a French vessel with the idea of saving him expense. At a later date, the account<sup>24</sup> given by the old Royalist was that the corvette 'avait en ordre, à l'insu de Bonaparte, auquel je n'ai rien demandé, de passer à Athènes, où furent embarquées 26 caisses.' The boxes were addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Talleyrand) to secure their respectful treatment at Toulon, and marked with the initials of the owner, C.G. The position is differently stated by Fauvel:—

caisses marquées C. G. et numérotées, contenant du plâtre et quelques marbres que j'avais acquies à Athènes, n'ayant point été payé de ce que me devait M<sup>r</sup> de Choiseul, à qui je les envoyai alors, par ordre du M<sup>r</sup> du Talleyrand, Ministre des Affaires étrangères.

War with France after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens broke out in May, 1803, and it chanced that the corvette *L'Arabe* (8 guns) was made a prize on June 14 by the frigate *Maidstone* (Capt. R. H. Moubray). At this point the story of the Choiseul-Gouffier marbles has become confused, owing to the fact that Choiseul-Gouffier was till nearly the end of his life under a misapprehension as to what had happened.

Nelson had started from England in the *Victory*, but with orders not to take her to the Mediterranean without ascertaining that she was not required by Cornwallis off Brest. Failing to meet Cornwallis he left the *Victory* and took passage in the *Amphion* to the Mediterranean. There the *Amphion* and the *Maidstone* were to some extent in company, but Nelson remained on the *Amphion* till the *Victory* rejoined him two months later. The two ships were separate at the time of the capture. What happened to the marbles we learn from a letter<sup>25</sup> of Capt. Moubray. The whole cargo was sent from Malta to London, and lodged in the Custom House, consigned for sale to Capt.

des poétiques de la ville de Palmyre. Au centre du fontain de l'Académie, on lit en lettres d'or, l'inscription grecque suivante: ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΚΟΡΑΙΣ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΛΗΘΗΙ, c'est-à-dire, Aux filles de Mémoire, à l'oubli des maux. *Monnaies, Catalogue* . . . de Jean B. le C<sup>te</sup> de Choiseul-Gouffier, p. xxi. Nous réimprimons encore sous la grille de

tytan Corin, lorsque j'ai fait écrire sur la façade de ma maison commémorée aux Muses cette inscription imitée d'Hésiode (*Théog.* 22-25): Μνημόσυνον σέβαν, κακῶν λήθη. Choiseul-Gouffier to Lord Elgin, April 25, 1810.

<sup>24</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier. *Mémoires*, May 1, 1810.

<sup>25</sup> Moubray to Elgin, Jan. 13, 1810.

Moubray's agent, Mr. Stanger, of Clement's Inn. The latter obtained expert advice and reported after long delay (Jan., 1808):—

Mr. Christie and Mr. Phillips (another auctioneer) have examined them and both agree that they are not worth the Duty—from the length of time they have been there they will shortly be sold at one of the regular Custom House sales, unless the Duty is paid, and they are taken away. Taking the circumstances into consideration I think it best to let them take their chance there, but if you think otherwise, I shall be happy in following your directions; I do not expect they will cover the expenses, but should there be a surplus I shall be able to recover it.

Capt. Moubray's story continues:

Government, having declined purchasing them, which was Lord Nelson's object in sending them to England, and finding that instead of having a prize, I was likely to be involved in expense by directing them to be sold, I thought no more of them.

As I did not accompany the *L'Arabe* to Malta, I did not see the cargo, but I am quite positively from the report of the officer Lieut. McKenzie, who is alive and whose own testimony can be had, if it were satisfactory to Mon. De Choiseul-Gouffier to be possessed of it, that the entire cargo was transhipped from the *Prize* to the frigate, (the *Blonde*, I think) which by Lord Nelson's order conveyed them to England. I have no idea what the cases contained, nor recollection of the items of the Lieut.'s inventory, further than that I remember Lord Nelson laughed at his describing one of them as a *Skeleton*.

*L'Arabe* was sold to the Government of Malta, employed as a Packet, and lost on the coast of Sicily soon after.

The story of the sale is continued in a letter from Lord Elgin to Choiseul-Gouffier.<sup>251</sup>

On my arrival in England, my agents were busy disinterring the multitude of boxes, which had come for me from Turkey, in so many different ways during my detention in France. In the course of their researches they had discovered at the London Custom House, some boxes without any address whatever, but which, according to appearances, might belong to me. In consequence I had some of them purchased at a public sale of unclaimed objects, which took place soon after. I think I paid £24 sterling for my lot, in which I found a masonry of the Parthenon, in two [more correctly three] separate pieces. There was also, if I am not mistaken, a little inscription in marble. The remainder, so far as I can remember, consisted only of statues, of which the principal one was that of one of the Caryatids of the temple of Erechtheus; the only piece that was not already in my collection.

It is probable, though not at present proved, that the sale also included the bilingual inscription of Artemidoros, perhaps in box 19 (see above).<sup>252</sup> This stone, which was long missing, found its way to the Museum of the United Service Institution, and was given to the British Museum in 1861 (*B.M. Inscr.* No. 109).

So much for the actual history of this section of the Choiseul-Gouffier collection. We must now turn to the negotiations of which it was the subject. I should observe that the peculiarities of spelling and accentuation in the extracts given, occur in the original documents.

<sup>251</sup> Elgin to Choiseul-Gouffier, Jan. 13, 1818.

<sup>252</sup> Debevoise (p. x) states that it was in the consignment.



The news of the capture reached Choiseul-Gouffier in the course of the summer, and he went to consult Lord Elgin, then under detention at Barèges.

Lady Elgin wrote as follows from Barèges to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet (no date). I owe the transcript to Sir Harry Wilson.

Le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier is here, he is very pleasant. Poor man, he has been most unfortunate, after having lost almost all he possessed, he had just money enough to buy a Villa near Paris, and set his heart upon the idea of placing the marbles &c. he had collected at Athens; he has just received information that the Frigate on board which his Antiquities were placed, has been taken by the English. The tears were really in his eyes when he told me, he said after having lost his fortune and very near all the Antiquities he had with so much trouble and expense collected at Constantinople, and having hid these for so many years, and having now sent for them, he is completely overcome by the loss. It is very hard upon him, he has been entreating Elgin to write to L<sup>d</sup>. Nelson about them. . . .

Encouraged by Lord Elgin, Choiseul-Gouffier wrote to Nelson a letter<sup>200</sup> which is in its place in the Nelson papers:

A BARONET DANS LES PRESENCE,  
le 4<sup>ème</sup> 1803.

Monsieur,

Sous les auspices de Lord Elgin, j'ose invoquer la générosité de votre Excellence, et la supplier de m'accorder des bontés qui me permettraient d'une éternelle reconnaissance.

Privé de mon ancienne fortune, Mylord, et sans espoir d'en recouvrer les moindres débris, attaché à la Cour de Russie par de grands bienfaits, je ne suis venu en France que pour voir mes enfans, et recueillir quelques objets relatifs aux arts, qui sont nécessaires à la continuation d'un ouvrage dont je desiré m'occuper dans une retraite paisible. J'ai trouvé presque toutes mes propriétés de ce genre pillées comme les autres, et ma dernière ressource étoit dans quelques objets restés à Constantinople et à Athènes; J'avois prescrit de les embarquer sur des navires de commerce Russes; on s'en est évité des frais de transport, en les plaçant sur une corvette française, qui vient d'être prise près de la Sicile, et je serois inconsolable de ce dernier coup, que ma nouvelle fortune me réservait, si je n'étois, Mylord, plein de confiance dans votre puissante protection, et dans vos nobles et généreux sentimens, qui partagent tous ceux qui ont l'honneur de servir sous vos ordres.

Je n'ignore point les loix qui me privent de ma propriété trouvée sur un bâtiment de guerre et les droits dont l'équipage ne sauroit être frustré. Je demande, comme une grâce, Mylord, d'être admis à m'y conformer, à racheter ce que j'ai perdu, autant que mes moyens actuels pourroient me le permettre. J'observerai seulement que ces antiquités peu précieuses en elles mêmes, n'ont de valeur réelle que pour moi seul, parcequ'elles sont nécessaires à la suite de mes travaux littéraires, et tout autre n'y trouveroit que bien peu d'objets intéressans. Il est possible, Mylord, que ces causes et ces motifs portent l'adresse du Ministre des relations extérieures, parcequ'on aura cru, par cette précaution, engager plus sûrement le Capitaine français à les conserver avec soin, mais je tiens ses paroles d'honneur à votre Excellence que tous ces objets sans exception, jusqu'au dernier sur un armement de l'état, sont ma propriété personnelle, comme la soit et n'auroit dérivé de ma fortune que j'aurois pu consacrer aux fureurs de la révolution, et à l'ambition particulière, dont m'honoroit le Directoire.

Daignez, Mylord, accueillir avec bonté ma prière, que je n'aurois pu faire pas un hazard, si Lord Elgin n'avoit bien voulu se charger de l'appuyer. Dans tous les cas, je

<sup>200</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34,948, fo. 210.

lui aurai une grande obligation, puisqu'il m'aura procuré, Mylord, un moyen de vous faire parvenir l'hommage de mon admiration, et de la très haute considération, avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

My lord,

de votre Excellence,

Le très humble

et très obéissant Serviteur,

Le C<sup>te</sup> de CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER.

Lord Elgin wrote also, in compliance with the Count's request (on Sept. 1st, 1803) and received the following reply from Lord Nelson, which was the last letter he had from the great Admiral:

VICTORY AT SEA. Decr 5<sup>th</sup> 1803.

My DEAR LORD

I have been favor'd with your letter of Sept. 1<sup>st</sup> which I should most gladly pay attention to in favor of the Comte de Choiseuil Gouffier (sic) was it in my power, but all the cases, being directed to the French Minister, have been sent to England. I think the case of the Comte a very hard one. I much fear that your loss [the *Mentor*] will never get above water. I only say from my heart that I wish you a speedy re-establishment of your health & a speedy return home, and to beg that you will, My Dear Lord, ever be assured that I am with the sincerest esteem

Yours faithfully

Nelson & Buonav.

Will you apologise to the Comte for my not answering his polite letter?

I find no answer to the Count in the Nelson letter-books, and the postscript to the letter to Lord Elgin makes it clear that none was sent direct. Lord Nelson was sympathetic but unable to do anything, since as we have seen, the *écrits* of the prize had been sent on to London to be dealt with on the usual lines. Choiseul-Gouffier however believed, on what grounds I do not know, that Nelson's reply had been favourable. In a memorandum of October 6, 1806, he wrote:

Je régenterai la restitution qu'on daignera m'en faire comme un véritable bienfait; et cet acte généreux sera un nouvel hommage rendu à la mémoire de Lord Nelson, qui avait manifesté ses intentions à cet égard.

In 1810 he wrote to Lord Elgin,<sup>322</sup> recalling their previous acquaintance and continuing:

Daigné amener à une heureuse issue les démarches que vous avez déjà multipliées avec tant d'obligeance, pour me procurer la restitution des objets d'art capturés sur la corvette française *L'Arabe*; en engageant les dignes successeurs de Lord Nelson à remplir les intentions généreuses qu'il avait manifestées à mon égard; vous rendrez un nouvel hommage à sa mémoire: les ordres d'un grand homme doivent devenir sacrés pour la nation qu'il a si bien servie, et qui a eu le malheur de le perdre.

Vous vous rappellerez, Mylord, qu' aussitôt que Lord Nelson fut informé, grâce à vos soins, que j'étais le véritable propriétaire des antiquités embarquées à Athènes. Il proposa aux officiers de la frigate Anglaise, de se défaire de leurs droits, ce qu'ils accordèrent sans la cherté, avec la générosité qui les caractérisait. Il fut ordonné en conséquence que toutes les caisses et merbres provenant de la corvette *L'Arabe* seraient déposés en carote dans un magasin à Malte.<sup>323</sup> La continuation des hostilités, et la rigoureuse défense d'entretenir aucune correspondance m'ont empêché de suivre cette

<sup>322</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier to Elgin, March 2, 1810.

<sup>323</sup> Compare Dubois, p. 1.



affaires, malgré les vifs regrets que me causeroit la perte du paradis objets, nécessaires à la suite des occupations dont je charge mes loisirs. . . . Il me suffiroit de savoir que mes manières et mes caresses sont à Malte, sous la garantie de la générosité Britannique; il vaudra sans doute des circonstances plus heureuses qui me permettront d'envoyer les y chercher; et peut-être vos nobles lords de l'Amirauté voudraient-ils bien m'en faciliter les moyens.

In 1814 Lord Elgin paid a flying visit to Paris in connexion with the proposed visit of R. Q. Visconti, and took advantage of the opportunity to come to an understanding with Choiseul-Gouffier. The latter wrote<sup>329</sup> shortly afterwards that he had been unable to find Lord Elgin to return his call; that he had been able to recover some letters of Faavel, which left no doubt as to the origin of the metope; that Lords Whitworth and Lansdowne had made unsuccessful inquiries on his behalf at Malta (as we know, for the best of reasons), and that they feared that the noble intentions of Lord Nelson had not been carried out after his death, and that the objects had been 'coveted by amateurs.'

Indépendamment des caisses déposées à Malte, Mylord, il est certain que vos agents, ont dans l'excès de leur zèle pris à Athènes plusieurs bas-reliefs déposés, si je me le rappelle bien, dans une maison du négociant Kairac.<sup>330</sup> Ils ont pris aussi dans un chariot, une grue, et des appareils à moi appartenans. Ils ont bien fait; je vous les envoie assurément prêts avec grand plaisir.

Je n'ai souffonné, Mylord, que le temps de réclamer les sentimens d'honneur et de délicatesse qui vous dirigent, et qui caractérisent vos généreux compatriotes.

Lorsqu'à l'aide des circonstances les plus glorieuses pour votre nation, vous avez acquis les plus précieuses dépouilles de la Grèce, que mes recherches antérieures vous avoient désignées, vous ne voudriez pas que des hasards funestes pour moi, et le zèle de vos agents viennent ajouter à vos Thrésors quelques marches de bien peu de valeur, souvenirs de ma jeunesse déçapés à tous les revers dont j'ai été victime.

Lord Elgin's own account of these transactions, in his evidence before the Committee (*Report*, p. 45) was:

When I left Paris, Monsieur Choiseul remained in the belief that they were still at Malta; consequently I had no clue to guess those were his at the time of the purchase in the year 1806; but I immediately wrote to him to state what these things were, so I had no doubt they were his by the metope; and in the year 1810 he wrote to me, stating that his were still at Malta: when I went over to Paris last year, I took a memorandum with me for him, and satisfied him they were his; but he has never yet sent about them, and I do not know what he means to do at all; but these they are, marked among my things as belonging to him.

When the Allies were in occupation of Paris Choiseul-Gouffier made further application by diplomatic channels. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington,<sup>331</sup> after an interview, reciting the story of the capture of *L'Arabe* and explaining that he could not take steps during the continuance of hostilities. He proceeds:—

Il n'en est plus heureusement de même, depuis que le Vainqueur de *Vaterloo* a sauvé l'Europe et retabli sur leurs trônes les Souverains de la maison des Bourbons. J'ose pri-  
er

<sup>329</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier to Elgin, Aug. 12, 1814.

<sup>331</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier to Wellington, Dec. 29, 1815.

<sup>332</sup> I cannot explain this statement.

Votre Excellence de vouloir bien m'accorder pour le General commandant à Malthe une Lettre, qui en rappelant les intentions de Lord Nelson, engage ce General à faire rechercher tous les objets à moi appartenant, et à les remettre à la disposition du Consul de France. C'est un hommage digne de vous, My Lord, que vous rendrez à la mémoire d'un de vos precenseurs dans la carrière de la Gloire.

Les Agents trop zelés de Lord Elgin, ayant relaché à Malthe, ont, sans doute par mégarde, embarqué avec sa riche Collection 9 ou 10 de mes enlées; c'est Lord Elgin lui-même qui dans un court voyage fait à Paris il y a deux ans, a eu la loyauté de m'en prévenir; mais depuis ce moment, je lui ai vainement écrit deux ou trois Lettres qui sont restées sans Réponses. J'ose donc supplier Votre Excellence de m'accorder une Lettre pour Lord Elgin: l'honorable Intérêt qu'Elle montrera pour moi, le desirera sans doute à me faire cette restitution, et à ne pas compromettre mes chetifs fragmens parmi les véritables Trésors qu'il va rendre au Gouvernement Britannique.

Je sens, My Lord Duc, combien il est inutile et peut être même Ridicule d'ennuyer de pareils détails l'Archite des destinées de l'Europe; j'en sers très humblement sans doute si je ne savais qu'il est aussi bon qu'il est grand. Je suis etc

Le C<sup>te</sup> de CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER

The letter was duly forwarded by the Duke of Wellington at Paris to Lord Bathurst,<sup>283</sup> with a covering despatch.

I enclose a Letter which I have received from Monsieur le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier upon certain Marbles belonging to him, supposed to be at Malta and in England; and I request your Lordship's Influence that he may have possession of them.

I am, &c.,

WELLINGTON.

The despatch was communicated to Lord Elgin and to Hamilton. Lord Elgin obtained the narrative of Capt. Monbray given above, and wrote to Choiseul-Gouffier in the following terms:—

À BROOMHALL le 13 Jan 1816

MONSIEUR LE COMTE

Le Gouvernement m'a fait parvenir aujourd'hui copie d'une Lettre en date du 29 Dec<sup>r</sup> à S. E. M. le Duc de Wellington, dans laquelle vous réclamez de moi huit ou dix enlées, que mes Agents trop zelés auraient par mégarde embarqué avec ma collection à Malte. Et vous ajoutez que c'étoit moi-même qui vous en avais prévenu, lors de mon dernier voyage à Paris, au mois de Juillet 1814.

Vous comprendrez, M. le Comte, facilement de l'erreur de ce souvenir, si vous me permettez de vous rappeler les circonstances, surtout ce cet entretien.

C'étoit à Brégès, en 1803 que j'étois assez heureux de pouvoir faire les démarches que vous desiriez auprès de My Lord Nelson, pour la restitution de ce qui vous aviez perdu sur la corvette l'*Arabe*, capturée par une frégate Anglaise aux parages de la Sicile. En effet, à l'époque de mon placement l'été 1806, je croyais que vos effets étoient déposés à Malte, pour y attendre la cessation des hostilités.

[Here follows the account of the sale, quoted on p. 359.]

Sur le champ, je me suis empressé de rim faire passer tous ces détails: en mettant le tout à votre disposition, et en effet, vos objets se trouvoient faire partie de la cargaison de l'*Arabe*. En réponse vous m'avez témoigné l'espoir que vous aviez, que ces effets, pourrout être à vous; mais ne pouvant les constater au personnel, ni les faire transférer alors en France, vous m'avez engagé d'avoir soin de ce qui étoit de nature à et vous ennuiez, en tous cas, aux plâtres, par la raison que vous en aviez des doubles; et que vous seriez vous les procurer des originaux dans une collection.

Mais une lettre, que j'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir de vous, M. le Comte au date du

<sup>283</sup> Wellington to Bathurst, Jan. 1, 1816.



2 Mars 1816, on m'assurant que tout ce que vous aviez eu sur la corvette l'*Arabe*, était encore à Malte, ayant de nouveau fait naître des doutes sur la propriété de ce que j'avais acheté à la Douane, ce fut pour vous donner vous les éclaircissements en mon pouvoir : pour vous prier instantanément de venir voir une collection ; et de saisir les facilités qui se présentent alors pour en vérifier les détails, que j'ai passé plus d'une fois chez vous pendant les huit jours que j'ai été à Paris au mois de Juillet 1814. . . .

After a reference to Visconti's visit to London, he explains that Visconti had taken back such an exhaustive catalogue of everything in the collection, that he supposed that Choiseul-Gouffier had long been satisfied that, with the exception of the metope ('qui en tous cas, y est restée sous votre nom') and one inscription there was nothing of his in the collection. Lord Elgin explains that he is forwarding Capt. Mimbrey's letter, proving that nothing was stored at Malta or improperly forwarded by his agents.

Mais, M. le Comte, je m'arrête nullement à corriger cette erreur. Vous avez des droits tout particuliers sur moi — Je vous dois de m'avoir tracé la route que des circonstances plus heureuses m'ont permis de poursuivre. Et dans un marche, combien n'ai je pas été pénétré de l'exercice d'ingratitude auquel vos malheurs, et un caractère peut-être de trop de bonté vous ont exposé. C'est donc en toute sincérité, que je vous répète les instances que je vous avais faites à Paris, de venir faire l'inspection de tout ce que je possède.

Je me rends incessamment à Londres, expressément pour faire les inventaires, et les préparatifs nécessaires pour l'examen de une collection, dont le Parlement va s'occuper. Et j'aurai bien soin que rien qui pourra vous avoir appartenu, ne sera compris dans l'offre que je présenterai au Gouvernement.

To this letter no answer had been received on February 29, 1816, when Lord Elgin described the circumstances before the Committee (see p. 362). Choiseul-Gouffier's reply was dated April 26. He had failed to take in the full significance of Capt. Mimbrey's account, and still did not understand how the boxes or some of them had left Malta.

Ces circonstances, que je ne pouvois deviner, sont la cause très excusable, ce me semble, de l'erreur où je suis tombé, Mylord, en supposant que quelques uns de mes efforts, avoient été par mégarde, et par une confusion très naturelle, confondus à Malte avec vos immenses richesses en ce genre : je n'ai nullement prétendu sciemment vos agents de penser trop loin leur zèle pour vos intérêts, plutôt à Dieu que j'en eusse trouvé de pareils ; mais vous savez, Mylord, que dans ces longues années de crime, de dépravation de tout genre, et de maux ingratitudes, où j'ai eu le malheur de vivre, j'ai eu aussi vu victimes de ceux mêmes qui j'avois comblés de bienfaits, et vous avez daigné vous même m'en exprimer le noble regret.

Je joins ici, Mylord, la seule note que j'aie pu retrouver dans mes informes papiers, et dont l'original, étant écrit de ma main, me fait croire que c'est un petit extrait, un moment que j'avois fait pour moi même, d'après le mémoire détaillé de Favier, pièce aujourd'hui perdue, et que lui seul pourroit reproduire : j'aurais dû depuis longtemps lui en redemander un double ; c'est un tort de plus que m'aura donné envers moi-même cette funeste négligence qui m'a dans le cours de ma vie joué de si mauvais tours, sans parvenir à me corriger.

Vous avez été bien heureux Mylord : tout ce que j'avois péniblement recueilli et découvert, vous l'avez conquis par cette grande inflexion que vous donniez les glorieux succès des armes Britanniques, et qui n'étoient que le prélude des victoires sans nos souverains chéris. Les Ottomans ne pouvoient refuser quelques marbres, dont ils

ignurent d'ailleurs le prix; un puissant Ambassadeur qui leur remettoit la riche Egypte; et les chefs d'œuvre de Phidias ont été l'ornement de vos triomphes.

He concludes by saying that he puts himself unreservedly in the hands of Lord Elgin and the Government as to the return of whatever is judged to be his. If Lord Elgin will carry out his hint that he might send him some casts,

*vous serez, Mylord, un des bienfaiteurs de l'hérmitage, où, heureux d'avoir vu ma conduite approuvée par mon souverain, j'espère consacrer aux doux loisirs et aux lettres, les dernières années d'une carrière trop orageuse.*

*Nous gémissions encore etc. (cf. p. 358 note.)*

The objects in question passed to the British Museum, but the metope was not incorporated in the general collection in the first instance. No arrangement, however, had been made for its return before the death of Choiseul-Gouffier, which took place after a stroke of apoplexy at Aix-la-Chapelle, June 20, 1817.

As the objects had been captured under the rules of prize, and had been purchased by Lord Elgin in the open market in London, the claim for their restitution was a purely personal claim, based on an old friendship. When this had lapsed through Choiseul-Gouffier's death, the metope was incorporated with the rest of the Elgin collection. The inscription was No. 32 in Visconti's list, which has statutory authority, as defining the collection.

The matter of Tweddell's papers was a vexatious episode which was spread over a considerable number of years.

John Tweddell (1769-1799) was a young man of good family, considerable ability, and great charm. He was elected in 1792 a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was entered as a student of the Middle Temple. In 1795 he started on an extensive European tour, in the course of which he visited Germany, Switzerland, Russia, Turkey, and Greece. He died suddenly of fever at Athens—July 25, 1799—and was buried in the Thesaurion, which was at that time used as a burying place for foreign travellers. Lord Elgin provided a memorial tablet, and an elegant epitaph was also supplied by R. Walpole.

Tweddell had made considerable manuscript collections, consisting of a *Swiss Journal*, copies of inscriptions, topographical views, costumes and the like. At the time of his death the collections were in two parts and each part met with serious adventures. One part had been left with Mr. T. Thornton, an English merchant and banker at Constantinople. A fire took place at Mr. Thornton's house, and in consequence the box of papers was broken open to ascertain its condition.

The other half of Tweddell's effects, which was at Athens, was shipped by Legotheri to Constantinople, addressed to Mr. Spencer Smyth, the then Minister. The vessel was wrecked in the Sea of Marmora. Some of the boxes were rescued, but reached the Chancery of the Embassy in a damaged condition. After the arrival of the salvaged papers, Mr. Thornton reported to Lord Elgin the existence of the effects in his charge. All were collected



at the Embassy and after some delay were opened and examined. The condition of some was deplorable, but efforts were made to put them into a better state. If effective steps had been taken, so far as the difficulties of time allowed, to pack up and send home such papers as had escaped fire and shipwreck, no question would have arisen. Unhappily, it appears that the papers were not packed up. They seem to have been seen at various times by several persons. There was no clear record of their shipment, and for the most part they disappeared. The pressure of the times, the difficulties of communication, Lord Elgin's departure from Constantinople, his imprisonment in France, and his other pre-occupations were all contributory causes which brought about that the papers were not dealt with in a satisfactory fashion, and that when acute controversy arose, the recollections of Lord Elgin and his staff as to what had actually happened were hazy and discrepant.

The controversy was raised by Tweddell's brother, the Rev. Robert Tweddell, who published his brother's 'Remains' in 1815, followed by a second edition in 1816. The larger half of the volume, a stout quarto, consists of a short biographical notice, together with the letters that Tweddell had written on his travels and his academic Productions. The remainder (pp. 341 to 595) consists of an Appendix and Addenda in which the history of the papers is treated at prodigious length and with great acerbity. Lord Elgin, Hunt, and others had been asked after an interval of nearly 15 years of crowded life for their recollections of what had happened to the papers. They supplied their respective impressions as to how the papers had been dealt with and shipped. But, unfortunately, they were only supplying materials for laborious refutation by Mr. Robert Tweddell. It would serve no purpose to pursue the controversy in detail. The first edition of 'Tweddell's Remains' was reviewed at length in No. 50 of the *Edinburgh Review* by a supporter of Mr. Tweddell. This produced an indignant reply from Lord Elgin in pamphlet form, in the shape of a letter to the Editor of the *Review*.<sup>104</sup>

The letter is dated from Broomhall, December 20, 1815. Lord Elgin at the time of writing it had not yet seen 'Tweddell's Remains'. After reading that work, he published another postscript.<sup>105</sup> This was dated from Broomhall, January, 1816. A second edition was issued not long afterwards.

These pamphlets in their turn led to further controversy in the second edition of 'Tweddell's Remains'. It was, however, ascertained as a result of the discussion that certain drawings of Turkish costumes had been given into the charge of Mr. Hamilton Nisbet, to be copied, and he, failing other instructions, had returned them to Lord Elgin. All the drawings of the

<sup>104</sup> *Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, on the subject of an article in No. 4 of that Journal, on 'The Remains of John Tweddell,' by the Earl of Elgin.* John Murray.

<sup>105</sup> *Postscript to a Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, by the Earl of Elgin.* John Murray.

kind at Broomhall were, therefore, put into two boxes by Lord Elgin and sent to London for examination. It was arranged that a scrutiny should take place in the presence of Hamilton and of two gentlemen, Messrs. Heys and Moore, who represented Mr. Tweddell. The meeting took place at the Foreign Office on November 7, 1816. Hamilton produced the two



FIG. 19.—WILLIAM RICHARD HAMILTON. (From the picture by H. W. Phillips.)

corded boxes sent to him from Broomhall. Messrs. Heys and Moore produced Mr. Nisbet's copies of Tweddell's Turkish costumes. On examination and comparison, 98 drawings of costume were identified with certainty and 14 with probability as having been once the property of Tweddell, while the other contents of the boxes were presumed to be the property



of Lord Elgin. A formal minute was drawn up which was printed with further acrimonious comments by Mr. Tweddell.<sup>266</sup>

With this partial recovery of the missing papers an unfortunate incident and painful controversy came to a close.

## PART VIII.

### *Epilogue.*

In 1830, Hamilton succeeded Sir Thomas Lawrence as Secretary of the Dilettanti Society. Payne Knight had died six years before, bequeathing an inestimable collection of bronzes, coins, and drawings to the British Museum. The old controversies in which he had been the leader had died out in the universal recognition of the merits of the Marbles. It was, therefore, only appropriate that Hamilton should be charged with the duty of writing to acquaint Lord Elgin with his election to that Society. Lord Elgin replied from Leamington (July 25, 1831),<sup>267</sup> with a dignified refusal. After apologies for delay he proceeds:

I have been a good deal embarrassed by this communication. I have a peculiar interest in the pursuits of the Society, and feel much gratified by this act of kindness from many to whom I look with friendship and respect.

But my case is this: no one knows more intimately than you [Hamilton] do, that the impulses which led me to the exertions I made in Greece were wholly for the purpose of securing to Great Britain, and through it to Europe in general, the most effectual possible knowledge, and means of improving, by the excellence of Grecian art in sculpture and architecture. My success, to the vast extent it was effected, will never cease to be a matter of the utmost gratification to me.

It, when it was made known to the public, twenty-five years ago, or at any reasonable time afterwards, it had been thought that the same energy would be considerably useful to the Dilettanti Society, most happy should I have been to have contributed every aid in my power.

But as such expectation has long since past, I really do not apprehend that I shall be thought fastidious if I decline the honour now proposed to me at this my eleventh hour.

The names of Lord Elgin and W. R. Hamilton were once more brought before the public together in 1836 and 1837. When the discussion as to the style of the new Houses of Parliament was in progress, Hamilton came forward as the champion of a losing cause, and published three letters to the Earl of Elgin,<sup>268</sup> advocating a Greek order. The letters are eloquent, and the

<sup>266</sup> *Account of the Examination of the Elgin Marbles at the Foreign Office in Downing Street, on 7th Nov. 1810, by Rev. Robert Tweddell, A.M.*

<sup>267</sup> *Case, History of the Society of Dilettanti*, p. 173.

<sup>268</sup> 1. Letter from W. R. Hamilton to the Earl of Elgin on the New Houses of Parliament, 1836.

2. Second Letter from W. R. H., Esq., to the E. of E. on the propriety of adopting the Greek Style of Architecture in the construction of the New Houses of Parliament, 1836.

3. Third Letter from W. R. H., Esq., to the E. of E. on the propriety of adopting the Greek Style of Architecture in preference to the Gothic in the construction etc., 1837.

argument is reinforced with constant reference to Athens and the Acropolis—but they must surely be the latest set attack in England on Gothic barbarism, *ex nomine*.

In the first he has occasion to quote a letter received from Lord Elgin, in Paris, regretting 'the comparatively remote situation' of the marbles at Bloomsbury, and wishing that the collection could form a part of the National Gallery.

Lord Elgin died at Paris, November 4, 1841. Hamilton outlived his sometime chief eighteen years, and perhaps a few words on his various activities in the field with which we are concerned may not be out of place.

He was Secretary of the Society of Dilettanti from 1831 to a month before his death, having been elected a member of that body in 1811. A lithograph by R. J. Lane, based on the portrait by Henry Wyndham Phillips (given Fig. 19), was, I conjecture, prepared for the Members of the Society, as it bears the autograph inscription *W. R. Hamilton, Sec. Soc. Dil. 1830-1855*.<sup>269</sup>

As Secretary of the Society he was an energetic organiser of the subscription which secured the Chev. Brøndsted's Brouzes of Siris for the British Museum.

In 1835-7 his eldest son, William John Hamilton (1805-1867, Geologist, M.P. for Newport), made his adventurous journey in Asia Minor, published in his *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia* (2 vols., 1842).

In 1840 and 1845 he gave various antiquities to the British Museum. The most important were the lint-urn from Monte Albano,<sup>270</sup> which had been given to him by his old friend Canova, and the fine sepulchral banquet relief from Tarentum.<sup>271</sup>

In 1851 Hamilton published a translation of a paper by Dirksen,<sup>272</sup> on the Building Act of the Emperor Zeno, to which he annexed 'a collection of some of the building laws of the Roman Empire.'<sup>273</sup>

He was elected a Trustee of the British Museum in 1838, in succession to Lord Farnborough (Sir Charles Long), already mentioned several times in this narrative. He resigned his Trusteeship in 1858, when he was succeeded by Lord Eversley. He died July 11, 1859. So far as English archaeology is concerned, he was a connecting link between the Athens of Lusieri and Fauvel and the Athens of to-day. When C. R. Cockerell at an advanced age at length brought out his *Aegina* in 1860, the engraved title page bore the inscription: 'To the Memory of William R. Hamilton, Esq., F.R.S., this work on the antiquities of Aegina is respectfully dedicated by his most obliged and humble servant, Chas. Robt. Cockerell,' and in the Preface the author states: <sup>274</sup>

<sup>269</sup> There is also a less pleasing lithograph signed by C. Bonnier, and dated 1850. The portrait by Phillips is reproduced here by the permission and assistance of Lord Belhaven and Stenton.

<sup>270</sup> *Cat. of Vases*, i. 2, No. B. 1.

<sup>271</sup> *J.H.S.*, v. p. 105.

<sup>272</sup> *Abh. d. L. Abth. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1844.

<sup>273</sup> *Manual of Class. Antiq.*, i. p. 305.

<sup>274</sup> Cockerell, *Aegina*, p. vi.



He rejoices on this occasion to express his great obligations to the late William Hamilton, Esq., formerly Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a friend removed from us while these sheets were passing through the press, and to whose zeal and influence in changing him with despatches for our Embassy at Constantinople in 1810, these interesting discoveries are due.

On the other hand, when the young Charles Newton was sent to Greece, in 1852, by the British Museum, to complete the series of Parthenon casts, it was to Hamilton that he wrote a letter (or rather despatch) of 59 pages,<sup>370</sup> as to affairs on the Acropolis and at Athens. 'I am afraid,' it concludes, 'I have inflicted on you a very long letter, but we are lying at this moment off Troy, with a wind down the Dardanelles, which stops our course.'

A. H. SMITH.

# I.—INDEX OF ANCIENT SETES, BUILDINGS, SCULPTURES, INSCRIPTIONS, AND WORKS OF ART.

- Algerdeen relive reliefs, 280, 284, 351  
 Aegina, 201, 215, 292: sculptures, 282-3, 316, 337  
 Aelium Epicrates sarcophagus, 283  
 Altars, 280, 223  
 Antiquaries, 223  
 Apollo Pylades, 171, 323, 357, Naxos (of Delos), 286  
 Aristocles cippus, 200  
 Aristocles relief, 216  
 Aristonache relief, 286  
 Armour from Olympia, 204  
 Artemidoron, 200: bilingual scale of, 357, 359  
 Asclepius, 353  
 'Aspasia,' Tomb of, 257, 263, 268, 258  
 Athens, 177, and passim  
 Athens, 184  
 Banquet relief (Tarentum), 309  
 Centaur cippus, 180  
 Chair, 206: of Mr. Nisbet, 104, 180, 189, 231, 250: of the Tyrannicides, 286  
 Choussier-Gouffier sculptures: Parthenon frieze, 357; Metopes, 190, 357-8, 365  
 Cippus of Aristocles, 200: column, 280, 284  
 Cnidus, 200  
 Coins and medals, 211, 258, 337, 339  
 Corinth, 212, 219  
 Daphne column, 213, 228, 237, 252, 280, 284, 290  
 Danlis inscription, 232  
 Delos, 223  
 Demeter of Eleusis, 202-3, 206, 209, 212  
 Doric capital, 200  
 Egyptian sculptures, 220, 232, 254  
 Eleusis, 202, 212. See Demeter  
 Epidaurus, 215  
 Erechtheum, 180, 198, 200  
 Architecture, 254, 300  
 Caryatids, 196, 203-4, 207-9, 218, 234, 236, 266, 300, 328, 347-8, 350  
 Column, 250, 300, 348  
 Cornici, 196, 202, 254, 300  
 Ornaments, 196, 236  
 Eros (Ergin), 353  
 Euclid cippus, 200  
 Flava, Farnese, 167-8  
 Gallipoli, 194  
 Giganti sarcophagus, 176, 304  
 Gifford's patera, 276  
 Hallownages, 200  
 Hercules (Limadorno), 358  
 Hut wro, 300  
 Iliaca, Temple on, 159, 336, 346  
 Inscriptions, 228, 232, 254  
 GE. Inscriptions in E.M.—  
 2: 300  
 5: 300  
 24: 300  
 29: 300  
 59: 194  
 85: 300  
 87: 280, 284  
 92: 216  
 100: 357, 359  
 153, 159: 232

<sup>370</sup> H.M. Dept. of G. and B. Antiqua.

**Inscriptions :**

*Gr. Inscriptions in B.M. (cont.)—*

160 : 337  
787 : 200  
792 : 206  
1002 : 182, 312, 336  
1065 : 221  
1123A : 200

*Boeckh, C.I.G.—*

829 : 204  
1732 : 232  
3012 : 194  
3395 : 182

*L.G. II.—*

3407 : 236

Ionic base, 300; capitals, 300

Laseion, 171, 323

Logotheti Boeckh relief, 190, 211, 300

Lyra and flutes, 284

Lysicrates, monument of, 170, 181-2, 227-8, 304, 348

Marathon, 180, 220, 227

Melanger, 171

Muse, 215, 353

**Mycenae**, Lion gate, 200, 219

Reliefs, 254

Treasury of Atreus, 200, 213, 214, 218, 227, 230-1, 281

Bronze nails, 215, 219

Mycenae, 222

Myrtle wreath, gold, 258, 283, 288-9

Nekt-horn-hab oserophagna, 221

Nike Aptera, temple of, 180; architecture, 226; frieze, 215-6, 226, 231, 244, 254, 298

Olympia, 201, 204, 207, 209, 214, 284-5

Orchomenos inscriptions, 232, 236

Orojan inscription, 257

Paros, 223

**Parthenon**, 180, 183, 280

Capital and drum, 228, 232, 280, 284, 283

Frieze, 180-1, 202, 238, 354, 256, 258, 273, 284, 298, 328, 340

East side, 201, 217, 231, 233, 248, 298

North side, 227, 258, 351

West side, 257, 300, 304, 347-9

South side, 257, 298

Metopes, 180, 196, 199, 200, 202, 222-4, 254, 257-8, 273, 284, 298, 300, 305, 317, 328, 346

Monks, 256, 304

**Podiments**—

East: Horse of Helios, 237-8, 284

Thesaur, 254, 300-5, 332-3, 337-8, 353

Dameter and Kore, 231, 254, 300-1, 305

**Podiments (cont.)—**

East: 'Irja', 254, 300

Fate (K), 254, 300

Fates (L. M.), 231, 254, 300-3, 305

Horse of Salene, 209, 216-7, 300-1, 305

West: 197, 234, 238, 346

Ilseas ('Neptune'), 254, 207, 300-1, 304-5, 333, 337-8, 353

Asclepias ('Hudrian'), 339

Hermes ('Vulcan'), 197-8, 254, 300

Poseidon ('Jupiter'), 197, 284, 300

Iris ('Victory'), 197-8, 353, 355

Amphitrite, 300

Phigalia, 201; sculptures, 323, 327

Philopappos monument, 189, 208, 225, 261, 263, 290, 292

Pnyx votive reliefs, 280, 284, 351

Porphyry columns, 256, 300

Portrait heads (1956-1957), 236

Proveas, sculpture at, 205

Propylaea, 180; capital, 233, 280, 284, 348

Rhena, 223

Rosetta stone, 221

Sayon, 219

Sigra, 182; Boustrophedon inscription, 182, 312, 336

Relief, mothers and babies, 182, 312

Sundial, 206, 254

Terna, 222

**Thesaur**, 181; casts, 177, 182, 180, 237, 254, 304

Saffite, 254

Thoricos, 219

Thrasyllos monument, 225-6, 231, 232, 254, 300, 305, 353

Tiles, antefixal, 283

Timophon, vase of, 300

Torso of the Belvedere, 171, 223

Triton relief, 286

Tread, 184-5

**Vases**, Alabastr, 258, 261

Bronze, 258, 283-4

Fielle, 212, 219, 220, 250, 261, 265, 267, 273, 275, 277-8, 290

Marble, 258, 261, 284, 300, 300

Venus dei Medici (I), 333

Townley, 338

Victory, Castleknagh, 331; votive relief, 190, 300

(See also Nike and Parthenon)

Zoa, 219



## II.—INDEX OF ARTISTS, ARCHITECTS, AND CRAFTSMEN.

- Archer, 352-3  
 Balestra, 172, 235, 265  
 Baugniot, 369  
 Bédilly, 356  
 Bonil, 283  
 Bonomi, 316  
 Canova, 263, 255, 332-4, 368  
 Carrey, 167  
 Chantrey, 338  
 Cockarall, 282-3, 286, 298-9, 355, 369  
 Corway, 296  
 Dalton, 167  
 Fedor. *See* Ivanowitch  
 Flaxman, 297, 396, 312, 314, 316-7, 319, 337  
 Fuceli, 301  
 Gaff, 164-5  
 Haller, 170  
 Harding, 164-5  
 Harrison, 196, 285  
 Harvey, 392  
 Hayden, 297, 300-5, 314, 333, 354  
 Hayes, 221  
 Heath, 253  
 Henning, 315  
 Hear, 172, 175, 216, 254  
 Ivanowitch (Fedor), 172, 292, 229, 230, 235, 238, 255  
 Isaac, 369  
 Lawrence, 304, 306, 338, 363  
 Leclerc, 173, 190, 235  
 Lurier, 168, 179, and *passim*  
 Mackenzie, 352  
 Mayer, 166-7  
 Moss, 309  
 Nollekens, 306, 316, 337  
 Pappe, 394  
 Paris, 181-2, 317  
 Phillips, 369  
 Pissol, 319  
 Porden, 306, 315-6  
 Proulx, 185  
 Prior, 353  
 Repton, 316  
 Reveloy, 167  
 Rossi, 173, 199  
 Rossi, 338  
 Schranz, 292  
 Smirke, 307, 319  
 Stuart, 169, 211, 317  
 Turner, 166  
 Ware, 323  
 West, 297, 393, 306, 316, 319, 339, 354  
 Westmacott, 337  
 Wilkie, 300, 323  
 Wilkins, 338  
 Willmuns, 169, 286  
 Woods, 317

## TWO IVORY FRAGMENTS OF A STATUE OF ATHENA.

[PLATES VIII., IX.]

THE mask of a young woman and the forearm, both of ivory, which are republished<sup>1</sup> and studied in this article are now exhibited in the third wall-case on the right of the Museo Profano of the Vatican Library. They were found in the Sabine country in 1824, as appears from a report of an excavation published in that year by P. E. Visconti.<sup>2</sup>

The identity of provenance and correspondence in scale and style prove that the two fragments belong to the same statue.

An undated note in the archives of the library,<sup>3</sup> written about 1830, gives the information that they were offered to the Papal Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts by the Antiquary Capranesi, and acquired for 50 Roman scudi (about 268.50 francs or a little less than £11). Subsequently, the fragments appear in an inventory of the objects deposited (in 1836) in the Zelada Apartment,<sup>4</sup> as the nucleus of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, which was inaugurated in the following year.<sup>5</sup> How and when they passed into the Museum of the Library, we have no document to tell us.<sup>6</sup> In all probability we may believe that the transference was made in order to place them with the collection of carvings in ivory and bone, since they would have been isolated among the Etruscan collections.

<sup>1</sup> E. Kantor, *Annali della Bibl. Vaticana*, Roma, 1903, Tav. I. (front and left profile views, arm from the outer side), merely mentioned in the text, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorie romane di antichità e belle arti*, i., sec. 2, p. 8 ff.; in the estate of Mons. Calvo on the right bank, at the 33rd milestone from Rome, among the ruins of a 'nobilissima villa,' together with several sculptures in marble.

<sup>3</sup> E. 152. Mask of ivory and fragment of arm, representing Pallas, found in an excavation made about 1825 in the Sabina and sold for 50 scudi to the Government by the dealer Capranesi.

<sup>4</sup> *Archivio del Camerlengato*, iv. 2570 (1836). Note of the antiquities purchased by the Chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church, and

now in the room called Zelada in the Holy Vatican Palace, by formal delivery to Mons. the Prefect of the Holy Apostolic Palace:—

*Objects from Capranesi.*

154 A head and a fragment of an arm, in ivory, of exquisite workmanship.

<sup>5</sup> The order to transfer the 'Etruscan' antiquities of the Library to the new Museum, preserved in the archives, f. 236, is dated 23 Jan. 1837. It seems, however, that only a selection of the vases and better specimens was made.

<sup>6</sup> In 1843 they were not exhibited, for Braun's Guide ('Rutien and Museen'), issued in that year, does not mention them, although it lays stress on the small ivories always preserved in the same case (p. 836).



Both before and after Kanzler's publication they entirely escaped the notice of scholars. Not even Amelung notices them in his revision of Helbig's *Guide*,<sup>7</sup> and Blümner found it possible to affirm in 1905, two years after the first publication, that no remains of ivory used in statuary were extant.<sup>8</sup>

The fragment of the head<sup>9</sup> (Plates VIII, IX, and Figs. 1-4, 5, 1 and 2, 1) includes the face, without the ears. The forehead is cut on a curve, rising in a slight arch in the middle, and bounded by a fillet of rather irregular form<sup>10</sup> with projecting profile below; this fillet follows the contour of the forehead, descending to the level of the cheek-bone; on the right it is broadened out into a semicircular surface near the temple, which ends in a



FIG. 1.—THE VATICAN IVORY.

re-entering surface of conical form on the upper angle where the ear is. The cutting of the sides of the ivory follows a line which runs from the external angle of the temples to the junction of the cheek with the throat. Below, it terminates at the line between the chin and the throat, which is indicated in

<sup>7</sup> Vol. I, 1913, p. 258 *et* passim.

<sup>8</sup> Paulys Real-Encyclop. II, col. 2960. The strangeness of the fact is the more remarkable, if we remember that the names of the Museo Profano were always open to students and, for example, Furtwängler knew the collection of Roman phaleræ in onyx, which is kept in the same case (cf. *Antike*

*Geschichte*, III, p. 308, 1).

<sup>9</sup> Total height, mm. 142; greatest breadth, ca. 125; height of face, 125; breadth at the eyes, 117; nose, height from wings to root, 48; eyes, ca. 30; mouth, 37; chin, from the lower lip, 37.

<sup>10</sup> Height in the middle of the forehead, 14 mm.

front, a little to the right, by a slight projection. The left half is higher and shorter than the other, and for that reason the ivory above is cut with two strokes from the middle of the forehead.

The cheeks, too, are bounded by divergent lines, that on the right upright, the other strongly inclined. The interior (Figs. 3, 4) is coarsely sawn in two planes, more or less parallel to the sides of the face, divided in the middle by a rectangular surface which is perpendicular to the line bisecting the solid angle. This surface, which expands towards the upper end, has been produced with two strokes, the saw being turned in working one of the sides of the solid angle, which is consequently truncated. The



FIG. 2.—THE VATNAI IVORY.

sculptured portions were polished; the lustre is well preserved under the chin and on the mouth, which shows some blackish spots (visible in the reproduction, Pl. VIII), remains of the cinnabar with which the lips were coloured. The sawn surfaces have been treated with a file with sharp, close teeth, leaving visible striations.

While the rough portions retain all their original surface, those which are sculptured have suffered greatly. The fillet which contours the forehead is considerably worn away in the middle. A large chip, penetrating about 5 mm. into the layers of the ivory, is missing from the left half of the forehead, extending from the external angle two-thirds of the distance along the



eyebrow, and reaching at its lowest point to the eyelid. Another chip that has been lost comprises the point of the nose and all the corresponding portion thereof to the spring of the nasal bone. The wing of the right nostril is also missing. Minor chips disfigure the left eye in the outer portion of the upper lid, in all the lower lid, and in the part below it near the nose. On the right, on the other hand, the ivory is porous and spongy at the eye, of which there remains only about the outer half of the upper lid, and in the neighbourhood of the cheek bone. The cheeks and chin, on the other hand, are well preserved save for a dilatation of the layers of the ivory, which show slight fissures in the left cheek.

The eye-ball, which was executed in some other material, was inserted



FIGS. 3, 4.—INTERIOR VIEWS OF THE VATICAN IVORY.

in an almond-shaped cavity (about 17 mm. deep), set in plates of metal (probably silver blackened by oxychloride) slit to simulate the eyelashes.<sup>11</sup>

The head was turned somewhat to the left, and inclined forwards. The left half of the face is modelled less deeply, compared with the other; the eye is rather less overshadowed by the eyebrow, which is almost superficial at the external angle, while the left eye is somewhat nearer to the nose, more elongated, and set slightly higher than the other. The lips are parted on the right side, with an interstice of about one millimetre (1.5 mm. deep); on the left they are all but closed. The position of the head on the statue

<sup>11</sup> In an archaic acrolith of the Vatican Museum the eyebrows are in lead (cf. Helbig, *Führer*, n. 400). In another colossal figure of Roman date in the Vienna Museum the surface of the civitas shows traces of bronze

patina (cf. *Oederer, Jaksch*, 1908, p. 175). For eyebrows worked separately in bronze technique cf. Furtwängler, *Indogermanen*, p. 4 (*Olympia*, iv. Bronze, p. 14).

is evident from the asymmetry of the cheeks in the two profiles, the right one considerably broader, the other shortened by the contraction of the muscles and the skin. The lowered eyelids show that she is looking down. The junctions with the ears and with the base of the cranium, which are not indicated in the sculpture, were hidden by the curls and by the neckpiece of the helmet of chased gold, to which were attached the ears, separately worked in ivory.

The sculpture is wrought in a block of massive ivory, taken from the broadest portion under the crown of a tusk belonging to one of the largest specimens of elephant. The piece is cut obliquely, so as to utilize the larger diameter for the forehead, and give space for the projection of the nose. The section of the forehead is eccentric with respect to the layers of the ivory, the rings of which (cf. Fig. 4) are cut through on the left, and their axis, marked by the perforation which contained the elongated thread of dental pulp, passes out below the chin. The greater diameter of the tusk, reckoning at about 2 mm. the part removed in working, together with the natural surface, of which no trace remains, is about 124 mm.; the greatest thickness of the wrought piece, measured at the nose, about 70 mm.

Two details are of great importance in regard to technique. Above all, the lack of connecting pins, the only attachment being constituted by the projection above the forehead, which shows that it can only have been supported by means of a metal cap, there fastened in, and united to other parts of the figure. The very slight commencement of the throat enables us to see that the pieces were blocked out separately, but finished together, so as to obtain the greater homogeneity of work in the surfaces.<sup>12</sup> Indeed it would be impossible, if the chin were worked alone, to obtain so subtle a correspondence of the two parts.

The second fragment is the left forearm (Figs. 5, 6), also about natural size (ca. 26 cm.), cut off above the point of the elbow and below the articulation of the wrist. The sawn surfaces have been smoothed with a fine-toothed rasp, which has left very fine striations, which cross each other at three to the millimetre. In the middle of these surfaces the sockets of the pins are cut out with a chisel, in cavities of parallelepiped form. The larger socket is that of the elbow; all its walls are preserved, with the longer sides of the rectangle of the base parallel to the width of the arm (depth about 60 mm., base rectangle, 35 x 26). Of the other there remain only the wall corresponding to the outer side of the arm and small portions of the contiguous walls. The sections show the ellipsoids of the layers of ivory in, rather elongated form: the centre falls towards the outer side, and they grow smaller towards the wrist; the piece was therefore cut towards the point of the tusk, taking advantage of its tapering and curve for the form of the limb. The pins, made in all probability of hard wood, must have been held

<sup>12</sup> The pieces must have been finished together on a small size, according to the technical processes expounded by Quintenaro de Quincy, *Jupiter Olympéen*, p. 446, seq.

In this sense we must understand the *travail* of written tradition; cf. Pauli Wisniewski, II, 2264.



in position by a strong stucco, which would grip the rough surface of the sockets. In the excavation a blow of a mattock or pick, at about the middle (cf. Fig. 6, where the mark of the triangular instrument which struck the blow is visible) has carried away all the inner portion of the radius and the outer



5



6

FIGS. 5, 6.—IVORY ARM IN THE VATICAN.

portion of the ulna corresponding, breaking deeply into the layers of the ivory. Of the original sculpture all that remains is the side next the radius with the head of the ulna in the upper half, though even this is disfigured by two large areas of corrosion near the articulations.

The swelling of the skin near the elbow and the outer curve of the extensor muscles establish the position: the elbow was bent and the forearm extended forwards.

Quadrangular pins must also have held in position the feet, which in a figure like this were wrought as far as the sole and attached among the folds of the chiton. There were found recently at Villa Patrizi two feet carved in ebony (now exhibited in the Antiquarium of the Museo delle Terme), which belonged to female statues of which in all probability the drapery was in chased silver. The larger, here reproduced (Fig. 7<sup>12</sup>), has in fact the socket of a pin inclined downwards, which must have joined it to



FIG. 7.—RIGHT FOOT AND CHILD'S HAND FROM VILLA PATRIZI.

the internal support of hard wood, which was in its turn attached to the base. The marble feet of acrolithic statues never have these sockets.

The state of preservation of the mask allows of only one point of view—three-quarters right, about in the position which it held in the statue—which

<sup>12</sup> Published here by kind permission of the Director, Prof. Roberto Paribelli. It is a left foot (length, ca. mm. 120, about half natural size) and seems to be a woman's. With it was found the little child's hand, which suggests that we are concerned with a group of Aphrodite with Eros. The stylization of the fingers, as well as the scrolls which

ornament the upper leather of the closed sandal, recalls fairly closely the Camillus of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, or the Attending style, perhaps of the Pasticcio, perhaps of the Hadrianic period.—For the literary sources on sculpture in ebony, cf. *Early Writings*, v, 1294 (M. C. P. Schmidt).



reveals to us all the beauties of this work of sculpture, and I think that, after several attempts, I have succeeded in rendering it in the photograph (Pl. VIII.) executed by Signor Pompeo Sansoni under my directions. The others which I reproduce merely give us imperfect views supplementing the first. Thus facing, a little turned to the right (Pl. IX.), it shows us the grandeur of the style, but the fractures and the corrosions disfigure the features too greatly, so that to obtain the effect of the lines it is well to turn the head to the other side (Pl. VIII.). If we look at the head from above the forehead (Fig. 1), the lines of the cheeks and chin come out more clearly, so pure and full of life that they can only be the signature of a great master. The expression is given best of all by the two profiles, which complement each other (Pl. IX. and Fig. 9, 1).

This fragment, in spite of the injuries of time, is one of the most astonishing remains of Greek plastic art. Though rendered with a certain hardness of style, especially in its strongly angular transitions, it reveals—as also does the fragmentary arm, though its ruined state makes it impossible for a photograph to give the artistic sensations which one experiences in handling the original—a marvellous richness of modelling, which gives us its finest nuances in a material more compact than marble, and more luminous than bronze, in which the dark mass disturbs the subtle play of shadows on the planes of the relief.<sup>11</sup>

The mouth is the part best preserved, and, together with the nostrils, most adequately reveals the marvellous style of the sculptor. The surface, which is intact, was preserved by the cinnabar with which it was tinted. Fleeshy and full, with a sharply cut profile, it shows the lips half-opening, with a deep, finely drawn parting, the corners slightly raised, with a noble expression of intelligence and majesty.

The septum of the nose is exaggerated in thickness; the cavities are short and rather narrow, not very deep, since the artist did not wish to make the ivory too thin.

Visconti and the Papal commissaries, who baptized the head Minerva, had before their eyes, in all probability, the acrolith of the Museo Chiaramonti,<sup>12</sup> and were not mistaken in their judgment. The severity of the expression, combined with the pensiveness of the look, fixed downwards and forwards, and that almost masculine vigour which escapes through the dignity of the features, feminine only in their delicate beauty, preclude identification with any other deity. In this face there is lacking that womanly feeling which appears in a type of abstract female beauty.

The stylistic analysis of the face leads us to suppose that the fragments belong to an Attic statue, to be dated in the age which corresponds to the maturity of Pheidias, or, to be more accurate, about 450 B.C. I avail myself of comparison with the best example, in regard to fineness and preservation,

<sup>11</sup> The superiority of ivory to marble as plastic material, in regard to hardness and compactness, has been acutely observed by

Quatremère de Quincy, *loc. cit.* pp. 294, 305.

<sup>12</sup> Heltig, no. 70.

that we possess of this period, the *Suppliant* of the Palazzo Barberini,<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 8. 3).

There is identity, before all, in the form of the face, slightly triangular, a rather blunt oval, with delicately re-entering cheeks that emphasize and bring out the form of the chin; this is especially clear if we look at the head from above the forehead. The tapering of the lower portion gives more breadth to the eyes and forehead, so that the nobility and intelligence of the expression are produced above all by the structure itself. The manner of interpreting the form agrees in details, if we view the profiles successively: thus the curve of the forehead and the re-entering angle of the eyebrow, which gives so much expression to the look, the delicate rounding of the upper eyelid, which in the marble projects so as to shade the eye with its rim, simulating the eyelashes in a material in which imitation by means of incised laminae was not possible. Similar too in front view is the form of the forehead and the eyes, the junction of the nose with the root and, singularly characteristic in its disposition, the line which descends from the cheek-bone to the chin, as well as those which outline the outer side of the cheek from the lower eyelid to the angle of the mouth and from the temple downwards. So too the hard incision which separates the wings of the nose. The form of the lips is also similar, varying only in the expression; in the marble they are opened, with a strong drawing of the breath, while in the ivory the mouth is in severe repose. In the upper lip, rather short, joined by an accentuated curve to the base of the nose, and with strongly marked central depression; and in the lower one, fleshy, almost swollen, throwing a deep shadow on the chin, we see both in profile and in front view the same play of lively curves. Only the angles stand out more harshly in the ivory than in the marble; the material of the latter, considerably less compact, and the action of time and atmospheric agents, having somewhat blunted them.

Besides the Barberini statue, the only original works that we can confront with the head are among the Parthenon marbles, which are later by some decades: the only female head remaining from the pediments, and the divinities of the frieze. The criterion, further, is very different, whether we consider the state of preservation or the influence on the technique of the destination of the sculptures; for we must remember that they were intended to be seen from a distance of at least twenty-five or thirty metres. In the Laborde head,<sup>17</sup> discounting the restorations, we can recognize no more than the form of the forehead and of the cheeks; the proportions of the face are a little more elongated. On the frieze the only head in three-

<sup>16</sup> Heltzig, *ms.* 1820; Hauser, *Osterr. Jahrbuch*, 1813, pp. 57-59. The affinity with the Parthenon sculptures asserted by Klein is merely generic. The drapery of the chiton especially shows notable differences from the fine stuff of the pediment figures. Comparison with the Weber head inclines us to

accept the date proposed by Amelung and Kalkmann.

<sup>17</sup> Bruns-Bruschnann, *Denkmäler*, Taf. 262; Winter, *Kunstgesch.* in *Bilder*, 2nd ed., reproduced without the restorations. For comparison I have used the cast in the Gabinetto archeologico of the University of Rome.





FIG. 3. 1—THE NATRON IDOL.



FIG. 3. 2—AFRIDA FROM THE THER.



FIG. 8. A.—SUPPLIANT OF THE PALAZZO BARBERINI.



FIG. 8. A.—THE BARBERINI HEROS.



quarter face that is well preserved is that of Apollo, identical in the form of the cheeks and the liveliness of the profile on the foreshortened side.<sup>18</sup>

The comparisons that may be made with copies of Roman date are fairly numerous; but beyond certain affinities of style which are to be noticed with much caution, they bring into relief especially the difference of workmanship. First of all, the Apollo from the Tiber (Figs. 8. 2, 9. 2<sup>19</sup>) comes very close, as regards the form of the face, the harshness of the transitions, the line and attitude of the mouth; but the smooth, rounded cheeks, the lack of movement in the inner profiles of the modelling, betray the craftsman as a somewhat superficial interpreter of the work which he is reproducing. It suffices to pass the hand over the sides of the nose, which are here smooth and even, to feel with how much subtlety the first artist has rendered, by the slightest possible relief, the transition from the bony to the cartilaginous portion—a difference which may always be verified in the better copies as well as originals.

Of this type we still possess some colossal marble examples, recently studied by Amelung,<sup>20</sup> who determined them as Roman copies of the Hadrianic age, from the affinity of their technique with dated sculptures of that period. Comparison with them brings out clearly the technical perfection of our piece. The Carpegna example,<sup>21</sup> which Amelung for good reasons considers the best, is especially spoilt in the lower part of the face, which is broad and flat, and in the square ungraceful chin. The modelling, though not lacking a certain vivacity, is considerably more careless and flat than in the ivory. The Vienna acrolith (Fig. 9. 3<sup>22</sup>) is a poor thing in comparison. In details, the grandeur of the conception is lost in a striving after grace, which impoverishes the expression of divine dignity and calm. The mouth, too small, its corners raised, smiles weakly, like an elegant doll; the smooth cheeks, lacking all blending of planes, the too elongated oval of the face, give the impression that the copyist in his reproduction interprets the form in a spirit very different from that which the originals reveal to us, and is governed by an academic schematism based on the training of the schools. In the parts of the profile that are preserved<sup>23</sup> the identity of style is clear. Only there is in the ivory a greater refinement of execution, together with a greater accentuation of certain peculiarities, such as the harsher groove outlining the lobes of the nose, the deeper depression between the lip and the chin; the eye is placed a little further back. In the Roman marble the horizontal curves of the nose are less pronounced, and the projection of the upper lip is considerably less vigorous.

I have said that comparison with 'Pheidias' works, which have come

<sup>18</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, *Taf.* 194; Smith, *Marbles of the Parthenon*, Pl. 38, p. 54. It is known that it was chiefly on this example that Müntz based his observations in order to prove the date of the Suppliants; cf. Klein, *Geogr. u. Gr. Kunst*, II, p. 119.

<sup>19</sup> Hallig, 1839.

<sup>20</sup> *Osterr. Jahresh.* 1906, pp. 169 *seq.*

<sup>21</sup> *L.c.*; Hallig, 1867.

<sup>22</sup> *Osterr. Jahresh.* *l.c.* 175 *seq.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 196 ff.; *Taf.* 11.



FIG. 9. 1.—THE VATIKAN IVORY.



FIG. 9. 2.—ATHENA AT VIENNA.  
(From *Gesell. Jahrbuch*).



FIG. 9. 3.—APOLLO FROM THE TIRER.



down to us in Roman examples, are to be made with great caution. Hitherto studies of the great master have done nothing but pile hypothesis on hypothesis. The numerous contributions made by Furtwängler<sup>21</sup> brought together a series of heads which, save for one or two which sound criticism has removed,<sup>22</sup> and some added later,<sup>23</sup> of the same quality, express for us—though always relatively—those improvements on the more advanced severe style, in which we have learned to recognise the personality of the great Athenian, whom we cannot know by direct means. Amelung's latest studies tend to group round the Suppliant, the Apollo from the Tiber (Figs. 8.2.0, 2.17) the Boboli head,<sup>24</sup> and the Barneco herm (Fig. 8.4<sup>25</sup>), kindred types such as the Kore Albani and the Demeter of Chorehel,<sup>26</sup> which he brings together here and there in his edition of Helbig's *Führer*, as if to produce, by a spontaneous progression, the impression of a 'manner of Phidias'. The critical question of their relations with the originals precludes me for the present from doing more than consider these combinations apart from their real value, that is to say as combinations of copies.<sup>27</sup> Amelung himself

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 1 ff. Admitted on the whole by Amelung in the Index to Helbig<sup>2</sup>, in p. 530. It is to be observed that in places among the personal works the head of Aphrodite ('Suppliant' type), which in view of the elongated oval of the face is peculiarly constant to all the known copies, is rather to be associated with the works of the 'School', such as the 'Came' of the Borghese of the Vatican, and similar works. The similarity which Arndt would, for this reason, find in it with the Parthenon (Braun-Brockmann, on Taf. 576) is in plain contradiction with all that he notes about the copies of the latter. See below, note 39.

<sup>22</sup> The Athena of Braccia and especially the Bologna head. Amelung, *Jahrbuch*, l.c. and Schrader, *ibid.*; Winter, l.c. We shall see in its place what account is to be taken of the view of Frey, *Jahrbuch des Inst.* 1912, pp. 162 ff., who persists in the hypothesis of Furtwängler. The Albani herm, Braun-Br. 632, is quite akin to the Bologna head as well as to that of the Herakles, and the opinion of Arndt (*loc. cit.*), that we may have to do with the Amazon of Phidias, does not deserve discussion after all that has been written about the already known examples.

<sup>23</sup> The Demeter, Kekulé 7. Stenwig, *Wissenschaften-Prog.* No. 57. For the Kore Albani, which has already been excluded from the Phidian cycle by Furtwängler, *M. W.* p. 169, cf. Helbig<sup>2</sup>, 1022.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p. 125.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 1004.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Alinari 34, 922-24. The 'industrial' character of this double example is seen above

all in the clumsy coupling, which is especially disagreeable in the profile, where the faces have very slight relief. The Würzburg copy (Eichendorff, 581, facing, bending forward, a very bad photograph), so far as I can judge from photographs, shows the face differently stylized, in a more elongated oval.

<sup>27</sup> Helbig<sup>2</sup>, n. 1022.

<sup>28</sup> We may say that on this depends the certainty of almost all the results of the study of ancient sculpture. It is necessary by this and to study again, using purely experimental criteria, all the Roman material, seeking to re-group it and to distinguish the master workshops, with minute and exact knowledge of the technique. The typology of supports and joints will be of the first importance (up till now we have nothing but the deplorable article by Ada Naviglia, *Rom. Mit.* 1912, pp. 1 ff., in which the study of supports is reduced to a hermeneutic exercise on S. Reinach's *Repertoire*). The well-known memoir by Furtwängler (*Abhandl. d. K. Bayer. Akad.*) is only a 'prolegomenon', put together generally out of his personal opinions. Thus the alleged 'mechanicity' of the copies from the time of Ptolemy onwards, which he would deduce from the passage of Pliny (where 21.4, probably refers to the 'prophylacta' of the original works) and from some cases of points of measurement found on ancient statues (of these, too, we are not told whether they are taken from originals or copies) is based by the anonymous variations which we find even in a single type. No weight can be allowed to the rule established by Salomon Reinach (*Et. R. de l'Acad. des Ins.* 1909, p. 333 ff.;



1. Varvakion.



2. Leodormant.



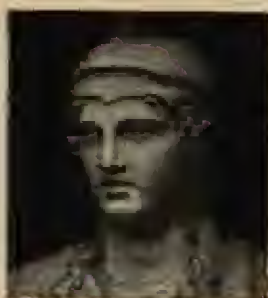
3. Borghese (Louvre).



4. Madrid.



5. Karlsruhe.



6. Leipzig.



7. Museo Capitolino, Saham.

FIG. 10.—'PHEIDIAS' HEADS OF ATHENA AND APOLLO



implicitly admits this, when he notes the great differences between the Suppliant and the other heads, not original, which he brings into more close relation with it.<sup>20</sup>

The types of the Pheidias heads are inadequately known to us; in a series of reproductions and variations, the value of which we are far from being able to estimate exactly; and while we can see the school of Pheidias, we fail to catch the individual physiognomy of the artists, when we seek to know them more particularly.

In the present case, since we are interested in the type of Athena, I will begin with the comparative study of the reproductions of the only work of his of which direct reflexions have certainly reached us.<sup>21</sup>

Among the sculptured copies of the head we can clearly distinguish two plastic traditions: one which begins the Attic production of small commercial reproductions, and, in one great example signed by an Athenian craftsman, gives us a rather short and rounder type of face; while in the other the face is of an elongated, delicate oval; this latter being represented by a solitary complete example and by a group of heads found in the West.<sup>22</sup> Of the five complete copies,<sup>23</sup> none of which can be dated with certainty, four

cp. L. Pollak, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 1901, p. 145), because if two identical ancient copies exist, their identity is not enough to prove that the original was a bronze, and so much the less that the copy was made on the basis of a cast; instead of which we meet with the fact that when we can prove that the original was a bronze, the copies do not differ less than those taken from sculptures in other material. It is an excellent plan in Furtwängler to compare the copies with Roman works of fixed date (*op. cit.* p. 26). We have, for example, a series of statues which range from the age of Augustus (e.g. the so-called Germanicus of the Louvre) down to the third century of the Empire; to the latter period belong the two colossal statues of the Palazzo Orsini (Mata-Duhn, *Ant. Bildwerke in Rom*, Nos. 1028, 1030. Cf. *P.B.S.R.* viii, pp. 75 f. The head of the older man does not seem to me to be modern, as has been asserted; the type is very like the portraits of Maximian; for the other see *Diezelbeinung*, Nos. 2025-60; the 'hunter' and the group of 'Mars and Venus' in the Salone of the Museo Capitolino, of identical technique, the head-dresses and miscellany types about 250-270 after Christ. In these statues we have portrait heads, of which the date is uncertain, placed on Greek ideal bodies, from which much light may be shed on the copies and variations of classical works. Mariani's latest observations (*Atti e memorie dell' Accademia di S. Luca*, 1912-14, pp. 35 ff.) make greater

confusion of our ideas, perpetrating an utter travesty of the conception of 'copy' as the tradition of the motives of Greek art. At any rate, since we are working to-day on copies as on originals, it is well to insist on this preliminary implication. Only when we have acquired some notion, even though only approximate, of what really remains to us, shall we be able to attempt to restore what we have lost.

<sup>20</sup> Halbig, *ib.* p. 305.

<sup>21</sup> For the copies of the Parthenon of Athens. *Mit.* 1908, p. 128 (Pagnastocher).

<sup>22</sup> This fact weakens considerably the assertion of Schürsiber (*cf. Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, p. 306) that the provenance is of no importance in deciding the value of copies.

<sup>23</sup> The isolated heads which are connected with the tradition of the Parthenon have to be judged in a different way, because the loss of the figures considerably restricts the range of comparison. Cf. *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 1901, p. 146, n. 2 (L. Pollak), and *Monuments Piot*, vii, pp. 167 ff. (Micheau). In fact it has not been proved that they all belong to true 'copies' of the Parthenon simply because they have a helmet more or less like hers. The identity cannot be confirmed except in regard to complete figures. With the first group of copies must be connected above all the Kaufmann head (*Denkmäler d. Inst.* i. Taf. 3, p. 1; Fränkel), together with the Riccardi head (*Amalung. Antiken in Florenz*, No. 204); while the Jacobson head (Pollak, *ib.*) much better are the reproductions

agree on the whole in the type of the face, viz: the Varvakeion Statuette,<sup>30</sup> the Lenormant Statuette,<sup>31</sup> the Athena Borghese in the Louvre,<sup>32</sup> and the Kaufmann head,<sup>33</sup> in spite of slight variations in the disposition of the hair (cf. Fig. 10). The first lends us confidence to recognise in this group the most genuine tradition.

If the commercial character and coarse manner of the craftsman's work, especially in the lineaments of the face, do not encourage us to look in it for any stylistic traces of the original, the type which the statuette represents, and the place where it was made, generally corroborate the observations which may be based on comparison both with the other copies and with other sculptures attributed to the circle of Pheidias; and in particular they prove that the short form of face renders exactly (or rather with some exaggeration of breadth, which is especially unfortunate in the dilatation of the cheeks) the impression which an artist might take if he looked at the statue from the upper galleries of the cella.

This induction is confirmed by the little Lenormant sketch. In the Athena Borghese the cheeks are rendered more gracefully, and the lineaments treated with greater refinement; technically it is the best example of the three, notwithstanding its wretched condition; but, except for the slightly greater loftiness of the forehead, it gives us the same proportions for the face; identity is especially remarkable in the strongly developed chin. In the Berlin head we may note a slight variation in the disposition of the curls on the temples; the cheeks are broader, the transitions rounded off, and the work very mediocre.

The Madrid statuette (Fig. 10 4),<sup>34</sup> a little larger than that at Athens (with the sphinx about 0.28 m.), although it is executed with true mastery, nevertheless entirely falsifies the character of the original, by giving to the face an elongated oval of geometrical contour, which rather represents the uncritical personal idea of a copyist who works at third or fourth hand. The lines are hard and lifeless; it is a Pheidias doll. The author reveals himself as a virtuoso in marble technique, and in his conception of form shows the mentality of a refined decorator, which carries him far from the grandiose

from the east in Studniczka, *Kalamia*, Taf. 12 4; 14, 4; cf. *Antiquar. Anstalt. Osterr. Jahrb.*, l.c. p. 175; too badly preserved to allow of a critical opinion); the Sacchetti head (*Mon. Piaz.*, l.c.), and the Dresden fragment (*Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 53, Fig. 24, Hermann; cf. *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 147) are different in character and value, and represent the other tradition. An intermediate type is provided by the Cologne head (*Römer Studien*, Taf. iv.), the best reproduction, from a cast, in which the modelling of the forehead and the eyes, the only portion preserved, is rather that of a Hellenistic sculpture. The others (Acropolis, Pollak, l.c. Fig. 173; Verona; Argilina) need not even be mentioned, as we need not

discuss the head published by Pollak (*ibid.*, Fig. 172) and at that time in the market.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Kabbadian, *Études Métriques*, No. 65, *Kastriotis Catal.*, No. 122. For comparison I have used the cast in the Gabinetto of the University of Rome and Alinari's photographs 24215-16 a.

<sup>31</sup> *Heliography*: Pagenstecher, l.c.; Alinari, 24219.

<sup>32</sup> Bruun-Brackmann, 512 ("Minerva au Collier.")

<sup>33</sup> *Leachy, Sculture Greco*, pp. 42 ff. Figs. 82-90. Holbig, l.c. 1304. Andruson, 2032-40. Only the nose is re-worked.

<sup>34</sup> Bruun-Brackmann, 511. *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1912, Beilage 3, Abb. 9, (d). Andruson, 17102.



simplicity of the original. It suffices to observe how he adorns the severe drapery of the peplos, which in the other copies is modelled in a few lines, with fine flutings, which render the folds, especially of the apotrygma, with much vivacity and richness of effect.

It appears strange to me that the place of honour, in a popular manual, has been given to the Athena Ludovisi (Fig. 10. 6), a Neo-Attic copy of which Winckelmann's<sup>41</sup> criticism is still true, at least in so far as the head retains nothing of the manner of Pheidias. The chubby cheeks of this 'pretty little girl' show none of the thoughtful severity of the Pheidian type of Athena; the chin is too short and round, the lower lip projects too little and lacks energy; further, the almond-shaped eye is much more delicate and elegant.

To the same school of copyists belongs the Capitoline head of Apollo, (Fig. 10. 7),<sup>42</sup> which is akin in type to that from the Tiber; it shows the same virtuosity, the little curls which cluster on the temples, the same delicacy of modelling, which has got rid of the noble rigidity which makes us think of Pheidias as the last and greatest of the archaic masters,<sup>43</sup> substituting for it the soft manner of Praxiteles, from whom the masters of Hellenistic times drew so largely. As the stern maid has been transformed under the Neo-Attic chisel into a graceful, chubby girl, full of the seductive ingenuous grace of adolescent womanhood, so the majesty of the Delphic seer has been changed into the somewhat overcharged beauty of a fascinating youth, with plump cheeks, the very brother, it would seem, of the girl.

If for a group of 'Pheidian' heads we have substituted a series of 'Roman marbles,' the results are especially valuable on account of the *points d'appui* which they give us in regard to other copies. Of none of them however can it be supposed that it preserves a trace of the personal style of the master from whom it derives. Their fidelity to the original seems to

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Schollha, *l.c.* p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Stuart Jones, *Catal. of the Capitoline Mus.* i, p. 205, Pl. 72: 'polished but not worked over' (the date ca. 450 B.C. proposed must be regarded merely as a slip). The remarks which are made in the text of the *Eleusinion*, II, p. 33, are devoid of critical value. There, in addition to the alleged re-working of the anterior side, it is noted that the head is a 'poor repetition' ('in schlechter Wiederholung') of the Apollo of the Tiber, and that the attribution to Pheidias made by Pezonen was based on the resemblance to the Athena Ludovisi. Furtwängler's determination of characteristics of the style of Calamis in a pretended original (*Afriester*, p. 381) is pure phantasy.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Amelung, *Hellwig*, ii, p. 125. I cannot understand why Loewy (*Sculture Greche*, p. 42) finds it so difficult to establish the originality of Pheidias, and limits his work, at least for the Parthenon, to the summing-up

and completing of the cycle of archaic art. If we had nothing more of Pheidian style left to us than the fragment of ivory which is the subject of this paper, yet the seal of the new epoch, in contrast to the types immediately preceding it, would be revealed to us; as, for instance, in Donato's panels and Giotto's frescoes are revealed the beginnings of great Italian painting as distinct from the Byzantine manner. The type of the Pheidian Athena is an innovation of this kind, in virtue of the divine ideal which dwells in its countenance, holding the same rank in Greek art as the Madonna of Santa Maria Novella or the Mary of Dugan holds with regard to older images. The traditionalism of the motive, which seems to carry such weight in the judgment of the Austrian scholar, is common to the great Greek innovators as it is to the Italian 'primitives,' and does not limit, but rather enhances, the creative rôle which they play in the development of the type.

vary inversely with the ability of the man who made them, and this renders us most cautious in allowing specific importance to the reproductions. Of the other images of Athena attributed to Phidias by archaeologists, we do not know, for lack of data relating to the marbling, whether we should recognize in them groups of free reproductions or distinct originals which are unknown to us. The herm of Herculaneum<sup>40</sup> and that of the Capitoline,<sup>41</sup> seem to me to be two decorative marbles executed on a Phidian pattern by one of the masses' shops, which produced by the thousand copies for the gardens or atria of Roman houses. That they are not copies of a definite statue is proved, to my mind, by the commercial adaptation of the aegis and the gorgoneion, represented on the frontal of the helmet, the only space that the artist had at his disposition to express the attributes of the goddess.

The others, except that which has been studied by Amelung, are so far removed from the few traces that we can follow with security, that we are utterly unable to say where the copy ends and where the variation begins. That is as true for the Hope Athena<sup>42</sup> as for the one in which Furtwängler finds the style of Praxiteles the Elder,<sup>43</sup> for the head at Brusein<sup>44</sup> as for the Athenas Albani and Farnese and the kindred group of female heads. All these sculptures stand alone; but let us remember how many distinctions may arise between the derivatives of the only certainly attested work, and refrain from arbitrary determinations.

The Hope Athena is certainly the most beautiful, at least to our modern eyes, but Preysa, reviving the attribution proposed by Furtwängler,<sup>45</sup> had recourse for comparison to the Madrid copy, which has so little of Phidias in it, and to the Bologna head, which in all probability is not Attic.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, I cannot see the affinity on which he insists so strongly. There is, it is true, a certain generic similarity in the elongated form of the face, but the fleshy cheeks of the second head are in such contrast with those of the other, so thin, almost fleshless, that the chief use of the juxtaposition of the reproductions is to destroy the assertion of the critic who makes it, and to weaken to some degree Furtwängler's attribution to Phidias as well as the identification with the statue in the Temple of Fortune of which Pliny speaks (xxxiv, 54).

<sup>40</sup> Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 69; Ruzsch, *Guida*, p. 20, Fig. 10. Mariani's view, that the herm may be derived from a statue without aegis, does not seem to me to be acceptable, since the attribute would have been hardly visible owing to its small size.

<sup>41</sup> Stuart Jones, *Catal.*, p. 240, 54; the form of the face is more triangular and shorter than in the Naples copy.

<sup>42</sup> *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1912, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Masterpieces*, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> Furtwängler, *l.c.* p. 92. The relations which Maider would see bet. Klein. *Gesch. d. griech. Kunst*, i. p. 408, with archaic works

are absolutely imaginary.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Jahrb. d. Inst.* pp. 102 ff.

<sup>46</sup> After Amelung's acute observations (*Anter. Jahrb.* 1908, pp. 104 f.), which confirmed the doubts advanced by Gardner and Reich, and after Schmidt's most felicitous comparison (*ibid.* 1911, pp. 61 f.), it does not seem to be possible to reopen the question as long as our 'Phidian' material remains what it is. The last author's conclusions were accepted by Winter (*Kunstgesch. u. Bilden*, 2nd ed.). I think by this I have shown how little substance there is in the comparisons adduced by Preysa.



Although we can distinguish little or nothing of his actual style, the dates between which the life of the master is comprised allow us to gain a sufficiently clear idea of what must have been the beginnings of his artistic career.

Much, nay too much, has been said of the youth of Pheidias without our having even an approximate idea of the relations between the chronology of his life and the rather arbitrary dating of the works generally attributed to that period of his artistic activity.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, the only outcome of all that has been written hitherto is gross contradiction, since, according to the generally accepted chronology, which, strange to say, no one has impugned, the artistic youth of Pheidias would not survive in any monument. In fact, if we place his birth about 500 or 490 and arrange his 'youthful' works



FIG. 11.—a, c. APOLLO FROM POMPEII; b, APOLLO OF MANTUA.

between 460 and 450, we come immediately to the master's maturity in the fourth or fifth decennium of his life.

Among the works which may be placed in the former decennium, one, represented by a sufficiently uniform tradition and by a copy which can be dated with certainty to the first decennia of the Imperial age, has been attributed to the master on the ground of its particular affinities with the most certain of Pheidian productions: the Apollo of the Mantua type, Fig. 11, c, b,<sup>82</sup> in which we observe, comparing it with the Apollo from the Tiber and kindred

<sup>81</sup> The attribution to the young Pheidias of the relief of Elieiris (heliography in Halbig<sup>2</sup>, 1922) is without secure foundation, and the comparison with the figures of the Parthenon frieze shows generic affinities combined with strong stylistic differences. The scheme of the composition is somewhat primitive in comparison with the sculptures mentioned. It lacks, in fact, that continuity of action which we find expressed with so much mastery by the vase-painters as early as 450, and

which consists in placing the middle figure to the front, with the head turned to one of the sides, so as to give harmony, variety and unity to the composition. I do not know whether Curtius's attribution of the Cassel Apollo is to be regarded as an exception to the general tendency, in so far as the dating of this sculpture was based on an inaccurate idea of the complete copy. (Cf. below, note 55.)

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 409.

sculptures, a difference of development rather than of artistic mentality. In the face we have the same scheme of lineaments, the same form of mouth, and the same gracefulness of cheeks. Only the line of the forehead is more rounded and shows a slightly convex profile, the eyes are less shadowed by the eyebrows, the lips, slightly contracted, project a little more, with a scornful expression, but in general there is agreement in pose as in profile. And if Pheidias was born about the year of Marathon, he may very well have carved the Apollo of Mantua about his thirtieth year, and at forty the Apollo from the Tiber; while the figure of Hegias disappears from among the archaic masters of Attica, who are wholly unknown to us, and by the young master's side we see come into view, as great innovators, rivals older by some decades, Myron and the authors of that group of sculptures which passes to-day under the name of Calamis.<sup>52</sup>

Hegias, on the contrary, may have left us some traces in those productions which are to be placed fairly close to the only datable sculptures contemporaneous with him, the *Tyrannicides* of Critios and Nesiotes.<sup>53</sup> Among the works of this period, one especially displays a singularly grandiose quality and an archaism which still lags considerably behind the group which we are accustomed to call after Calamis, that is to say the sculptures of Olympia and the few works which we can date in the epoch corresponding to the artistic youth of Pheidias: and that is the Apollo of Cassel.<sup>54</sup> Its affinity with the dated group is especially perceptible in the hard treatment

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Ameling in Helbig*, No. 912-978.

<sup>53</sup> For the chronology of Hegias see Klein, *l.c.* p. 375.

<sup>54</sup> The copies of the head that we possess vary greatly in the style of the face. From the more archaic type of the *Barracco* example (cf. *Furtwängler, Internaz.*, p. 6; Klein, *l.c.* p. 404) we pass by degrees to the more elegant and rounded copies of Cassel (*Arch. Anz.* 1914, p. 7, Fig. 3) and of Florence (Bonn-Bruckmann, 304) and to the others (quite unrecognizable) at Athens (*Nat. Mus.* No. 47, *Alinari* 24293) and in the Naples Museum (Rusch, *Guida*, p. 44, Fig. 13). The short form of the face of the Florentine copy, which makes the eyes seem large and gives them a more powerful expression is singularly out of keeping with the type of all the others; the modelling is softened down to the point of disappearing altogether. The projection of the cheekbone in the profile view, the stiffness of the transitions, belong to the Roman academic style of the Augustan or Hadrianic age. The copy at Athens is distinguished by the roundness of the cheeks and chin, by the smoothness of the transitions, especially in the mouth and eye. I cannot compare the examples in the *Jacobson* (*Curtius*, *l.c.*) and *Inca Blundell* Collections (*Furtwängler, Neumastopien*, p. 565 (41)).

Obviously I cannot accept the opinion of Curtius (cf. *M. Bieber, l.c.* p. 7) as to the classification of the copies, seeing that, if the archaic characteristics of the *Barracco* example find their genuineness confirmed by original monuments, no one can suppose that it was the copyist who introduced them. The head in the Palazzo Vecchio seemed to Curtius to be the most beautiful; so be it, but this is only a subjective aesthetic impression. *Fräulein Bieber* would infer that the craftsman worked with his compasses on the original, which, to speak frankly, is a strange way of reasoning, the more so that supposing it to have been executed in the Augustan age, or whenever the Neo-Attics worked, this mechanical method is more problematical than ever. In the profile there is close analogy between the *Harmodios* (Bonn-Bruckmann 328 2, 1893) and the Apollo (*Barracco* example) in regard to the line from eye to chin. In the hero the lips, protruded by rapid breathing, mitigate the exaggerated expression caused by the projection of the chin. Very close is the modelling of the neck and of the cheek, which in the Apollo is broader; the position and height of the ear are identical. As to the affinities generally recognized between the head of *Harmodios* and other sculptures, these, except in the boy



of the nude: the archaic scheme of the figure comes out astonishingly in the new reconstruction of the fragments by Margaret Bieber.<sup>56</sup> At the most we may separate these masterpieces by some ten years, but we feel that their authors must have learned their style at the same school. The curly locks, terminated by a series of symmetrical ringlets, which frame the broad forehead recall quite closely those of the short hair of Harmodios. The type of the face stands alone among all the work of the epoch; with broad forehead and widely spaced eyes, it shows the scheme of an inverted acute-angled triangle in the excessive elongation of the lower part and above all of the chin, which in some copies (Barracco Collection, Fig. 13, Cassel statue) has almost the effect of a deformity.<sup>57</sup> We find it, on the other hand, in a series of vase-paintings, in which, as it constantly recurs on heads of ephebi, it



FIG. 12.—a, ACHILLES FROM VASE IN THE VATICAN; b, DEMOSTHENES AFTER FURTWÄNGLER.

would seem to be an elegance according to the taste of the time. And these are precisely the best works of the Attic painting in the latest stratum of the Acropolis<sup>58</sup> and of the two decennia following.<sup>59</sup>

from the Acropolis (Dickins, *Catal. of the Acrop. Mus.* p. 204, No. 698; Schrader, *Sammlung archaischer Marmorskulptur*, Taf. XVI-XVII, pp. 53 ff.) are sufficiently generic, and their only relation is chronological. So we may see an earlier phase of development in the Ludovisi head (Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 389; Helbig, n. 1283), in the Vatican acrotich (see above, note 11) and in the 'Bouleuter' of the Acropolis (*Catal. Nos.* 241-4; Klein, I, p. 407). Contemporary, in all probability, is the Charioteer of Delphi (cf. Klein, p. 407); of which, for the rest, the Attic origin has been much disputed, and the attribution to Pythagoras proposed by Mahler and most recently maintained by Von Duhn (*Monist.*,

viii, 1914 (1914), pp. 27 ff.) is very disputable.

<sup>58</sup> *Arch. Anz.* 1914, pp. 8-10, Figs. 1, 2, 4.

<sup>59</sup> If we study the Barracco copy in relation to kindred archaic sculptures, these peculiarities, which produced in Furtwängler such enigmatic sensations of mysticism, come into clearer light as stylistic characteristics.

<sup>60</sup> Especially perceptible in the paintings by Brygos and Hieron.

<sup>61</sup> So in the polychrome cup by Euphronios (Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Taf. 51, p. 464, cf. *ibid.* p. 490; ca. 480-70), in that of Hera in the Munich Museum (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Taf. 61, n. p. 25, ca. 470-60).



FIG. 11. —FRAGMENT OF A STATUE OF ATHENA.

FIG. 12. —FRAGMENT OF A STATUE OF ATHENA.



The most exact parallel in regard to identical structure of face is afforded by the heads drawn three-quarter face in the painting of the Argonauts on the krater of Orvieto, one of the oldest examples of the fine severe style,<sup>60</sup> in which we may in all probability see the reflection of the earlier manner of Polygnotos.

It is a peculiarity which becomes gradually less prominent as we approach the year 450; there is still some trace of it, though hardly perceptible, in that wonderful little head in the Museo Gregoriano<sup>61</sup> of which the profile seems to reproduce the head of the Devonshire Apollo,<sup>62</sup> and in which we may with good reason recognize the influence of the latest paintings of the Thasian master (Fig. 12). It is entirely lacking in the heads of the statuary by 'Calamis,' by Myron, by 'the young Pheidias,' no less than in that of the athlete of Perinthos.<sup>63</sup> The parallel is noteworthy for chronological reasons as well as for the artistic tendency which it reveals. The great Attic master who flourished in the time of Critios and Nesiotos is precisely that one whom the most ancient and trustworthy traditions indicate as the master of Pheidias, and indeed the Cassel Apollo, of which Fraulein Bieber has emphasized, better than any other archaeologist, the archaic characteristics, may be dated about 475-465. The hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that in Athens we know of no other name that has any claim in the matter.

The statue, as I have said, stands alone. Furtwängler's affirmations as to relations with others come to nothing.<sup>64</sup> And here we must note a criterion for the classification of copies. The execution of them was always subordinated to the taste of the copyist's patrons; the aim, except in a case like that of the *Tyrannicides*, in which an historical event made a special appeal to interest, was essentially aesthetic. Aesthetic, that is, in the same way as is now the choice of copies purchased by the crowd of visitors to picture galleries. There are 'pictures' more or less saleable, as there are books which 'come off' or not. Historical considerations of the development of art take with such a public a second place. Thus there is formed a sort of canon, by which certain masters have many works, others, no less great, some or none, according as their style is less or more alien to the taste of the public. Whole epochs of Greek Sculpture remained in this way unknown to

<sup>60</sup> *Griech. Vasenmal.* Taf. 108, vol. II, pp. 245 ff. Especially remarkable is the same manner of placing the cheekbones too high. This does not clash with the date (460) established by Hauser, in relation with the Olympian pediments, with a comparison which is of great generic value, in relation more to the scheme of composition and the motifs, than to the singularity of the types.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *J.H.S.* 1911, pp. 173 ff. The technique (drawing of the eyebrows, mineness in the painting of the eye) is certainly so much superior to that of the ordinary vase-painters that the author must have had a true artistic

training.

<sup>62</sup> Furtwängler, *Intermezzi*, Taf. 2.

<sup>63</sup> *Intermezzi*, p. 11.

<sup>64</sup> The resemblance in style to the 'Perseus' (cf. Klein, *l.c.* p. 403) is quite generic; and that which has been asserted between it and the boy of Strophaneis (*ibid.* p. 403) is absurd. The 'Isokles' of the Braccio Nuovo and the Athena Albani with the wolf-skin are, in the form of the face, fairly close to the 'modernized' copies of the Cassel Apollo; but we have no sure criterion to enable us to decide whether we have in them two copies of later pieces of style.

the workshops of Roman copyists. There is every reason to believe that such is the case with the master of the Cassel Apollo, of whose works this alone was prized and in request.

The use of ivory as a plastic material and in combination with precious metals, like the use of the latter in chased work, is met with as early as the age of Aegean civilization,<sup>55</sup> and the technique was without doubt derived from Egypt,<sup>56</sup> together with the material, wrought or unwrought, which down to our own days has followed the classic trade route of the Nile valley. And from the Euphrates basin and from the Asiatic Empires of the Littoral, there must have come to the Greeks of Ionia and the Islands knowledge direct or indirect of the golden images of the Babylonian Ziggurat,<sup>57</sup> which must also have been chased, and of the polychrome statues of stone, wrought in pieces and put together, as were for instance the figures of ebony and ivory which tradition attributed to Dipoinos and Skyllis.<sup>58</sup> This technique also left its trace in Mesopotamia about the time of the Sargonids.<sup>59</sup>

If however the origins are clear, the development of the technique in the full historic age is entirely unknown; and there is very little to help us understand it in the rare examples of acroliths and of marble pieces necessary to imitations in marble,<sup>60</sup> the use of which as early as the fifth century B.C. is assured from the record that Phœdrias made one for the city of Plataea.<sup>61</sup>

The present find, at least, places before us a type of a scale which we may fix at about 1m. 55 for the whole figure, a little less than the normal for man and about right for the medium height of a woman of classic race.

The flesh is worked in solid pieces as far as the dimensions and the serviceable part of the material permitted. Thus the head was joined to the neck and the latter, if part of the breast was to be visible, to the projection

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the Minos-Cretan statuette of the 'Serpent Goddess' carved in ivory with gold ornamentation, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* xix (1915), Pl. XII-XIV; and the Diver from Camos, *B.S.A.* vii, Pl. II, III.

<sup>56</sup> Egyptian excavations are especially rich in small carvings in ivory. The stole of the sculptor Intamon (cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, I, p. 539), where it is mentioned together with ebony, gives ground for believing that it was worked in pieces larger than are known hitherto. What has been said above as to Syrian ivory of prehistoric times (cf. F. Poulsen, *Orient u. frühgriech. Kunst*, p. 37) does not detract much from the general value of the fact, the more so that we are completely in the dark as to the differences of quality which doubtless existed, as they exist now, and are recognized in commerce, between African and Indian ivory.

<sup>57</sup> Herod. i. 983; cf. Koldewey, *Die Tempel v. Babylon u. Borsippa*, p. 39. The assertion of the priests that the statue was solid and

weighed 800 talents (about 16 tons) is fabulous. For Egypt, a statue in stone (green basalt?) of the twentieth or twenty-first dynasty, recently acquired by the British Museum (*Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, Pl. 42) gives us an example of a head plated with chased gold.

<sup>58</sup> *Paus.* x. 4. 1.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Koldewey, *l.c.* pp. 47 ff.: replicas of polyblith statues, life-size, found near the Temple of Marduk, Borsippa. N. 2, Fig. 78: several portions of eyes; carvings of shell or white stone, fitted of two or three different materials. N. 3, Fig. 79: fragments of ears, beards, and eyelashes in light basalt, about the thirteenth century B.C.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. especially Ameling in *Helbig*, n. p. 129. The polychrome head of Athena is worked at the back, as is clear from a drawing in Ameling's possession, in a way analogous to the acroliths of Athens there noted.

<sup>61</sup> *Paus.* ix. 4. 1. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, n. 455.



of the collar-bones, with various pieces necessary for the largest plane surface, with the joins hidden in the parts which were in shadow. The same process is employed for the junction of the hand to the wrist, and, in all probability, for the attachment of the fingers. We may observe that the use of quadrangular pins, assisted doubtless by a strong stucco, was restricted to the absolutely necessary; as far as possible the function of support was entrusted to the metallic part, which was stronger and less liable to deformation. Thus the head rested merely by its weight on the neck and was sustained by the wrought cap of the hair and of the headdress, which in its turn was joined to the purely metallic nape and shoulders.

The function of the wooden peg is reduced to that of a vertical support between the neck and the shoulders; because the metallic portion had to be sufficiently strong to counteract the thrust forward. Consequently it had to be a plate and not a thin sheet.

There is reason to suppose that there was no very great variation in dimensions, and that the craftsmen adhered almost always to the type of the Vatican fragments, which allowed them to work the principal parts in single pieces, keeping them at the same time fairly close to the natural dimensions and producing statues not disproportionate to the size of the cella in the temples of the more usual scale. In the really very rare exceptions of colossal statues made for some sanctuary of the first rank the unpleasant effect of the numerous joins in the face was obviated by the great height of the figure, while it would have been fully visible in a statue a little larger than life size, the head of which would have required to be wrought in two or three pieces at least.<sup>72</sup>

The lips were covered with cinnabar; the eyebrows were also painted;

<sup>72</sup> In the experiments made with so great technical skill by Quatremère de Quincy, the head of life-size is composed of five pieces (l.c. p. 412, Pl. 29). It is noticeable that the type of the Vatican fragments has been spontaneously repeated in the most recent attempts at chryselephantine sculpture (representation of a Munich head made by Fr. Smack, Klein, l.c. p. 411; bust of the Republic in the Musée du Luxembourg). The dimensions of our fragments recur with a certain frequency in Roman copies of sacred images. I note, for instance, that they are constant in examples of the Aphrodite in which Fortwängler wished to recognise the chryselephantine statue of Alcamenes called *de Xénos* (cf. Collignon, *Sculpt. Grecque*, II, p. 118), and they occur in the Flaminian copy (Milan, *Mon. Archéol.*, p. 320, No. 189) of the Artemis which Studniczka attributed to Menekimos and Solon. Including the beginning of the neck, the figure is 98 cm. high, so that the complete statue may be calculated at 129-135 cm.; or a little more than two-thirds natural size.

(The copy at Naples is a good deal smaller.) I do not think it is necessary to take much account of the tradition, preserved in the texts, of the softening of ivory (cf. Blümmel, l.c.; for the negative result of modern attempts see Jacob in Daremberg et Saglio, II, I, p. 447). The method indicated by Plutarch, by means of a decoction or beer made of barley, seems to me absurd, no less than that of boiling for six hours with mandragora, of which Dioscorides speaks. Pausanias' text alone enables us to explain this fable, which is derived from the ignorance of technique in the popular mind, which supposed that it was possible to fuse elephants' tusks, as also oxen's horns (*ελφάντων κέρατα καὶ βοῶν κέρατα ὡς ἐκ πυρὸς ἐκτρέφει*). Everything then is based on the uncertain reading of a passage of Seneca (*Epist.* 90), in which 'pallor,' attributed to Democritus, may with probability be referred, in a generic way, to every other manipulation of the surface in regard to colouring or preservation.

the eyes wrought in hard stone or enamel and the eyeball held in position by the staeon and by the lids. The conjunctive membrane was also painted.<sup>72</sup>

Of the metallic portion we can gain a sufficiently exact idea from the details given by Thucydides of the weight of the gold from the colossus of the Parthenon.<sup>73</sup> If we reckon the Attic gold talent at 60,000 francs, the 40 talents of the colossus of Athena are equivalent to gold coin, without alloy, of about 780 or 800 kilogrammes (2,400,000 francs, or £96,000), or 120,000 staters or darics.

To obtain an approximate idea of its thickness, we must remember that the ivory parts were very small, and that the drapery and arius formed a complex development of planes and hollows; we must then distribute the volume of the metal over the surface of the longest faces of the parallelepiped in which the statue could be inscribed. According to the known dimensions of the colossus, we shall have a plate of gold of about 46 kg. per square metre, and that gives a plate of one millimetre, the thickness which is required in order to be able to remove the pieces without their being pulled out of shape by their weight. In a statue like that of which we have the fragments the ratio to the Parthenos is about 1 to 8; and, even if we reduce the thickness of the wrought metal to half, the sum in gold cannot have been less than 150,000 francs, or about £6,000, without reckoning the ivory and the artist's fee. And as the ivory must have cost not much less than the gold,<sup>74</sup> and good craftsmen had to be paid decently, we shall be very near the truth if we estimate the cost of such a work of art at not less than 40 or 50 talents of silver, a sum which down to the time of Pericles constituted a large estate, and which very few sanctuaries were in a position to spend in addition to their ordinary budget. This explains why images of gold and ivory were so rare, at least in the older period of Greek art.

Those of which literary records have survived are in Greece about twenty in number,<sup>75</sup> anterior to, or contemporary with, the present one. And for the islands, the Italian colonies and cities in the East, we cannot reasonably suppose that the proportion was larger.

The early cultus of the Hellenes was simple, and when a sudden fortune

<sup>72</sup> In regard to polychromy, the best object for comparison is the Kaufmann head (see above, note 35). It is to be noted that in the acroliths, in which the inserted eyes remain, there is always an accumulation of the chromatic separation of the cornea from the marble, in order to get the effect which Phidias, for instance, had obtained with white stone (Plato, *Hippias minor* 290a). In the archaic Vatican acrolith (see above, note 11) the cornea is of opaline quartzite; in the Athens head, of bone (Stain, *Gefährte illustriert*, I. No. 177, p. 24).

<sup>73</sup> II. 12. The calculation, which is nothing more than approximate, is not affected by the alleged bronze sphinx, the existence of which

has been maintained on the basis of a rather doubtful reading of a passage in Pliny: (CL. Schreiber, *l.c.*, pp. 66 seq.)

<sup>74</sup> The price of ivory is determined by a ratio between the weight and the volume, as is usual with precious organic or mineral substances (tortoiseshell, amber, pearl, precious stones). The thicker parts of the tusk have greater value, which is yet more increased in older specimens. In antiquity the value was certainly increased by the difficulty of transport and the multiplicity of middlemen.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 331, 350, 407, 479, 515, 539, 634, 645 ff., 692, 755, 819, 847, 848, 853, 855, 932.



gave it splendour, statues of precious material were confined almost entirely to the most famous and ancient sanctuaries. We must remember that there is no record of chryselephantine images at Delos or at Delphi, the great centres of the Apolline cult, and that Olympia, Argos and Athens only had them at a somewhat late date. And some cities, after having commissioned an artist to make a statue, were obliged to place in the temple a model of wood and plaster with some pieces of ivory, being obliged to suspend the work for lack of funds.<sup>77</sup> There seems to us therefore little credibility in the well-known episode in Philostratus,<sup>78</sup> in which he speaks of a ship 'fully laden' with ivory statues, as if they were bales of textiles or sacks of grain.

The material in our case notably restricts the area of probability of identification, in relation to the extant records of statues of this period and of this type. Some archaeologists still employ the method of identifying some literary note with an anonymous statue, for purely hypothetical convenience: thus recently Frickenhaus has attributed some works to Kolotes on grounds of generic suitability of style and type to the statues hastily mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>79</sup> Were I to employ the same method, I should have my answer immediately ready and, I may further say, considerably more certain, up to a certain point.

I prefer to present it as a mere possibility. Only two chryselephantine Athena-statues of the Phidian school, which are not described as colossal, are recorded in our literary sources. One was that of Pellene in Achaia, attributed to the master by a local tradition recorded by Pausanias,<sup>80</sup> but doubted by certain learned writers for reasons far from persuasive<sup>81</sup>; the other was in Elis, the work of his disciple Kolotes.<sup>82</sup> I have already shown

<sup>77</sup> Paus. i. 40, 4.

<sup>78</sup> *Vita Apollon.* v. 20. Blümmner, l.c., thinks that he may refer to small figures; more probably, I think, to imitations in cheap material.

<sup>79</sup> *Cl. Jahrb.* 4. Jan. 1913, p. 353 ff.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.* 27, 2.

<sup>81</sup> The supposition of Klein, accepted by Furtwängler, *M.H.* p. 37, that the statue of Pellene was regarded as earlier than the other Athenas by Phidias, is being archaic and therefore not Phidian, is purely arbitrary. Pausanias, as always, reports what he heard on the spot, and the traditions were not based on stylistic comparisons. We may have our doubts about the detail of its precedence in regard to the others, but we have no reason to suppose that the information was a complete invention. We get an additional light from the coinage reproduced on the coins of Roman date (Loewy, *Suppl. Ital. di Num.* v. p. 23; Klein, *Gr. Kunstgesch.* II, p. 38; cf. Pausanias, ed. Hirsch-Büchner, II, 2, pp. 673 ff.). It requires a great deal of good-will to suppose that in Greece it was possible to confuse it

with a work of Phidias or of his school, while everything suggests that it was the more ancient and venerable image. If we had the coins of Athens as our only source for discovering the Parthenon, the case would be not very dissimilar. Equally arbitrary is Furtwängler's denial that the Athena of Plataea was by Phidias, because if so it must have been executed about forty years after the dedication of the temple of the spoil of the battle. The details furnished by the *Periegesis* about technique make his report peculiarly worthy of attention; and, on the other hand, what do we know of the causes—and they are many—which may have delayed the execution of the image? The date 465 proposed by Loewy (*l.c.*) has no foundation.

<sup>82</sup> Paus. vi. 26, 3; Pliny, *H.N.* 35, 54. The identification with the Athena Medici proposed by Frickenhaus (*Jahrb.* 1913, pp. 241 ff.) is not founded on any secure data. The colossal dimensions (about one-third of the Parthenon) make it very difficult to recognize in it the chryselephantine statue of a secondary temple.

that there are no secure criteria for distinguishing the personal styles of two artists; nor does chronology help us much, since if the Athena of Pellene was earlier than those of Plataea and of the Acropolis, we have no reason to suppose that all five were not made within a very short time of each other, just as up to the present no argument has been found to decide on the date of the Zeus relatively to the Parthenos and the death of Phidias.<sup>38</sup> Nor can we say whether the statue of Kolotes was contemporaneous with, or posterior to, the master's activity at Olympia, the period of which is itself undetermined.

If, however, we regard the comparisons which we have already made, the most probable date for our ivory fragments inclines towards 450, perhaps a few years higher, and the astonishing beauty of the work makes us more ready to recognize in it the work of an artist of the first rank, rather the master than the pupil, who we must suppose was a mere translator of a style which was higher than he could attain to. These are good indications, but, I insist, nothing more than that. A better argument for not recognizing here the statue of Elis may, I think, be drawn from its provenance.

Among the seventy or so ivory statues which the *Curiosum urbis* indicates as existing in Rome in the Constantinian age<sup>39</sup> there will have been Greek statues of all ages, which came there in all kinds of ways, beginning with the "manubiae Achaearum" of Mummius and ending with the plunder of the Emperors and the Imperial governors, to which the secondary sanctuaries and cities were more exposed. Add to this the utterly wretched condition into which the ancient mother of the arts had fallen, and which was continually aggravated under the Empire: Depopulation and desertion might counsel the transport of the more precious objects to the capital for the sake of preserving them, to rescue them from the rapacity of the last miserable inhabitants; if indeed in the panic of the Gothic invasion, when Germans burnt and ravaged Attica, the cities on this side of the Isthmus did not send their dearest and most sacred possessions to Rome, which the barbarians had not yet stormed. These are only the most obvious chances which may explain the arrival in Rome of a Greek statue between the days of the Perisgetes and the *Curiosum urbis*.

It would have been a matter of considerable difficulty to deprive the Eleusis, who from the religious standpoint occupied a privileged position as guardians of the great Panhellenic sanctuary, of their images without causing an enormous scandal throughout the Empire. Such a thing could only happen when the ancient cult had almost altogether disappeared from

<sup>38</sup> The question is in no degree answered by Hummer (*Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1913, pp. 70 ff.), as de Ridder supposes (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1915, pp. 191 ff.). The dates of the Parthenon works give no certain support to the opinion of Furtwängler as opposed to that of Puchstein. Frießhagen's résumé (f.c. pp. 342-352) merely shows the impossibility of extracting anything certain from the documents which

are in our hands, and makes it clear that the dates which we have for the architectural work possess but secondary value for the plastic decoration.

<sup>39</sup> See Jordan, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom*, II, pp. 572, 575 (dei aeduae LXXIII or signa aeduae aeduae LXXIII); cf. Michaelis, *Die archäolog. Entdeckungen der unumstößten Jahrhunderte*, p. 2.



the populations under the sway of Roman culture, with the definitive closing of the Greek sanctuaries; and, although we have no certain records concerning this particular case, everything suggests that the Athena of Kolotes followed the Colossus of Olympia to the new capital of Constantine at the end of the fourth century.

And it counts for little that the two fragments were found in the Sabine Land. Who can ever say through what vicissitudes these bits of ivory, robbed of their golden vesture, probably by the treasury of Constantine or of Theodosius, passed to find their resting-place in the earth, where they were perhaps hidden by one of the last devotees of the ancient gods, who fled with them to the provinces as to a more secure hiding-place?

CARLO ALBIZZATI.

*10th Regiment of Infantry.*

Rome, May, 1916.

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NOTE.—Owing to the absence of the author on military service, it has been impossible to communicate to him the proofs of his article before passing them for press. The editors have to thank Dr. Nogara and Mrs. S. A. Strong for assistance in settling some of the doubtful questions.—EDD.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Catalogue of the Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the possession of Lord Leconfield.** By the Hon. MARGARET WYNDHAM. 142 pp. with 86 plates. Privately printed. [Medici Society.]

It was the desire of the late Professor Michaelis that more detailed accounts of the ancient sculptures belonging to private collections in Great Britain than the summaries which he was able to give in his monumental work should become available, and that the *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* should stimulate scholars at home to a keener examination than had hitherto been devoted to treasures in their midst. It is something of a reproach to English archaeologists that this work has not yet been adequately performed. Pioneers, however, have been in the field in the persons of Mrs. A. Strong<sup>1</sup> and Mr. A. H. Smith, and now the handsome volume before us encourages the hope that other collections will, before long, be dealt with in the same competent way.

The Leconfield collection contains over eighty Greek and Roman antiquities. In the present catalogue the descriptions are in each case accompanied by at least one illustrative plate. The method of description closely follows that adopted in the catalogue of the Capitoline Museum. Strict scientific accuracy is the great aim in view, and æsthetic appreciation is but rarely indulged in.

Eighteen of the pieces were not seen by Michaelis, and it is perhaps superfluous to add that one of these is the *clon* of the collection, the well-known Petworth head of Aphrodite which was first raised from obscurity by Furtwängler. His views are extensively quoted, but we would venture to suggest that, while the Aphrodite merits every word of praise which has been written about her, the theory that she was an original work by Praxiteles cannot be lightly accepted. Several of the smaller points raised in support of this theory have a culminating effect quite beyond their merits when skilfully introduced into the argument in the *Masterpieces*. The fact, for instance, that the back of the Petworth head is made of another piece of marble and that pieces of the *Hermes* are added in the same way, though not in the case of the head, merely leads to the negative conclusion that, in our only undoubted original and one which was only of secondary importance in its time, Praxiteles was careful to get the head out of the main block whatever happened elsewhere. As against this we may remember that the British Museum head of *Asklepios* from Melos is made of four pieces of marble and was regarded by Klein as Praxitelean. Again, when it is suggested that the head was intended for insertion into a statue made of a marble of less fine quality, we may remember that the *Hermes* is all of Parian. Assuming Praxitelean origin for the Aphrodite, we may suppose that the work was not of less importance than the *Hermes*. In fact, two replicas of the head are thought to survive, while no sculptured copies of the *Hermes* are known, although it stood in a much frequented place. It is at least arguable that Praxiteles in his later period would prefer to work his statues in marble of equal quality throughout.

Moreover, the whole account is vitiated by the importance attached by Furtwängler to the mediocre Enchouëus head. The present writer's impression is that the Petworth

<sup>1</sup> See *J.H.S.* 1908, xxviii p. 1, note 1.



head more nearly approaches in expression the human type which we might have expected from the school of Lysippos than the stunted dandy we should expect in an original by Praxiteles. Above all, we must remember that had the body been preserved a very different account of the work might have been given. Had only the head of the Aphrodite of Melos been preserved we wonder to what period it would have been assigned.

The best known of the other works in the collection are the athlete known as the Petworth 'Old Pourer,' the Amazon of the Mattei type, the Egremont Apollo, the interesting colossal bust of Athena (figured in *Ancient Marbles*), and the beautiful head of an athlete (No. 24) which may be safely grouped with the series of works now ascribed in origin to Kresillos. No replica of the Mattei Amazon has a head properly belonging to the statue, and the proposal of Michaelis to regard the antique head set in the Petworth statue as such must now be finally rejected, though others had already disputed that view.

There are several other pieces which, now that they are more adequately published and plates of them are available, should challenge an equal interest with those just mentioned. No. 10, a vigorous and somewhat massive Dionysos, is an attractive figure. The magnificent statue of a pouring woman (No. 11) is one of those masterpieces of which the exact date is hard to ascertain, but which any period might be proud to have produced. Of the Pan and Olympus (No. 12) it may be remarked that while the head of Olympus, which does not belong to the group, is recognised as that of a late Greek Dionysos, it is not noticed that the head of Pan may be paralleled by work of the Pergamene school. After the Aphrodite and the 'Mourning Woman' the most taking piece in the collection is No. 15, a charming statue of a nymph of Artemis. The drapery is rather over-elaborated and in some details reflects fifth century originals. We think the work is correctly ascribed to the Hellenistic period, and is one more proof of the great artistic merit of the sculptors of that epoch. The Plates to Nos. 28 and 29 have got transposed. No. 29 is a Roman copy of a fifth century Greek type, and might have been compared with the well-known head of Hera from the Argive Heraeum. There is a nice head of a young Roman (No. 49) adapted from a Hermes head of the Praxitelean School, and some fine portrait busts. Quite a feature of the collection is the number of busts of children, some of them of great charm.

No. 7, a copy—*longo intervallo*—of a Praxitelean Apollo, is apparently considered a work of some merit. Even among heavy and inept attempts to reproduce Praxitelean work this particular one would have seemed, to the present writer, bad.

#### The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.

Part IV. *Kaibes, Halikarnassos and Branchidae*. By GUSTAV HIRSCHFELD, sometime Professor in the University of Königsberg. Supplementary and Miscellaneous Inscriptions, by F. H. MARSHALL, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, formerly Assistant in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Pp. 201. Printed by order of the Trustees of the Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1892-1916.

By no one will this beautiful volume be read with greater interest and satisfaction than by the writer of this review, who finds in it the happy conclusion of a work he was called to begin, under the guidance of the late Sir Charles Newton, many years ago. The whole collection of Greek inscriptions in the British Museum, second as it is to none in Europe outside of Athens, is now printed and made accessible to all. One can also trace how the English School of Greek Epigraphy has grown in numbers and in skill, as this work has proceeded, the later volumes showing a great advance upon the earlier, while this last volume contains far more facsimiles and photographs than its predecessor. It is an open secret that Hirschfeld, though a learned scholar, had but a poor command of English, so

that his MS., even of Part I. of this volume, demanded much rewriting from the Museum staff. We may be proud of the group of scholars enumerated by Mr. Arthur Smith in his clear but modest Preface; epigraphic studies are safe in the hands of Mr. F. H. Marshall and his colleagues.

Pp. 1-155 are, of course, a reprint of Hirschfeld's Part I., issued in 1893, comprising the inscriptions brought home by Newton from Knidos, Halikarnassos and Branchidæ; but the greater part of this volume contains a good deal that is new. Of course there are some old friends that we are glad to see newly read and dispensed: e.g. the 'Sigeian inscription' (No. 1002), the 'Rosetta Stone' (No. 1003), and the Memæ inscription from Sestos (No. 1000). One is also glad to see the originals of famous documents—such as the Bronze Tablets from Oanthia (Nos. 953-4)—finding their home at last in the National Collection. A number of inscriptions from Naukratis, Kyzikos and Cyprus remind us of recent excavations. One from Corbridge (No. 1006) is due to Roman Archaeology. A number of new Attic documents (pp. 107 ff.) are worthy of attention, e.g. No. 940. No. 967 is a fragment from the Sacrificial Calendar published in the 'Inscriptions of Cos' (by Paton and Hicks, 1891), Nos. 40-41. At that time the fragment could not be found: Mr. Paton wrote that it had been 'sold to some people who came to Cos in a yacht in 1887. It will probably come to light again.' In 1915 it turned up in a garden at Tring, and was presented to the Museum. But it is not possible to make the various pieces read intelligibly into each other. How easy it is for an inscription to escape even expert eyes is proved by No. 1044, from Attaleia (?), which has lain unnoticed ever since its arrival in England in 1825, and by No. 1032\* which was omitted from the Ephesian Documents (vol. III.) in 1890. This volume contains a delightful variety of materials: thus No. 1026 (from Smyrna) gives us a list of the works of a learned medical author, Hermogenes, otherwise unknown; No. 1021 deals with a dispute about Ferry-Charges (Smyrna); while 1036 (Amfissa in Ciria) records the hanging of a slave for the murder of his master; and so on.

A full index makes a welcome finish to the undertaking. Many will also be grateful for the reprint of the long Salutaris inscription, after the recognition of Heberdey. It reminds the present writer of labours now long past, and of deficiencies which he left for later scholarship to make good.

EDWARD: LINCOLN:

**The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake.** By EDWARD T. NEWELL. (Yale Oriental Series. Researches, Vol. II.) 4to. Pp. 72, with ten Collotype Plates. Yale University Press and Oxford University Press, 1916. \$2, 30s.

This is a brilliant performance, thorough in its methods and most illuminating in its results. Mr. Newell's own fine cabinet line, of course, given him a rare opportunity, but no one could have turned that opportunity to better account than he has done. His sentences of observation, his laborious patience, and his genuine numismatic instinct have enabled him to produce a monograph that must always be of fundamental importance to students of the complex Alexander issues. The mummies of two hemispheres have been ransacked, as well as every private collection to which access could be obtained. The material, therefore, may be regarded as virtually complete. Much of it is now published for the first time, and it is remarkable how each specimen is made to fall naturally into its place under Mr. Newell's skilful guidance. As a piece of research, the book is a model, and the liberal supply of illustrations makes it possible to follow the reasoning step by step.

As the Introduction points out, the great value of the particular coins dealt with lies in the fact that, almost of all the mace of 'Alexander' struck before the middle of the third century B.C., they are actually dated. Apart, therefore, from the light which their orderly arrangement helps to throw on the vicissitudes of contemporary Phœnician history, they are calculated to serve as 'key' pieces for determining the chronology of



similar issues of neighbouring mints which do not themselves bear dates. The survey extends beyond the tetradrachms; it includes all known denominations of all three metals. And it is based, not upon the different varieties that are recorded, but upon the different dies that have been employed. Among the multitude of interesting points that emerge, mention may be made of the two which the author himself singles out as most noteworthy. He has been able, he says, 'to assign to the mint of Sidon two series of staters which till now have remained unattributed and in part unknown; to show that the Ake coins fall into two dated series, that these two series refer to two distinct eras, that the hitherto accepted era to which these two series together are made to refer is wrongly taken, and that consequently the computation of these dates is in error by many years.' The conclusions as to the coinage of Ake are, indeed, revolutionary. At the same time, as regards the main contention, the logic of the converging lines of argument is irresistible. The suggestion that the earlier set of dates represent the regnal years of a local dynast is less convincing, in view of the number of decades that they cover. That, however, is a very minor point, and must not be allowed to detract one whit from the congratulations which Mr. Newell has earned by his admirable achievement. G. M.

**Sardis.** [Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis.] Vol. xi. Coins, Part I., 1910-1914. By H. W. Bell. Large 8to. Pp. xiv, + 124. With two Colotype Plates. London: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1916.

This account of the coins brought to light during a quinquennium of digging at Sardis is presented to the public in a truly sumptuous format. The type and arrangement are as clear as the most exacting of readers could desire, while the ample margins are most restful to the eye. Nor are the contents unworthy of the dress in which they appear. Mr. Bell has spared no pains to provide a really scholarly record. His descriptions and indexes are full and accurate; and, if the supply of illustrations is less generous than one might wish, the fault does not lie with him or with the parent Society, but with the Turkish officials into whose hands the originals have passed. The hope is held out that in the next part of the volume the defect may be made good. Against the future issue thus fore-shadowed, Mr. Bell might consider whether it would not be possible to add to the particulars he already gives an indication of the disposition of each piece. Something more, too, might perhaps be done in the way of grouping the bronze coins by denominations. The total number of specimens now dealt with is 960, and of these 412 are Greek and 548 Byzantine. The most interesting individually is a 'Greek imperial' coin of Sardis, which seems to read ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ ΘΩΡΑΙΟΣ. The great majority of the others are familiar to numismatists. But their comparative familiarity in no way detracts from the value of Mr. Bell's work. The importance of his catalogue is twofold. When complete, it will provide the necessary material for a study of the commercial relations of Sardis at various epochs, and it will at the same time facilitate the classification of certain of the difficult regnal series by throwing light upon the range of circulation. G. M.

**Modern Greek in Asia Minor.** A Study of the Dialects of Sili, Cappadocia and Phrygia. With Grammar, Texts, Translations, and Glossary. By R. M. Dawkins, M.A., with a chapter on the subject-matter of the Folk-Tales by W. R. Halliday, B.A., R.Litt. Cambridge University Press, 1916. Pp. xiv + 695. 31s. 6d.

Readers of the *J.H.S.* have had a foretaste of this work in the form of a valuable article which appeared in vol. xix, pp. 109, 267. To say that this book comes up to all expectations which have been based on that article, would be less than the truth. It is marked not only by accuracy and fulness of detail but by originality and sound judgment, and will rank as one of the most important works in the field of Modern Greek philology.

In accordance with the remark in the preface, that 'no account of a language can be satisfactory without some knowledge of the social conditions of the people,' the introduction (33 pp.) gives an account of the Greek-speaking areas of Asia Minor, with statistics of the Christian and Turkish elements in each community, particulars of the state of education, and the names of the persons who dictated folk-tales. Such information is useful, and even descriptions (with a plan) of underground chambers, or of pottery-making methods, may be justified on the ground that they help to explain the words *proxi*, *paraphōria*, *ēpōthēn* and *andōtē*, but photographs of the landscape can hardly escape the charge of irrelevance. The bibliographical notes on the other hand are of the highest value, and there are two useful maps at the end of the book.

A detailed analysis of the dialects, divided into 'phonetics' and 'morphology' covers 173 pp. It is thoroughly scientific, and contains a number of acute observations. There do not seem to be many omissions, but some account might have been given of the initial *i* in *loandē* and *leandē*, of the sound change exemplified in *μῆρ*, *μῆρῖ*, *ἐμῆρῖ*, *ἐμῆρῖ*, *ἐμῆρῖ* (pl. of *ἐμῆρ*) *ἐμῆρῖ*, *ἐμῆρῖ*, and of the scope of the reduction of *ae* to *e*. The expression 'change of *η* to *ε*' (p. 67) is an unfortunate designation of what was really a survival of the original vowel. On the other hand the explanation of the endings of *ἐρχόμενος*, *ἐρχόμεν(ε)*, *ἐρχόμεν(ε)*, of the development of initial *εφ* and of the imperfections in *-eo* are only a few among many examples which might be quoted of the genuinely good work which the Grammar contains.

The section headed 'General Conclusions' discusses the relation of these dialects to the rest of Modern Greek and to one another. The Turkish influence, many details of which are given in the preceding pages, is shown to be late and therefore of little significance for the early history of the dialects. When it has been stripped off, the underlying Greek is seen to have a distinctive character of its own, resembling Pontic, so that it is possible to have an idea of what the dialect of Eastern Asia Minor was like before the Turkish invasion. The whole of the reasoning in this part of the book is admirably lucid and convincing.

The further question of the character of the *εὐρὴ διαλέκτῃ* spoken in Asia Minor is declared to lie outside the scope of the book. Nevertheless the texts contain a number of words which are of interest from this point of view. Thumb's discussion of *φάρρ* and *δερρῖ* is referred to in the glossary, but no mention is made of the fact (pointed out by Hatzidakis, *Kindelschap*, p. 165, note 3) that *εὐρὴ* comes not from *terria* but *terin*, the form found in the majority of the ancient dialects. The form *γωῖρα*, the Phrygian word for husband, may show that this Ionic *γῶν* (which occurs in Hesiodus), was adopted in the 'Eastern *εὐρὴ*.' The form might, it is true, be due to assimilation of *ε* to the following *α*, but that is rare at Phrygia (§ 234). Again, the form *εὐρῖ* (from *εὐρῖ*) though mentioned along with other cases of assimilation (pp. 64-66) which must be in part at least quite late, as Turkish words are affected, may be much older, as the Septuagint forms of this word already show the assimilation.

The form *φελάρρον* (p. 286, L. 2) ought not to pass without remark. In other cases where ancient Attic had *rr* and most other dialects had *ss* the texts in this book present *ss* or *σ*, e.g. *γλῶσσῃ*, *τίτῃ*, *τίτῃ* (pitch), *εἰρῇ* (εἰρῇ), *δύλατῃ*, *εὐρῇ* (from *εὐρῇ*), *μολίτῃ*, *ἐμῇ* (not from *ἐμῇ*). Is *φελάρρον* non-dialectal?

The texts are wisely given in abundance. Along with their English translations, which are printed on the opposite side, they cover 295 pp. As many of them are imperfectly told, Professor Halliday's ably written chapter on their subject-matter is a welcome aid to their understanding. They are given in Greek characters 'in order not to give the words a stranger aspect than is absolutely necessary.' Granted that Greek characters were best for the texts, it is probable that Latin characters would have been more suitable in some parts of the grammar, where it was a question of exhibiting the facts which had to be explained. Thus in the account of the disjunctions (pp. 166 ff.) Mr. Dawkins is compelled to forestall his own conclusions by writing of *παῖς* with a but of *αἰῶν* with an.

The glossary (113 pp.) is an important supplement to the grammar and scarcely



inferior to it in interest. Besides containing full collections of the recorded forms of nouns and especially of verbs, it incorporates a quantity of valuable information not given elsewhere in the book, including many words recorded in the already existing glossaries, even if they do not happen to occur in the texts. The distribution of each word over the different villages is carefully noted. One of the very few inaccuracies occurs under the heading *Šānu*, 'I see,' which is stated to occur only at Sili, its place being taken by *šapā* and *šamā* in Cappadocia. The facts are that *šapā* and *šamā* are as common in Sili as in Cappadocia, and *Šānu* has a different meaning, viz. 'to wait (for).'

It is greatly to be regretted that the price (31/6) is so unreasonably high as to be likely to restrict unduly the circulation which a book of this excellence might otherwise have enjoyed.

ROBERTO MCKENZIE.

**Apotheosis and After Life.** By Mrs. ARTHUR STRONG. London: Constable, 1910.

We congratulate Mrs. Strong on her courage in completing the publication of her lectures given in 1913 under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America. To students of these obscure monuments, the development of Early Christian forms and the appearance of Oriental Religions (Mithraism, Orphism) in the later Roman Empire her book will be welcome.

They will find, as in her other books, a wide range of references both to monuments and to the best authorities, a number of illustrations in the text, never uninteresting and some of objects of rare quality, and a constant indication where illustrations of other monuments may be found. These are very numerous in that the book is based upon lectures designed to be given with lantern slides.

In her theory of the influence of the Imperial Apotheosis on design Mrs. Strong lays down that the Christian Mosaic is a direct derivative of the Imperial Roman Mosaic, the presentation of the Emperor as God. She implies also that the mood, religious and artistic, which preaches over this form is peculiarly Roman in character and is disguised and even disfigured by the invasion of Hellenic religion and art. In a sense the theory is a subtiler attempt to give prestige to Roman Art than the late Professor Wickhoff's. Like Wickhoff's theory it is a courageous attempt to find a special quality and a special value in Roman design. But in the intensity of her desire to gain recognition for her *protept* the writer deals hardly with the Greek view of life and death and even with Greek Art. The traditional conflict of Aristotelian and Platonian is not so inevitable as that between the zealous lovers of Greek and of Roman civilisations. It is, however, a great gain that English Archaeologists, especially those connected with the British School in Rome, should direct their attention to the treasures of the late Pagan and early Mediæval periods in Rome and in Italy. It is in this region that the Roman School has a great advantage over the School in Athens, and students of Art and History, civil and ecclesiastical, will heartily welcome the results of their research.

Few English Archaeologists combine so vivid an expression of a thesis with so complete a statement of the *apparatus criticus* as Mrs. Strong, and a reader of her book with an adequate library at hand and a capacity to see text and monument may enter straightway into the whole depth and breadth of the problem. The interpretation found for the meaning of each subordinate element of decoration on the grave-stones of the later Roman Empire may strain belief and ignores too much the too scrupulous inattention to meaning shown in our time at least by tomb cutters and their clients. But with Mrs. Strong's book in hand no museum will be without interest, and a grave-stone may lead to some strange buried religion.

**Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity.** Being Studies in Religious History from 330 B.C. to 330 A.D. By F. Legge. In two volumes, 292+425 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1915. 25s.

Mr. Legge has undertaken a task of extraordinary difficulty and complexity. To sketch the forms of the religious faiths and enthusiasms of the Hellenistic and Roman world is like sketching the forms of clouds drifting across the sky on a stormy day. The more one reads about these strange and indefinite religious tendencies, the more one despairs of ever knowing much about them. Almost the only solid ground in the whole field is that offered by the Mithraic monuments. Here Mr. Legge, like everyone else, accepts the interpretations of Cumont. But even this firm ground is mainly based on convention, and Cumont is the first to acknowledge how little we really know.

Mr. Legge has read widely and carefully. It is clear that he is not a fully trained scholar, for little lapses and a certain *arabesque* strike one. But how much we owe in England to the learned non-professional, who brings leisure and enthusiasm to his task! Much of the matter in these volumes can scarcely be found elsewhere in English form, and Mr. Legge has fully grasped the main ideas of comparative religion.

He begins by eliminating from the list of forerunners Jewish religion and Greek philosophy. He has of course a right to choose his own field. But in eliminating Judaism he sets aside the synoptic Gospels; and in eliminating philosophy he sets aside the Fourth Gospel, and Justin, and Clement of Alexandria. In fact, by Christianity he really means the religion of the formed Catholic Church. He has a notable dislike for the Jewish religion, and speaks very harshly of the Jews, who in fact exercised an immense influence in the early Roman Empire, and were serious rivals of Christianity.

The work begins with a sketch, necessarily very slight, of the results of the conquests of Alexander. It proceeds to speak of the deities of Alexandria, but scarcely deals with those of Phrygia and Syria, which influenced the Christian society even more. The rest of the work is devoted to what Mr. Legge calls by the general name of Gnosticism. The pre-Christian Gnostics, according to him, were the Jewish Essenes, the various sects who took their name from Orpheus, and the followers of Simon Magnus. Fuller and more satisfactory is Mr. Legge's treatment of the post-Christian Gnostics, the Ophites, Valentinians, and such works as the *Pistis Sophia*, which many writers speak of but few read. Marcion has a chapter to himself; and the book concludes with an account of Mithraicism and Manichaeism. It is the last half of the book which will be of most value. Those who study the patristic Christian literature will fail to understand it, unless they know something of the contemporary literature which was non-Christian, or at all events unorthodox. It is a very great point that Mr. Legge gives ample references for his statements: this greatly increases the value of the book, and one might venture to say, puts it on a higher ethical level.

**La Guerre de Troie et les Origines Préhistoriques de la Question d'Orient.** By FÉLIX SARTIAUX. Pp. vi+232. 12 Illustrations, and 4 Maps. Paris, Hachette, 1915. 5 fr.

M. Sartaux's book was inspired by the unlucky campaign of the Dardanelles. In it he saw a new war of Troy, a new siege of the ways into the East by the spiritual descendants of the Hellenes fighting against the spiritual descendants of the Hittites, an attempt to assert the predominance of Western Civilization, represented by the Allies, at the gates of the Orient over the forces of barbarism, now as three thousand years ago. So, like Herodotus, endeavouring to seek out the ultimate causes of the eternal conflict between East and West, he reconstitutes the earliest fight of all, which took place on the same ground as the latest struggle. Into the details of his reconstruction of the War of Troy we have at the present juncture no time to enter. When the war is over, and M. Sartaux brings out a second edition of his book, chronicling, we may hope, the final



success of the cause which has suffered so severe a set-back in the neighbourhood of the plains of Troy, one will be able to examine his archaeological and historical conclusions at leisure. Suffice it to say that he not only accepts the historical reality of the Trojan War, but also accepts the ancient estimate of its importance. With this first conclusion we may agree, with the second we may disagree. After all, Troy was probably only one of many other Asiatic towns which were taken by arms at one time or another during the period of *Storm and Driving* which succeeded the decadence of the Mycenaean civilization in the Aegean, and it is probably only the hazard of circumstance that made the war against Troy the subject of the world's greatest poem, and so gave it an importance which, did we know the actual history of the time, would probably be seen to be disproportionate. However this may be, M. Sarriaux has given us an interesting little book which is yet another proof of the deathless interest of the Fall of Troy and of the new point of view in which it has been placed by the progress of archaeological discovery. We live now in a scientific world very different from that of the 'seventies, and the days of 'Indo-Germanic' Sun-Myths and terribly Teutonic 'Dawn-Maidens' seem very far away. The danger is that we may be going too far in the opposite direction, and Homer's song is coming to be regarded as a report from Field-Marshal Agamemnon's G.H.Q. :  
H. H.

**La restauration démocratique à Athènes en 403 avant J.-C.** By P. Cloché.  
Pp. xiv + 403. Paris: Leroux, 1915. 2fr. 50

**Étude chronologique sur la troisième Guerre Sacrée.** By P. Cloché.  
Pp. viii + 136. Paris: Leroux, 1915. 4fr.

The first of these volumes consists of a long series of minute discussions on the many details which beset the story of the Thirty Tyrants and their successors. *More Aristotelic*, the author reviews and criticises in turn the various answers which modern authors have given to these problems, and out of these criticisms he develops his own conclusions. As M. Cloché has been at pains to discuss a good many theories which might safely have been left floating on Lathé's stream, his book is spun out to a somewhat tedious length. But what it loses in terseness it gains in the scrupulous exactitude of its judgments. Owing to the meticulous care which M. Cloché has taken not to overpress his evidence, many of his verdicts amount to a simple *non liquet*. Nevertheless he establishes some positive conclusions of real importance. In particular he shows satisfactorily that the demos, far from displaying vindictiveness after its final triumph, behaved generally with moderation and loyalty to the common good. Conversely the Three Thousand fought stoutly for their own hand and successfully maintained their class interests in the final settlement. This thesis agrees well with the results of Sandvall's remarkable researches on the distribution of political power at Athens in the fourth century. It might perhaps have been strengthened by a more searching analysis of the ancient sources, and by a fuller discussion of the economic causes which underlay the political revolutions. But even without those elaborations M. Cloché has made good his main points. His book is a solid contribution to our knowledge of an important period of Athenian history.

In his second work M. Cloché applies a similar method to a somewhat different problem. The ancient evidence for the politics of Athens at the time of the democratic restoration is fairly plentiful in quantity, but the materials for the chronology of the Sacred War are almost entirely derived from one writer, Diodorus. The vagaries of this author, whose time-sheet is like a piece of amateur paper-hanging, all gaps and overlaps, have been a fruitful topic for dissertations, not one of which bears the stamp of finality. M. Cloché, in his turn, does not claim to have settled all outstanding questions: wisely so, for many of his constructions are plainly premature. Little reliance can be placed on computations of the length of campaigns which rest on mere probability, or on the comparative wealth or poverty of incidents recorded by Diodorus. On the other

hand, M. Choisy has used to good purpose the contemporary speeches of the Attic orators and some invaluable entries in the accounts of the temple treasurers at Delphi. He has also applied a useful criterion in the date of the ancient Greek harvest, which can be fixed with tolerable accuracy. His time-table therefore contains an increased number of fixed points, and it runs throughout on a painstaking study of the available evidence.

**The Caliphs' Last Heritage.** A Short History of the Turkish Empire. By Lt. Col. Sir MARK SYKES, M.P. Pp. 648. 27 Plates and 26 Maps. London: Macmillan, 1915. £2.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading: the book falls into two parts, the first of which is a history of Syria and Mesopotamia from the earliest times, only a few pages of which are strictly speaking a history of the Turkish empire; the second part is an account of five journeys made by the author in those regions between 1900 and 1913. The first part is introductory to the second and forms an interesting and well-written sketch of the rise and fall of the various dynasties that have held these lands in rapid succession. Sir Mark Sykes outlines the history of the Babylonian empire, Greek, Parthian and Roman rule in the East, the career of Muhammad and the spread of Islam, the Omayyad Caliphate and the break up of the Arab empire under the Abbassids, the coming of the Seljuks and other Turkish invaders, the ephemeral empire of Timur, and concludes with a sketch of the rise of the Ottoman empire. The history at the length to the fifteenth centuries is given the attention it deserves; and the excellent account of the life of Muhammad does not occupy an undue proportion of space. On p. 58 we may note that there is a well-known tradition that Muhammad as a boy did pick up some fragments of Christian teaching from a Syrian monk on one of his journeys into Syria.

The second part of the book is the more original and contains a brief and interesting account of Asiatic Turkey during the revolution, which makes it abundantly clear that the young Turks showed little enthusiasm in the provinces for the new era of liberty they promised would dawn on Turkey. The descriptions of travel in Armenia, Iraq, and Kurdistan have a special interest at the present moment in view of the Russian operations there. There is little of archaeological interest in the book, but we may note the fine Roman bridge at Satali (p. 362-3) and the colossal statue found at Uzungi Barli (p. 542). Miss Gertrude Bell will be interested to learn that she is remembered in the latter village as 'a beautiful German lady.'

**Ἀριστοφάνους Κωμῳδίαι.** The Comedies of Aristophanes. Edited, Translated and Explained by BENJAMIN ROBERTS ROBERTS. Vol. 2; III. *The Clouds*; v. *The Wasps*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1910.

In his introduction to *The Clouds* Mr. Roberts tells us that he commenced the publication of the Comedies of Aristophanes with the first edition of this play in 1852 and closes it with the present second edition in 1915. For an author to revise and re-issue his book himself sixty-three years after its first appearance must surely go near to constituting a record, and Mr. Roberts is to be very heartily congratulated on his achievement. The merits of his translation—and it should be added of the notes—are by this time thoroughly well appreciated, and the two great plays under review make no less admirable reading than the rest; the 'long verses' in particular seem to be as great favourites with Mr. Roberts as they were with Aristophanes himself.



**English-Greek Dictionary of Idioms, Proverbs, and Phrases.** By A. KYRIAKIDES. Nicosia, 1916. also Williams and Norgate.

Mr. Kyriakides has published this laborious and useful work as a supplement to his excellent Greek-English Dictionary. His plan is to arrange under their most characteristic word English idioms, and to place opposite to them a Greek equivalent. Sometimes there may be a corresponding Greek idiom. But generally Mr. Kyriakides contented himself with giving in ordinary Greek words an interpretation. The Dictionary will and primarily be of use to Englishmen wanting to speak Greek, as simple rather than literary phrases would naturally occur to them in such a case. But to Greek readers of English literature, the book will be of the greatest use. It is an attractive study to compare the working of the English mind as compared with the Greek in its natural mode of expression. An example or two will show the author's method. He renders 'Dead dogs don't bite' by *ἄνεκτα σκυῖα δὲ δάκνουν ἄνθρωποι*, giving the same in quite other words. 'Say only what is good of the dead' is rendered *ὁ ἀνθρώπου δὲ νεκροῦ, ὃ καλῶς*, which hardly gives the point. Another rendering suggests (what is probably true) that the text of the New Testament is far more familiar to English than to Greek scholars: 'Evil communications corrupt good manners' (in the text it is 'moulds') is translated *Ἄσχητα συνομιλίαι φθείρουσιν τὴν ἀγαθὴν*, which is certainly no improvement on Monnier. Generally speaking Mr. Kyriakides has carried out his work, which must have been very perplexing, with accuracy and good sense.

**A Pocket Lexicon to the Greek New Testament.** By ALEXANDER SOUTER, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916. 3s. net: on India paper 5s. 6d. net.

This is an ideal pocket Lexicon presenting with studied brevity the newest lights on the meanings of the Greek words employed in the New Testament. While Professors Moultou and Milligan are bringing out their monumental Vocabulary giving the evidence from papyri and inscriptions in *extenso*, Professor Souter has sought to place the results of recent discovery and research at the disposal of the beginner, though his work will appeal also to advanced scholars and should receive a special welcome from theological students and ministers. Its concise statements provoke to further inquiry. We trust that the 'trilogy' of which this volume is the last will be but the forerunner to other aids from Prof. Souter to New Testament students.

**A History of Sculpture.** By H. N. FOWLER, Ph.D., Professor in Western Reserve University. 496 pp., with Frontispiece and 195 illustrations. Macmillan and Co. 7s. 6d. net.

In this volume Dr. Fowler attempts a sketch of the history of sculpture from the earliest times to the present day. The book supplies a real need, but we are only concerned here with the chapters dealing with Greek and Roman sculpture. The Greek summary seems to us well and convincingly done though following, perhaps inevitably, stereotyped forms of criticism and illustration. On p. 57 it appears odd to take the new gold and ivory statues acquired by the Boston Museum as typical of Cretan work. In any case, if the authenticity of this work is established beyond all doubt, we should be told that the amazingly Phidias-like head is not paralleled by other relics of the second millennium B.C. On p. 61 and elsewhere we notice that full use is not made of Mr. Dickins' work on the Acropolis Museum Catalogue. The pediment group from the Siphnian Treasury and the figures from the Caryatid Temple on pages 65 and 66 are

departures in the matter of illustration from the usual path which we could wish that Dr. Fowler had more often entered upon. We do not think much idea of the style of Chalcids can be gained from the Vatican 'Penelope' (p. 79), and is it really meant that in the Diacobolus 'no vestige of the "law of frontality" remains'? What Myron did was to show a body bending sideways, but the Diacobolus is firmly imprisoned within two planes and can only be looked at from one standpoint. Löwy's article in the *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1911, is a useful addition to his other writings on this subject.

Dr. Fowler does not seem to think that either the Agias or the Apoxyomenos takes us very close to Lysippos except in a general way. The arrangement of this chapter seems to owe a very great deal to Professor Gardner's well-known history of Greek Sculpture. In the chapter devoted to Roman Sculpture, the achievements of Roman artists in portraiture are not sufficiently accounted.

**The Greek House: Its History and Development from the Neolithic period to the Hellenistic ages.** By BEATRICE CAMP RICE. Pp. 272, with 53 illustrations. Cambridge University Press, 1914. 10s. 6d. net.

In this book, originally a Thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of London, the author gives a clear and concise account of the existing remains of Greek houses from Neolithic to Hellenistic times. She devotes considerable space to prehistoric forms, round, elliptical, and rectangular, and reaches no definite conclusion on the question of priority in considering the three forms, since all are found side by side at Orchomenos. Cretan and mainland palaces and houses are dealt with in considerable detail, and in a lengthy chapter the conclusion is reached that Homeric palaces were of the same type, in general construction and arrangement, as the mainland palaces. Although the evidence for the fifth and fourth centuries is scanty, the theory is maintained that the Mycenaean type of house, with courtyard, peristyles, and principal room adjoining, was continuous, with some variation of arrangement, down to Hellenistic times. The main evidence in support of this theory is to be found in the second century houses at Priene; the same site furnishes an example of an enlarged house which is claimed to be the prototype of the two-court plan which found further development in Italy.

Careful descriptions of the houses of each successive period are given and amply illustrated by plans. The book furnishes a valuable contribution to the history of domestic architecture.

**Codex Alexandrinus in reduced Photographic Facsimile.** Old Testament. Part I. Genesis—Ruth. Trustees of the British Museum, 1915.

The Director introduces this, the first of four parts which will contain the Old Testament in a single page, referring to the part containing the New Testament and the Clementine Epistles for the general introduction. He rejects firmly Prof. Burkitt's attempt to support the Athous provenance of the MS. The facsimile will be extremely useful, may we suggest that if the pages were numbered independently of the pagination of the actual MS. there would be less danger of their becoming displaced or lost?

**Aristotelica.** By HENRY RICHARDS. Pp. viii + 167. London: Grant Richards, 1915. 5s. net.

Consists of studies in the text of the Nicomachean Ethics, Magna Moralia, Eudemian Ethics, Politics, Economics, 'Ad. Rhod.', Rhetoric, Poetics, Problems, and Fragments.



**Exposition Universelle et Internationale de San Francisco. La Science Française.** T. I., pp. 391. T. II., pp. 402. Paris: Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux Arts. 1915.

The French Government contributed to the Exhibition a library representing the part played by France in the advancement of science. Each section was accompanied by an explanatory brochure. These are now collected in two handy volumes. The sections which will chiefly interest our readers are *L'Archéologie Classique*, by M. Collignon, and *L'Hellénisme*, by M. Croiset.

**Education, Science, and the Humanities.** By A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE. Pp. 31. Oxford: Blackwell. 1s. net.

Mr. Pickard-Cambridge's contribution to the great current educational controversy should be read by both sides, since, as he informs us, his earlier education included some study of Natural Science. He takes a moderate view, and is willing to sacrifice some of the over-minute study of the texts of authors, and a great deal of the time that is spent on Greek and Latin composition.

**The Greek Manuscripts in the Old Seraglio at Constantinople.** By S. GÄRTNER, M.A. Pp. 14. Cambridge University Press, 1916. 1s. net.

Mr. Gärtner was in Constantinople in April, 1909, and saw something of the misery in favour of Abdul Hamid. He gives an interesting account of this as a framework to his list of thirty-three MSS., which range from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

**Euripides. The Rhesus.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. H. POEYER. Pp. li + 97. Cambridge University Press, 1916.

Mr. Poyer's careful Introduction makes this something more than what it at first sight appears to be, a school edition. As regards the eternal question of the authorship he comes to the conclusion that the opponents of the Euripidean authorship have failed to prove their case.

\* \* \* For other books received, see list of accessions to the Library.

# INDEX TO VOLUME XXXVI

## I.—INDEX OF SUBJECTS

[A *Special Index to the Artists on Lord Elgin and his Collection* is printed on pp. 370-372.]

### A

- ADA and Idricus with Zeus Straton, on relief, 65, 69  
 Aelius Epictetes, sarcophagus of, 283  
 Alexandria (Egypt), idol of 'Mikail' at, 146  
 Alexandria Triosa, Apollo types on coins of, 134  
 Alkantis, delivery of (Temple of Ephesus), 29  
 Ammon, early history of, 19  
 Antiochus IX. Cyrenicus (?), portrait of, on seal, 90  
 Apollo : analogies with St. Michael, 134 ff. ;  
 Smythous legend, *ibid.* ; statues, &c., of, from Paupai, 392 ; of Mantua, *ibid.* ; at Chatsworth, 394 ; in Barracco Collection, 395 ; of Cassel, 393 ff.  
 Apuleius Platonicus, *Herbarium* of, 191  
 Archagora, grave-relief of, 72  
 Aristoides, son of Lysimachus, cippus of, 200  
 Aristosia, grave-relief of, 78  
 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, text of, 45 ff.  
 Relation to *Eudæmon Ethics*, *ibid.*  
 Arrows as symbol of pestilence, 149 ff.  
 Athanas legend, 38 ff.  
 Athens : ivory head and arm of, in Vatican, 372 ff. ; head of acrolith at Vienna, 384 f. ; various Phidian types, 380 f. ; colossus of the Parthenon, 389 ; on Ptolemaic sealings, 90  
 Athens in the time of Lord Elgin, 177 ff.  
 Athens : two athletic bronzes at, 16 ff. ;  
 Varrakeion Athena, 389 ; Leaning Athena, 389  
 Athletic bronzes, two, at Athens, 16 ff.

### B

- Bentley : Kaufmann Athens, 386  
 Biel, Lothian, ancient marble chair at, 187  
 Boston Museum (U.S.A.) : Panathenæa amphora (10, 178), 124, 180 f.  
 British Museum : Elgin Collection, history of, 163 ff. ; Ephesian fragments, 26 ff. ; Greek reliefs in, 65 ff. ; coins showing Zeus Straton, 60 ; B.P. kelebe with Athletes (E 301), 22

### C (see also K)

- CAPPADOCIA, cinnabar of, 11 ff.  
 Carpiagna Athena, 384  
 Cassel Apollo, 393 ff.  
 Cattle in foundation-myths, 138 ff.  
 Chatsworth, head of Apollo at, 394  
 Chionso, shrine of Michael at, 155  
 Chryselephantine sculpture : see Ivory  
 Cinnabar of Smope, 11, 14 f. ; used for colouring ivory sculpture, 380, 399  
 Cleopatra II., portrait of, on seal, 190  
 Colossus, shrine of Michael at, 155  
 Commerce of Smope and Black Sea, 1 ff.  
 Constantinople, churches of Michael at, 145, 156  
 Copies of Greek originals, method of estimating, 386 ff.

### D

- DELPHI, motifs from Treasury of Athenians (Hercules and Stag), 23  
 Devonshire jewel of Apollo, 394  
 Diabolus bronzes at Athens, 16 ff.  
 Dragon-quelling gods and saints, 144, 158 ff.

### E

- ESONY feet of statue from Villa Patti, 379  
 Edin, Ptolemaic seal-impressions, from, 87 ff.  
 Elgin, Lord, and his collection, 183 ff. See Special Index, pp. 370-372  
 Elia, chryselephantine Athena by Kolotes at, 400  
 Ephesus : cinnabar market at, 12 f. ; sculptures from later Temple of Artemis at, 28 ff. ; Temple compared with that at Priene, 33 f.  
 Eurymus, Zeus Straton on coin of, 68

### F

- FLORENCE, Laurentian Library, MSS. of *Nicomachean Ethics*, 47 ff., 57 ff.  
 Foundation-myths, cattle in, 138 ff.



## G

GABRIEL, Micael, legend of, 140 ff.; bronze  
 doors of Church of, 138  
 Gargara, coin-types of, 137  
 Gold and ivory statues: see Ivory  
 Grave-reliefs in British Museum, 70 ff.

## H

HAMILTON, W. R., Lord Elgin's secretary,  
 163 ff.; 369 ff.  
 Harrow School Museum, R. F. vases, 123 ff.  
 Hamilton, legend of, 44  
 Hercules: and Karynean Stag (Dolphic  
 metopes), 23; (Temple of Ephesus), 28;  
 and Antaeus (Temple of Ephesus), 25 f.;  
 and Omphale (*ibid.*), 27; in Garden of  
 Hesperides (*ibid.*), 27; and Kytone  
 (*ibid.*), 28; and Triton (*ibid.*), 29  
 Hierokleis, grave-relief of, 70  
 Hope Athena, 391  
 House, Apollo as breeder of, 137  
 Hunt, Philip, assists Lord Elgin's under-  
 takings, 183 ff.

## I

Immer's: with Ada and Zeus Stratios on  
 relief, 65, 69; coin of, 66  
 Ins-Lenkodion, 36 ff.  
 Ionian Confederacy, coinage of, 102  
 Isis on Ptolemaic sealings, 96  
 Ivory: fragments of a statue of Athena in  
 Vatican, 373 ff.; chryselephantine statues  
 in antiquity, 367 ff.

## K (see also G)

KLEMETT, grave-relief of, 70  
 Kleophrades, painter, vases by him and his  
 school, 123 ff.  
 Kolotes, his chryselephantine Athena at  
 Elgin, 400

## L

LACY, Capt. Thomas, employed by Lord  
 Elgin, 203  
 Leokothoe-Ina, 36 ff.  
 Logotheti, British Consul at Athens, 176 ff.  
 Lombards: St. Michael of the, 139; their  
 influence on Italian art, *ibid.*

## M

MAURIO: Sisyphos of Athens, 359  
 Marriage scene on Roman sarcophagus,  
 80 f.  
 Mausoles, coin of, with Zeus Stratios, 67  
 Melantes and Menalkes, grave-relief of, 70

Melikottos-Palaion, 37 ff.  
 Melitta, grave-relief of, 76  
 Menalkes: see Melantes  
 Metagenes and Philomneme, grave-relief  
 of, 80  
 Michael, St., analogies with Apollo, 134 ff.  
 Michaelion near Constantinople, 136  
 Mikal, Phoenician god, 140  
 Muses of Sinope, etc., 141, 144  
 Mount St. Michael, legend of, 143  
 Mouse or rat as plague-carrier, 136 ff.  
 Moses, group of, from Ephesian Temple,  
 30  
 Mylasa, Zeus Stratios on coin of, 68

## N

NELSON, Lord, assists Lord Elgin, 259 f.  
 New York, Metropolitan Museum, R. F.  
 neck-amphora (13, 231), 124 f.

## O

OPHELTEL, legend of, 41.

## P

PALAIOS-MELIKOTTOS, 39 ff.  
 Palladium, reliefs with sacrifice by warrior  
 to, 84  
 Parthenon Marbles: see Elgin, Lord, and  
 his Collections; Phidias  
 Pellene, Phidian chryselephantine Athena  
 at, 400  
 Petrograd: R. F. neck-amphora (613), 124,  
 126 f.  
 Phidias: ivory head of his time in Vati-  
 can, 373 ff.; his style, raises, school, &c.,  
*ibid.*  
 Philomneme: see Metagenes  
 Pixodaros, Zeus Stratios on coin of, 66  
 Plague: connection of Apollo and St.  
 Michael with, 136 ff.; gods and saints  
 connected with, 147 ff.; symbolism of,  
 149 ff.  
 Pontus, roads of, 7 ff.  
 Priate, temple of, compared with that at  
 Ephesus, 135 f.  
 Ptolemaic seal-impressions from Edin,  
 87 ff.  
 Ptolemaia, portraits of, on sealings, 96 ff.  
 Ptolemy Alexander I. (?), portrait of, on  
 sealing, 96  
 Ptolemy Euergetes II., portrait of, on seal-  
 ing, 98  
 Ptolemy I., Soter, portrait of, on sealing, 97  
 Ptolemy X., Soter II., portrait of, on seal-  
 ing, 98  
 Pythian Baths (Bathynia), Church of St.  
 Michael at, 140

## B

B&E: see Mouse.

Basel-Mikal and Apollo Amyklaios, 140.

Blasius, Johannes, fifteenth-century scribe, 47, 50 ff.

Rome:

Barracco collection: Herms, 382 f.;  
Apollo, 395.

Cappadocia Mus.: head of Apollo, 390.

Museo Nazionale: ebony foot of statue,  
370; Apollo of the Tibet, 392-3;,  
Athena Ludovisi, 399.

Pal. Barberini: *Supplians*, 381 ff.

Vatican: fragments of chryselephantine  
Athena, 373 ff.

## S

Sacrifice to Palladium by warrior, group  
of relief showing, 84.

Sakendragin (Roman) with marriage scene,  
85.

Sesl-impression, Ptolemaic, from Edfu,  
37 ff.

Salinus, Apollo as sender of sickness at, 148.

Sphinxes with halteres on vase, 129.

Sinope, counter of, 1 ff.

spinet, 136.

Stratios, grave-relief of, 75.

Stratios, Zeus: see Zeus.

## T

Troika, relief of Tritone and Ida from,  
65 ff.

Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, Ptolemaic  
embossed in, 87 ff.

## V

Vases, sepulchral, on grave-reliefs, 70.

Vermilion, Simple, 11, 14 f.

Vienna: 'Pheidon' head of Athena, 384 f.

Visconti, E. G., plate London in 1814, 315.

## Z

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columns, 66.



## II.—BOOKS NOTICED.

- Antiquities of Ionia*, 113  
*Aristophanes, Clouds and Wasps*, transl., Rogers, 411
- Bell (H. W.), *Scelus Gerns*, 406  
 Belford (G. W.), *Hellenic Civilization*, 118  
 Bonelieu (E. S.), *Syrus as a Roman Province*, 110
- Codex Alexandrinus*, 414  
 Choix (P.), *Recherches démotiques à Athènes*, 410; *Tombes Grecs Sicile*, *ibid.*  
 Corboud (F. M.), *Origin of Attic Comedy*, 110
- Dawkins (H. M.), *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, 406  
 Dowling (T. E.) and Fletcher (E. W.), *Hellenism in England*, 120  
 Drury (J. P.), *Archaeological Excavations*, 122  
 Dugham (A. G.), *History of Metics*, 116
- Evans (S.), *Uffington and Farnham*, 107  
 Euripides, *Rhesus*, ed. Porter, 414
- Fletcher (E. W.), see Dowling  
 Foucart (P.), *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 104  
 Fowler (H. N.), *History of Sculpture*, 413
- Ginsler (S.), *Greek MSS. in the Old Syriac*, 414
- Hirschfeld (G.) and Marshall (F. H.), *Greek Inscriptions in B. M.*, 404  
 Hegerich (D. G.), *Charchemish*, 111  
 Hunt (A. S.), *Greek Papyri in Rylands Library*, 117
- Johnson (J. de M.), &c., *Greek Papyri in Rylands Library*, 117
- King (L. W.), *History of Babylon*, 414  
 Kyriakides (A.), *English-Greek Dictionary*, 412
- Leah (W.), *Humor and History*, 403  
 Legge (F.), *Proverbia and Riddles of Christianity*, 404  
 Lethbridge (W. R.), *Antiquities of Ionia*, 113  
 Leach (Classical Library), 123
- Marshall (F. H.), see Hirschfeld (G.)  
 Martin (V.), *Greek Papyri in Rylands Library*, 117
- Newell (E. T.), *Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ier*, 405
- Pickard-Cambridge (A. W.), *Education, Science, and the Hellenistic*, 414  
 Porter (W. H.), *Euripides' Rhesus*, 414
- Richards (H.), *Aristotelian*, 414  
 Rider (B. C.), *Greek Hymns*, 413  
 Ridgeway (W.), *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, 410
- Rogers (R. B.), *Aristophanes' Clouds and Wasps*, 411
- Satulya (Sir J. E.), *Short History of Classical Scholarship*, 122  
 Sartiaux (F.), *Les Guerres de Troie*, 406  
*Science Française*, 414  
 Sauter (A.), *Poetical Lexicon to Greek N. T.*, 412
- Slings (Mrs. A.), *Apothegms and After Life*, 408
- Sykes (M.), *Colophon's Last Heritage*, 411
- Thomson (J. A. K.), *The Greek Temple*, 121
- Walters (H. B.), *Classical Dictionary*, 412  
 Whitley (L.), *Companion to Greek Studies*, 120
- Wyndham (M.), *Longfield Collection*, 403

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FIG. 1. RELIEF OF ARISTIDES.



FIG. 2. RELIEF OF ARCHAGORA.







PTOLEMAIC SEAL-IMPRESSIONS.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 : 10 :	11 : 12 : 13 : 14 : 15 : 16 : 17 : 18 :	19 : 20 : 21 : 22 : 23 : 24 : 25 : 26 : 27 : 28 :
29 : 30 : 31 : 32 : 33 : 34 : 35 : 36 : 37 : 38 :	39 : 40 : 41 : 42 : 43 : 44 : 45 : 46 : 47 : 48 :	49 : 50 : 51 : 52 : 53 : 54 : 55 : 56 : 57 : 58 :
59 : 60 : 61 : 62 : 63 : 64 : 65 : 66 : 67 : 68 :	69 : 70 : 71 : 72 : 73 : 74 : 75 : 76 : 77 : 78 :	79 : 80 : 81 : 82 : 83 : 84 : 85 : 86 : 87 : 88 :
89 : 90 : 91 : 92 : 93 : 94 : 95 : 96 : 97 : 98 :	99 : 100 : 101 : 102 : 103 : 104 :	







PTOLEMAIC SEAL-IMPRESSIONS.

100	113	116	118	120	121	122	125	126	131	133	136	138	139	140	142	143	146	151	152	154
160	161	162	163	164	165	166	170	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194
196	197	198	199	200	202	203	204	208	209	210	211	214	215	216	217	218	219	221	222	224







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